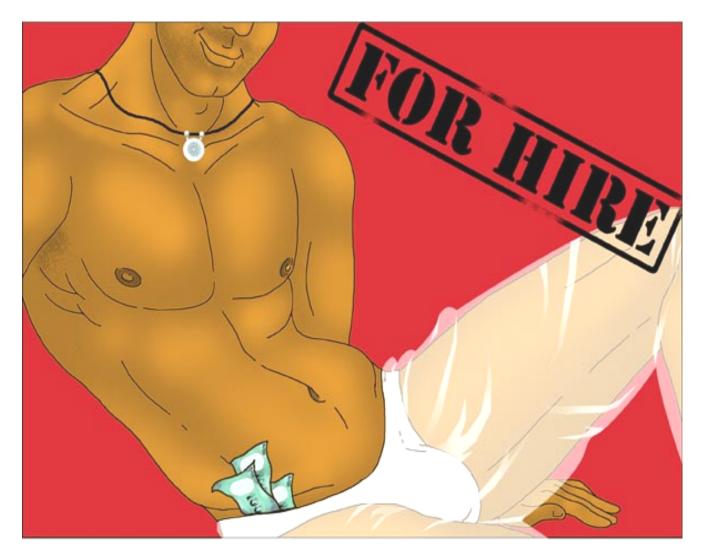
General Survey Of Literature On The Media Construction Of Male Sex Work & Masseurs In India The Report - 10th January 2005





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Abbreviations and Acronyms

- SHRC- Sexual Health Resource Centre
- DFID- Department For International Development
- BMM- Bachelor of Mass Media
- CED- Center for Education and Documentation
- CFAR- Center for Advocacy and Research
- MSW- Male Sex Workers
- Malishwalas- Masseurs
- STI Sexually Transmitted Infections
- HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
- AIDS- Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
- MSM- Men Who Have Sex With Men
- MSM- Males Who Have Sex with Males

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INDEX				
CONTENTS PG.NO:				
I.	Introd	uction	4	
2.	Objectives		5	
З.	Methodology 6			
4.	Depictions of male sexuality 7			
5.	Sex W	Sex Work IO		
6.	Sex work and prostitution I3			
7.	Male sex work I3			
8.	Historical perspective of male sex work I4			
9.	Male sex work- Typology and identities IS			
IO.	Male sex work evidence I7			
	IO.I	Journals/Articles/Other publications	17	
	10.2	Press clippings	20	
	IO.3	Male sex work on the Internet	22	
	10.4	Escorts	24	
	10.5	Male strip dancers	26	
II.	Male s	sex work as depicted in the Electronic media	26	
12.	Masse	urs of Mumbai Chowpatty	27	
13.	Summ	ary and Conclusion	28	
		Annexure 1: Homosexuality and homosexual identities Annexure - 2: Press clippings Annexure - 3: Journal articles and other publications Annexure - 4: Analysis of Movies and news clips with portrayals of men getting paid for sexual services Annexure 5: List of Internet e-list L group advertisements on yahoo and other groups and email with portrayals of men getting paid for sexual services Annexure 6: List of ancient studies with portrayals of men getting paid for sexual services Annexure 7: Typologies of Male sex work Annexure 7: Typologies of Male sex work Annexure 8: Operational services Mebsite: www.samabhavanasociety.org Annexure 9: References	9	



Literature and Media Review on Male Sex Work and Masseurs in India

1. Introduction

Male sex work has been in existence in India in the form of Masseurs (MALISHWALAS), and as house servants from ancient times¹. Masseurs are seen as caregivers and persons who soothes nerve and relieves stress by way of massage in the traditional set up. It is very convenient and also acceptable in an Indian household for such a person to visit and give massages to men and women and not be frowned upon, this is an excellent arrangement for Men and women to access younger men as it is common knowledge that massage would require strong robust men and the concept of strong stems from being youthful and able bodied men who are masculine.

This concept gels well with the general hypocrisy in the Indian psyche about sex and sexual preferences in general.²

In recent times due to rapid urbanization, growth in information technology, tourists' influx, women's economic and social empowerment and the thrust towards gender equality, increasing assertion of persons with alternate sexualities and preferences has seen a metamorphosis of male sex work into new typologies such as those of Escorts, Gigolos, Strip Tease Dancers, Call boys, Hustlers, Rent boys, Male Sex Workers, Tourist guides, Adult Film (porn) actors³, most of these typologies mentioned have one thing in common is that most of them offer massage as a service and this "massage service" is an entry point by male and female clients to access sex and hence they would fall in the very broad typologies for this very reason they would come under the occupational categories of Masseurs. As per the above mentioned typologies of male sex work they all have a masculine physical disposition, which open out issues relating to stigma especially with women clients in a supposedly hetero patriarchal society, whereas masculinity issues while dealing with masculine male clients who demand to be penetrative partner results in low esteem and increasing their vulnerability as they perceive themselves as receptive partners which socially and thematically is known to be area of effeminate homosexual men.

These young men face issues of homelessness, alcohol dependence and drug abuse, police abuse, rape by clients, not to mention a greatly increased risk of contracting HIV or other sexually transmitted infections (STI)⁴. Beyond these are the mental health ramifications. Many young men who are selling sex are living as much of a lie as some of their clients and the

¹ Kamasutra – Vatsyasena-chapter IX- Auparashtika

² Sexual Behaviour & AIDS in India by Moni Nag-1996

³ What is a Sex Worker" page at <u>www.iswface.org</u>

⁴ www. Ashoka Fellow Profile - Juan Jacobo Hernández.htm

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stigma and taboo that surrounds male prostitution can trap them in silence, stress and anxiety, so that they do not access the health services available to them.

Research on male sex workers is even more limited. This is to be expected in a context in which male-male sexual desire is a threat to strong, family-oriented social patterns. However, homosexual behaviors are extremely common. Many of these are non-commercial exchanges but many involve material transactions. There are no clear dividing lines separating the male sex worker from the man who has sex with men⁵.

So we should understand that there is a distinct category of masculine male sex workers, who should be addressed independently...... right now there is enough confusion in these MSM project⁶.

The introduction is based on the domino effect of the search conducted and this provides the basis that consequently leads us to the conclusion; thereafter the conclusion rationalizes the need for more research that would lead to a proper specific Intervention strategy. The group needs to be addressed separately, and not to be involved under the ambiguous broad category of Men who Have Sex with Men.

2. OBJECTIVE

The objective of the study was to conduct a general survey and inspection by way of library search and literature review on media construction of Male Sex Workers/Masseurs in Mumbai, India and to collate data. Collation of data on Male Sex Workers and Masseurs will facilitate to identify and assess if any gaps that exist for better understanding this sector for further study in detail. As male sex workers and masseurs are known to involve in unsafe sexual behaviors, they are vulnerable to STI/HIV. Thus, there is a need for more information about male sex workers and masseurs that would help plan interventions among them and promote advocacy efforts for reducing their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

3. METHODOLOGY

Review of literature was conducted primarily in Mumbai city, and thereon during search we came across articles from some of the major cities of India, such as Pune, Delhi, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Kanpur, KolKata, Kerala. Such an exercise is expected to result in a better understanding of the image that has been projected of this group through media covering the period 1981-2004 and as recent as January 2005. However, some of the important translated ancient texts were also reviewed in this respect to examine their presence in ancient Indian society. All the available media material including Journals, Newspapers, Television news

⁵ STI/HIV SEX WORK IN ASIA published by World Health Organization (Regional Office for the Western Pacific) July 2001. Pg. No. 29 ⁶ Lessons learned in India written by Maitreya, India



clippings & popular T.V.Soaps, Hindi movies, Documentaries, Internet, e-groups and chat rooms were reviewed to gather information.

Project manager of Samabhavana Society supervised the process of review of literature. Different documentation centers were initially contacted to know about the availability of literature pertaining to homosexuality and male sex work. Among all the organizations contacted, CED- Mumbai, Alochana - Pune, and CFAR in Delhi were identified as the potential sources for gathering information. Further, various newspapers and magazines, including Times of India, Indian express newspapers, Outlook and India Today were contacted for gathering information. Eight students of mass communication were engaged in collecting information and were also instructed to explore different sources such as, Department libraries, at their respective institutes. Internet search was carried out to gather more information about male sex workers and masseurs and Research consultants provided technical inputs in analyzing the information collected from different sources and writing the report.

Popular Hindi movies, television soap, documentaries and news clippings pertaining to male sex work and masseurs were also reviewed. Some of the movies, namely Kamasutra, Split Wide Open, Chameli, Aitraz, Judaai, and Oops!! Which had the depiction of male sex work have been discussed in the report.

All the literature reviewed in the current exercise is presented in the following sections. Since homosexuality is closely related to the topic of the review, a brief discussion on homosexuality and homosexual identities is as annexure. Further, sex work, male sex work, and different identities of male sex work including masseurs have been discussed and typologies also annexed. Subsequently, attempts have been made to identify and describe different groups of male sex workers/ masseurs operating in Mumbai and through the mass media including Internet.

4. DEPICTIONS OF MALE SEXUALITY

Sexuality is socially constructed, that is, it is a learned set of behaviors accompanied by cognitive interpretations of these behaviors. Sexuality, then is less a product of biology than of the socialization processes specific to a given culture at a particular point in time (Fracher & Kimmel, 1995). The most significant element of this construction is gender. Gender is an achieved status that is constructed via psychological, cultural, and social means (West & Zimmerman, 1991).

The relationship between gender and sexuality is dialectical. Fracher and Kimmel (1995) have noted that for men, the notion of masculinity, the cultural definition of manhood, serves as the primary building block of sexuality. It is through our understanding of masculinity that we construct a sexuality, and it is through our sexualities that we confirm the successful



construction of our gender identity. Gender informs sexuality; sexuality confirms gender. (p. 367); In other words, sexuality is one area where masculinity is enacted; hence sexuality provides a powerful expression of masculinity. Because masculinity requires both the avoidance and repudiation of all behaviors associated with femininity, a man must engage in an incessant surveillance of his performances to ensure that he is sufficiently masculine (Connell, 1995; Fracher & Kimmel, 1995; LeMoncheck, 1985).

Because masculinity is believed to proceed from men's bodies, it is by and large presentational (Connell, 1995; Epstein, 1988; Fiske, 1987; Kimmel, 1996; Mead, 1967). The male body is a tool that men, on various levels of consciousness, manipulate in order to achieve a gendered identity. This is clearly illustrated in the way that society ranks men according to physical strength and athletic ability (Glassner, 1995; Messner, 1995; Pleck, 1995). The appearance and use of the body serves as a hierarchical gauge, which ranges from the masculine, the very strong, to the feminine, the very weak (Glassner, 1995; Katz, 1995; Mosse, 1996; Pleck, 1995). In short, masculinity is not a matter of the mind, but of the body (Kimmel, 1996). As such masculinity is expressed physically-through muscles and the consumption and adornment of mass-produced goods that are regarded masculine (Barthel, 1994; Goffman, 1979; Jhally, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; LaFrance, 1995; McAllister, 1996; Williamson, 1978)⁷.

"There's coming to be an acceptance of men as sex objects, men as beautiful,".

Male mannequins now sport genital bulges and larger chests as seen in the latest Brand of VIP "X" underwear advertisements, and for the first time in window-dressing history, have achieved equality with female mannequins.

The male body is even being used to sell cars, no doubt to both men and women.

A significant subset of women who are financially independent and rate themselves as physically attractive place a high value on male appearance. This new and vocal minority unabashedly declares a strong preference for better-looking men as seen in "Aitraaz" the movie starring Akshay Kumar, Priyanka Chopra and Kareena Kapoor.

It seems that the whole idea of what it means to be male is melting. Cultural upheavals from the women's movement to the national emphasis on health and fitness have altered our sense of how a man should act and look. The new male is no longer the unquestioned head of the household, in control of the nuclear family if nothing else. Gender parity in the workplace has made inroads: today a man may easily have a female boss.

 ⁷ Sex Roles A Journal of Research Eroticizing men cultural influences on advertising and male objectification - 1.htm Tel. No. Mumbai - 022- 56880048, 0- 9322836303
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As ideals of manhood shift, so has the ideal male body. While it is dearly more masculine - well muscled and sexually potent - it is paradoxically feminine as well. Our ideal man is no longer rough and ready, bruised and calloused, but, "as clean skinned and clear complexioned as a woman." His body is "no longer stiff and upright, but sinuous and beautiful when it moves. Sinuousness didn't used to be associated with manliness." A sexual object, a source of pure visual pleasure, men are increasingly being looked at in ways women always have⁸.

This fascination with male beauty is not entirely new - consider the ancient Indian temple art, the beautiful clothes and exotic jewellery worn by our Maharajas, and in the western context one can consider the ancient Greeks, boy of the Renaissance, or Elizabethan noblemen parading the court in revealing tights, silks, satins, and jewelled codpieces. Charles Darwin himself popularized the idea of women as selectors of plumed and spectacular male mates. "He was speaking of finches and partridges," explains historian Thomas Laqueur, Ph.D., author of Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Harvard University Press, 1990), "but we generalized to humans. It was known as the peacock phenomenon - the notion of the male as the one with plumage." It wasn't until the rise of capitalism and the bourgeoisie that men renounced flagrant beauty and adopted the plain suit or shirt and pants as a uniform. During the so-called "great masculine renunciation" men began to associate masculinity with usefulness. Then, notes Laqueur, "gradually women became the bearers of the science of splendor."

In recent years, the proliferation of sexualized images of men in advertising has been a topic of examination (Bordo, 1999; Ehrenreich, 1983; LaFrance, 1995; Mosse, 1996). However, it is unclear how such images fit into a larger discussion of gender representations. Some authors discuss sexualized images of men in terms of economics. In a postindustrial era, advertisers seek to find new markets. As such, erotic images of men are designed to appeal to liberated women as well as the new male consumer. Intuitively, this observation makes sense. The feminization of the workforce that resulted from the shift in the economic base (from manufacturing to service) placed more rupees in the hands of consumers.

In response to this economic shift, advertisers adapted commercial imagery to appeal to a generation of "liberated" women, who made and spent their own earnings (Whipple & Courtney, 1985). In addition, advertisers have increasingly tried to transform men into consumers through the legitimization of male freedom (Barthel, 1994; Ehrenreich, 1983) and beauty.

In recent years, sexualized images of men, or the "erotic male," have proliferated in men's magazines such as "Fantasy in their section Brute". In these images, the erotic male represents

⁸ Psychology Today The beefcaking of America - sexual objectification of men by women - includes related articles -Cover Story.htm



a physical and sexual ideal, whereby an attractive, muscular man is placed on display. Such imagery is undoubtedly in part a response to the economic trends over the last 50 years, but it is also a product of cultural changes in Indian society⁹.

5. Sex work

While much is known about prostitution and sex-work, almost all research has been conducted among female sex-workers and their clients. Studies of men, who sell sex, either to women or to other men, are especially scarce. Particularly poorly understood are men's motivations for engaging in such work, the circumstances in which the sale of sex occurs, the meanings attached to the acts by both sex-worker and client, and the HIV-related risks involved of multi partner contacts and unsafe sex of high-risk behaviour.

Heterosexual transmission is assumed to be the primary route of infection; there is also a significant level of male-to-male sexual activity. Many Truck drivers in India are known to have multiple sexual relationships with both men and women.¹⁰

There are many full-time or part-time male prostitutes in India. Many seek male clients by offering massage services in parks, beaches, hotels & houses as well as on the Internet, the Internet provides all sorts of new opportunities for connecting with people and being viable through various yahoo, India Times, MSN, chat rooms and e-groups/lists.

Thousands of homeless and poor boys and young men employed in various establishments and firms are compelled to provide sexual services to their male/female bosses in return for their job security¹¹. Young men who work as helpers to highway truck drivers in their long trips provide such services¹².

Relatively men who are involved in sex work (prostitution), exchanging sex for money with many male clients is more in number then those with female clients. Many more men "sell" sex in other ways such as young men see "sugar daddies"¹³ as a useful means to gain luxuries such as accessories, electronic gadgets, better lifestyle or clothing. Single men in their twenties may have several regular partners who pay for rent or electricity or other bill is anecdotal information collated by us during our KABP study¹⁴. Rural immigrant men who are masseurs of any age with female siblings at home may see sex as a means of providing for their marriage dowries, or for education of younger male sibling or probably to pay of debts/mortgages, if the

⁹ The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality India.htm

¹⁰ Amfar-Treat Asia, AIDS in Asia report

¹¹ Health Transition Review, Supplement to Volume 5, 1995, 293-305- Moni Nag-Population Council, New York

¹² Dr. Brenda McSweeney, (UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative in India)- UNDP publication-Dec-2000

¹³ Confronting the Myth of "Sugar Daddies": Linking Age and Economic Asymmetries and Risky Sexual Behavior in Urban Kenya-Nancy Luke-nancykluke@yahoo.com

¹⁴ KABP Study On Male Sex Workers & Masseurs In Mumbai Metro-Presented at: XIV international AIDS Conference-Barcelona-02, Abstract No WePeG6920:, 2nd APCRSH-Bangkok-03,AHRN Conference-Melborne-04.



father is deceased the elder male child becomes the head d has to look after the financial needs of the family hence they migrate for livelihood due to debt - bondage or poverty.

The predominantly hetero-normative patriarchal belief system sees male-male sexual behaviour as a lesser transgression than male-female non-marital sexual behaviour, and moreover the acceptability that men can resort to work that is normally seen as a area of women over generations is absolutely non existent, but this sector has always been existing on the fringes of invisibility¹⁵ and today more than ever before they have to be addressed as they are those who exist on the peripheries of the society and are a risk bridge group due to their sexual behaviour profile.

Men who sell sex to — usually older — women ("sugar mummies"). The men who sell sex are less likely to do so for survival than to improve their status. Such relationships are more likely to be long-term than casual. Women who buy sex usually do so as a means of maintaining control over the relationship¹⁶.

This is important as most of the time we consider persons beyond reproductive age group as not being at risk, but here this same group is at risk due to their capacity to excess such male sex workers.

Clients of men who sell sex, buy sex for many reasons, including an expression of wealth and power, to gain experience, for sexual acts they cannot ask from their partners, because it is available, because they are away from home or because menstruation or pregnancy prevents them from having sex with their regular female partners and most important due to internalised homophobia and stigma.

Many male and female sex workers see sex with clients as their only option or their best option, for survival or improving their status, some men take advantage of men in such a situation.

Men who sell sex to other men often do so for the same reasons as women who sell sex. Many or most of the men who sell sex identify as heterosexual¹⁷ (they usually prefer women)¹⁸. But some men buy and sell sex from each other because homosexuality (gay sex) is taboo and commercial sex provides the only, or the best, means of finding and maintaining a sexual relationship with another man.

In this group there is sub segment of Masseurs (Malishwalas) that comes under occupational group and Migration issues need to be also taken into consideration due to the pull and push factor; today Malishwalas are one of the biggest occupational group that can be found in every urban/rural townships of India and more so in Mumbai metro, as it happens to be the Mecca for

17 http://www.4reference.net/encyclopedias/wikipedia

¹⁵ Kamasutra – Vatsyasena-chapter IX- Auparashtika

¹⁶ The Politics of Prostitution-One project in Majengo is offering sex workers a way out of the quagmire -By Njoki Karuoya

¹⁸ Masculinity Bazaar- Documentary on MSW & Masseurs – done by Samabhavana Society-December 2003 **Tel. No. Mumbai** - 022- 56880048, 0- 9322836303

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job seekers and this city has always housed more migrant labours than any other as suggested in the study conducted by IMRB International for FHI – July 03.

As per Study conducted by us, the Male Sex Workers (MSW) and Masseurs (Malishwalas) are a true bridge population that has extremely high turnover of sex (average 11 Male partners and five female partners a month)¹⁹ with either gender for financial considerations and for their personnel sexual gratification they indulge in sex with Female Sex Workers or casual partners besides being married (43%)²⁰ at a young age and quite a few of their clients are above the age group of 50 years, elderly persons who cannot find sexual male partners in the MSM community and are also married but above the reproductive age group who have sex with them at hotels (66.7%)²¹ and most of their clients are also people who are visitors on business tour away from home and consistent condom usage (8% only) and risk behaviour like peno oral sex (78%) and peno anal sex (92%) and anal oral sex (2/5th of the group) and out of them (24%) suffered from STI's, our information is corroborated by another study which also is a review of the literature by Carol Jenkins (USAID Asia HIV/AIDS Advisor)²² states that Studies of homosexual anal sex prevalence have found anal sex at 45% amongst MSM and 57% within Male Sex workers.

6. Sex work and prostitution

The term "sex work" was coined by a long time prostitutes' rights activist Carol Leigh²³ as a way to designate all those who work in the adult industry. What sex workers all have in common is that they derive their income from adult-oriented work, some of it legal and some of it not.

Prostitution is the sale of sexual services (typically manual stimulation, oral sex, sexual intercourse, or anal sex) for money or other kind of return, generally indiscriminately with many persons. Most prostitutes are women offering their services to men. Prostitutes are stigmatized in most societies and religions; their customers are typically stigmatized to a lesser degree. The term prostitution is sometimes used in the more general meaning of having sex in order to achieve a certain goal different from procreation or pleasure.

³ <u>http://www.unrepentantwhore.com</u>

¹⁹ KABP Study on "Male Sex Workers and Malishwalas in Mumbai Metro-Oct-2001"

²⁰ KABP Study on "Male Sex Workers and Malishwalas in Mumbai Metro"

²¹ KABP Study on "Male Sex Workers and Malishwalas in Mumbai Metro"

²² "In a recent study from Pune (1), reported in India's journal, AIDS Research and Review, a large cohort study of the incidence of HIV between 1993 and 1998 found 7.6% new infections per 100 person years. In this cohort, 3% of 9300 persons (males and females were combined) reported anal intercourse in the past three months. The incidence of HIV among those who were receptive partners was very high, 42.5% with a relative risk of 8.6, the highest among all the possible risk factors analyzed. The authors do not indicate the sex of these receptive partners but it is clear that the anal sex issue has emerged as a significant factor in India's epidemic. Yet, little is known of the intensity of the HIV epidemic among males who have sex with males (MSM) in India or the extent of anal intercourse (AI) among male-female couples in India or elsewhere. Addressing the second question appears important for, although anal intercourse is not necessary for HIV transmission, its practice among heterosexual couples greatly increases the risk of male-to-female HIV transmission"



Male sex-workers are defined here as ~ Those males who engage in sexual activity with other males or females for the primary purpose of immediate financial and or material gain and the person completes the transaction and such transaction is his source of income ~

Sex worker provides client with the use of his or her body in return for material gain. Working as a prostitute rarely contributes to the individual's sexual gratification.

There is a distinct separation between "work" and the partner at home. We know mostly about women sex workers who work in the sex industry because they are very common. Male sex workers (homosexual, bisexual, heterosexual, and gender variant) are being recognized only in the recent past.²⁴

7. Male sex work

Men are as much a part of the sex industry as women, and so are the gender variant sex workers such as kothis and Hijras²⁵. Unfortunately, until recently, studies on prostitution have focused more on women thereafter on gender variant sex workers.

There is hardly any study on Masculine Male Sex Workers in the Indian context.

Almost all the literature on male sex work in India pertains mainly to the gender variant groups such as kothis and Hijras²⁶ which otherwise in the western construct would be seen as Transvestites (drag queens) or transsexual and male prostitutes offering their services to male or female customers are called Escorts, Hustlers, Rent boys, Trade and Toy boys. Male prostitutes offering services to female customers are also known as escorts and primarily as Gigolos and the most visible segment of Male Sex Workers are Masseurs which offers its services in form of massages such as full body, oils, aromatic to sensuous²⁷; and their clients are from both the genders just as the segment of strip tease dancers or exotic dancers, as potrayed in "Oops!!! & Bombay boys"- The movies.

Male sex workers are recently becoming increasingly visible in India due to urbanization, spurt of Information technology, empowerment of women and commodifying of masculinty. Although male sex workers provide sexual services to a large proportion of male clients, all male sex workers do not identify themselves as gay²⁸. In fact, many male sex workers and masseurs have live-in partners or are married to women and have children²⁹. Male sex workers are also

AIDS & Men who have sex with Men- UNAIDS technical update- May 2000- UNAIDS best practice collection

²⁵ Kotis and Giriyas by Ninad Jog January 15, 2001

²⁶ MSM.HIV/AIDS and Human Rights in south Asia- Shivananda Khan, January 2004

²⁷ HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care in Resource-Constrained Settings- Chapter Eleven, Pg. No. 269,Under the title Prevention Efforts Among MSM in Asia.

²⁸ WHO-Regional Office for the Western Pacific, SEX WORK IN ASIA-JULY 2001

²⁹ Weeks, Jeffery (1995) 'History, Desire, Identities', in Gagnon, J.H. and Richard G. Parker (eds), Conceiving Sexuality p.43.



known to have protected or unprotected sexual intercourse with multiple partners (including female sex workers)³⁰.

8. Historical perspective of male sex work

Among the ancient Indian texts such as, Kamasutra³¹, Kautilya's Arthashashtra³², and Manusmruti³³ were reviewed to know about male sex work and masseurs. Although there were references to homosexuality in all the historical texts, only Kamasutra dealt explicitly with masseurs and male sex workers.

The Kamasutra composed in approximately the third century A.D by Vatsayana describes a "third nature" - verse no 2.9.1. The third natured male, like a hijra, is described as wearing clothing perceived as appropriate for women, and providing oral sex to male customers- verse no 2.9.5. Masseurs who dress, as men also provided oral gratification at public baths verse no 2.9.6-24. Further, there is a mention about the gay men employed as house servants to wealthy vaisyas (merchants) and such servant known for their loyalty.^{34 35}

9. Male sex work – Typology and identities

It is generally assumed that male sex workers are homosexuals or gender variants (Kothis/Hijras)³⁶ as most of their clients are men³⁷ however; most of the masculine male sex workers and masseurs are migrants who come to big cities in search of livelihood. As in case of female sex workers, male sex workers are also poorly empowered to make choices with their customers. Male sex workers and masseurs are known to provide sexual services to both men and women in order to earn a living. Male sex workers such as, Escorts, strip tease dancers and gigolos are known to provide sexual services to women. Thus, the monetary benefits and material gains are the critical factors for the male sex workers, not the gender of the client³⁸.

Male sex workers mainly cater to gay men, and national/ international gay travelers. It is easy to spot such activity, as gay men are more explicit about their sexual needs. Here again there is a breed of sex workers who would not mind to escort male or female traveler clients since it is lucrative³⁹.

³⁰ KABP Study on "Male Sex Workers and Malishwalas in Mumbai Metro

³¹ Kamasutra – Vatsyasena-chapter IX- Auparashtika

³² Kautilya _The Arthashastra- Edited, rearranged, Translated and Introduced by L.N.Rangarajan- Penguin Books

³³ The Laws of Manu- Translated by Wendy Doniger with Brian K. Smith

³⁴ <u>http://www.gaybombay.org/reading/art0001.html</u> - Homosexuality in Ancient India.htm

³⁵ Kamasutra- Kamasutra – Vatsyasena-chapter IX- Auparashtika - <u>www.Abika.com</u>

³⁶ Pukaar, July 2001, Issue 34-1st Gender Variant Males conference held in Calcutta, India, by Pratyay & Pratyush

³⁷ See reference no-7, pg-51 of this report.

³⁸ Test Drive- gigolo-Beginners luck.htm –by Sachin Rao Sunday express-Sunday, December, 12,2004

³⁹ TRAVEL COMPANION AND ESCORT FOR FEMALES TRAVELLING TO INDIA - Travel Accommodations http-maxpages_com-escort.htm



Indian gay identity is in the process of evolving in an Indian setting. Although you can meet Indian gay men who clearly share an identity influenced by the Western gay community, or may have even adopted it, MSW/Masseur have grown up in an environment in which gay, means (Gandu/Chakka/ Napunsak/ Homo - derogatory slang meaning one who gets penetrated or one who is impotent).⁴⁰

Many closeted Indian gay men report fearing that they would become Homo. And we suspect that Indian gay identity, to a certain degree, has evolved in opposition to Homo. So, naturally, the MSW/Masseur would give a good-natured denial. We do mean "good-natured," because being the passive partner or Homo are not negatively emotionally charged, as in the West; Here we should mention that being the receptive partner does not mean a masculine male sex worker "loses" his masculinity, unlike a (heterosexual) Indian man who may see it as losing his "honor" (Ijjat)), since the act is seen as part of his job. Nonetheless, closeted gay men, as well as MSW/Masseur, can feel anxiety about and/or have a preference against anal receptivity. Only sophisticated and well-experienced MSW/Masseur are smart enough to answer that they are "gay" even if they prefer sex and a relationship with women. Most are aware that foreign gay men may have a strong preference only for other gay men.⁴¹

From the above paragraph it is very clear that masculinity is also an issue for these male sex workers. The very thought of them having to indulged in sex with another man or having to accept money from their female clients challenges the traditional norm of masculinity that is defined as the configuration of supremely phallocentric patriarchal, gendered and hierarchal practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. To reaffirm their masculinity they tend to have girl friends, get married and periodically visit red-light areas for their sexual gratification⁴² furthermore they also indulge in substance abuse probably to seek solace⁴³. This compound furthers their sexual habits and increases the risk of spreading infections.⁴⁴

In India "gender variant" male sex workers are known as transgenders -hijra and kothi sex workers and there is a symbolic relationship between Kothis and Hijras. Kothis are feminised homosexual men who feel they are women trapped in a man's body, dress up as women, 'marry' Panthis and perform the role of a wife⁴⁵. Panthis⁴⁶ are men who have sex with kothis, dress and act like 'real men' and perform the role of husbands to their kothis. As already

E-mail: samabhav@samabhav@samabhavanasociety.org Website: www.indiaids.org

⁴⁰ To drag or not to drag- Bombay Dost- Vol 4 No.2

⁴¹ MSM.HIV/AIDS and Human Rights in south Asia- Shivananda Khan, January 2004

⁴² <u>http://www.unfpa.org.in/reports/11_REVISED_Reports&Papers_Rural_Sexual_Behaviour.doc</u>.

⁴³ World AIDS-Preventing HIV: determinants of Sexual Behaviour-Basil Donovan, Michael W. Ross, The Lancet, Vol.355, May 27, 2000

⁴⁴ Amfar AIDS Research-AIDS in Asia- July-8, 2004

⁴⁵ Being a Eunuch- Siddharth Narrain- Frontline 14th October, 2003, <u>www.countercurrents.org</u>

⁴⁶ MSM.HIV/AIDS and Human Rights in south Asia- Shivananda Khan, January 2004

Tel. No. Mumbai - 022- 56880048, 0- 9322836303



explained "gender variant" means that one's biological sex and gender identity are not congruent and similarly kothis those who look, behave, think female confirm that they have an exclusive cliental of straight (heterosexual men) Panthis who pay to have sex with them.⁴⁷

It has been observed that kothis and transgender sex workers (hijras) compete with female sex workers in certain geographical areas of Mumbai such as Kamathipura, Juhu beach. It is evident that most of kothi and transgender sex workers indulge in giving oral sex to their clients which is normally refused by the female sex workers or demand more money from clients for such act. It is also important to note that most kothis / Hijra (Transgender) sex workers seem to indulge in sex work out of their own need for sexual gratification.

10. Male sex work - Evidence

Based on the review of literature covering newspapers, journals and electronic media, all the information is presented in the following paragraphs.

10.1 Journal articles and other publications

Many journals and articles published by different agencies and Institutions highlighted the existence of male sex work in India⁴⁸. "STI/HIV Sex work in Asia" Published by World Health Organization (Regional Office for the Western Pacific) July 2001. Pg. No. 29, pointed out that research on male sex workers in India is even more limited. This is to be expected in a context in which male-male sexual desire is a threat to strong, family-oriented social patterns. However, homosexual behaviors are extremely common. Many of these are non-commercial exchanges but many involve material transactions. There are no clear dividing lines separating the male sex worker from the man who has sex with men. In the same way there is no absolute dividing line between the MSM and the person who is a 'regular' family man with wife and children. In many instances all these behaviors and roles are found in the same individual.

A mapping Study done by AVERT Society also highlighted in Pg. No. 3., that male sex workers (MSW`s) may represent a small proportion of all MSM, but this needs verification.

In Mumbai, police harassment is a frequent experience for male sex workers, The Samabhavana Society, which surveyed 120 male sex workers and Malishwalas in the city in November 2001⁴⁹.... mentions incidence of keeping the male sex workers in jail and have to have sex with the police and other inmates. Most male sex workers are detained for days, depending on the whim of the concerned police officer....

In Chennai the scenario is not too different. "Gay Cultures in Madras, India – Madras" stated that young men of both feminine and masculine identity who sell sex are prevalent at different

⁴⁷ MSM.HIV/AIDS and Human Rights in south Asia- Shivananda Khan, January 2004

 ⁴⁸ "STI/HIV Sex work in Asia" Published by World Health Organization (Regional Office for the Western Pacific) July 2001. Pg. No. 29,
 ⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch report of July 20.14, No. 5 (C), <u>www.hrw.org</u>



places but mainly at Marina Beach, In almost all hotels some of the hotel boys are selling sex on the side. Hence there is an important network "family boys" who operate through brokers. Situational homosexual behavior is common among the military, male cine extra's, college boys who live in all male hostels, rickshaw drivers, truck drivers and their helpers, workers including house servants, soldiers, pupils at schools, prison population. In a study in Madras⁵⁰, it was found that 3 percent of the homosexuals earned their livings as dancers and/or sex workers. It is further reported in this study that most of the men were between the ages of 21 and 30, and took both active and passive roles in unprotected anal and oral intercourse.

In the "Lessons learned in India written by Maitreya, India, published in "SPAM, " there is a clear identification of male sex worker groups. She referred that there is a distinct category of male sex workers, who should be addressed independently....... right now there is enough confusion in these MSM project.

There are also estimates of the married sex male sex workers in Mumbai⁵¹. Health workers estimate that 40 percent of Bombay's male prostitutes are married.

UNAIDS realizes the importance of working with this group and they did mention in one of their technical update (UNAIDS Technical update of May 2000 issue under the title AIDS and men who have sex with me) that lack of interest among donor agencies in supporting and sustaining prevention programs among men who engage in same-sex behavior, and a lack of programs addressing male sex workers in particular.

In one of the article of Bombay Dost titled "HIV, AIDS and sexually transmitted infections – care, support and prevention – AIDS activities, under the title Reaching Out", mentions that one of the most mobile and invisible groups involved in the sex industry is male sex workers. Reaching male sex workers, however, poses a greater challenge,... Chowpatty beach – a kilometer long stretch of sand used by around 600 male sex workers as a place to sell their services. mostly to Uttar Pradesh Aged between 12 and 50 years, these men call themselves Malishwalas. They are the most visible of the male sex workers in Bombay. Bar boys, fast-food waiters and others also sell sex, but not on a regular basis. Malishwalas are usually recruited by more senior men through caste links. The senior and their peers tell them that a bright future awaits them in Bombay – and they leave with dreams of finding jobs in the Hindi film industry. They end up being trained, by men from their own castes, as masseurs whose intention is clear: they sell sex, too. This is also clear in one of the articles namely "HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care in Resource-Constrained Settings- Chapter Eleven, Pg. No. 269.

⁵⁰ The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality: India – 6. homoerotic, homosexual, and Ambisexual Behaviors. Jayaji Krishna Nath, M.D., and Vishwarath R. Nayar

⁵¹ "CDC NEWS UPDATES titled HIV/AID, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, and tuberculosis Prevention News Update published on 19th November 2002



Under the title Prevention Efforts Among MSM in Asia". Non-gay- identified MSM, including the "massage boys" of one of Mumbai's beaches, in certain public sex environments and within several other sexual networks operates and sell sex.

India's Poor: Some Episodes' by Kenneth Champeon.

One evening while walking to Chowpatty I was approached by a masseur. One of the masseurs took hold of my hand. He squeezed and rubbed it; he pulled my fingers until they cracked. Then he began to work on my head: this entailed painfully rubbing my hair. The police arrived and poked the masseur with their lathis. He scurried away, but as soon as the police were gone he returned. The police returned and demanded that I leave also. As I headed back to the road the masseur appeared again. He offered to come to my home and continue the massage there. I began walking down the street but he followed. I pushed him away but he tried to grab my crotch and said, "Fucksies." Then I began to run, and I must have run a kilometer before I lost him. I never went to Chowpatty alone after that. Even when I was in the company of a friend, masseurs would follow whisper, and us "Sex massage."

The mobile population is also having a good share of male sex work happening within the community. "Long distance truck drivers in India: HIV infection and their possible role in disseminating HIV into rural areas' written by Singh YN. Malaviya AN. Published in Pub Med from 'Department of Medicine. All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi.' International Journal of STD AIDS. 1994 Mar-Apr; 5(2): 137-8 states that Sixty percent of the drivers were married with families, were all of the wayside prostitutes, and none of the male prostitutes. 78% of drivers admitted having multiple heterosexual partners, including prostitutes and 5% admitted to regular homosexual sexual encounters. While heterosexual transmission is assumed to be the primary route of infection, there is also a significant level of male-to-male sexual activity. Truck drivers in India are known to have multiple sexual relationships with both men and women. Moving through the major cities of India, they often visit female or male sex workers every two to three days as stated in " AIDS in Asia".⁵²

Even in research priority areas male sex work received immense importance. "Sexual Behavior and AIDS in India by Moni Nag. 1999", listed 8 high priority topics for research: "Clients of Female Sex Workers," "Female Sex Workers living outside red-light areas," "Sexually exploited and violated groups," "Male homosexuals and male sex workers," "Sexual networks of persons

⁵² http://www.amfar.org/cgi-bin/iowa/asia/index.html



with high risk of HIV transmission," "Women's control over sex in marital relations," "Sex education among adolescents," and "Strategies for increasing the use of condoms." "Combating HIV/AIDS in INDIA 1999-2000 published by NACO. Section 10- Targeted Intervention - Pg. No. 60.under the heading "Sexually Exploited Male Children and Male Child Prostitute", It intends to study the situation of male child prostitutes in Bangalore and aims to provide awareness on these issues and create interventions based on the research findings.

AIDS ASIA. Men Who Have Sex With Men written by Shivananda Khan. Published the IHO in India, issue 6 October 1994. Pg. No. 21.

Ranjan is a male prostitute, a young man of 16 who plies his "business" in Central Madras near the railway station. He has done this since he was 13, when he had run away from home because of the beatings of his father. He never wants to go back home. He says that he enjoys his "work" because it gives him a lot of money, even though sometimes his clients are rough. He is saving money to buy a small business. He doesn't call himself a homosexual, even though he enjoys the sex. It is only business.

10.2 Press clippings

In many leading newspapers of India there are numerous reports on the existence and nature of male sex work in India. The clippings have clearly identified the locations and the groups that are involved in such activities. The existence of such activities is not only limited in the metro cities but also has reached to the relatively smaller towns. Many of the newspaper have also highlighted the amount of money involved in such sex transactions. The client profile of the male sex workers is mainly the gay men or socialite women mostly from Chennai, Delhi or Mumbai. And a report from have clearly identified a strong community of masseurs in the beaches of Chowpatty, Juhu and in an around the market place who renders paid sexual services.

Indian Express- Mumbai, 20th Feb 1994 reports, while there are satisfying and mutually fulfilling homosexual relationship, there is correspondingly, a growth in the buying and selling of sex, from discotheques to pubs. Pick up points for gays are proliferating as fast as the trade is growing. Not all exchanges are voluntary and as the increasing trafficking in this trade grows, youngsters and students in need of money become targets of extortions, blackmails and prostitution. The age group of the men who offer such services is between the ages of 16 and 60. Youngsters – most of them from distant places who come here in search of jobs- are seduced by promises of a good job and plenty of money. But they often wind up in the bedroom



of a homosexual, only to get abused and exploited. Once a victim enters this maze, there is virtually no way out.

There are reports of escorts, gigolos, male strippers, hen and bachelor parties and also massage parlors in all the leading newspapers of the metros.

The Times of India, Monday, January 17, 2005 – City Supplements: Kanpur Times reports of not only men but women too are enamored with the idea of having hen parties. On the condition of anonymity a member of a ladies group informs, "Yes her parties are in. Recently we had a wild party that was based on the Kama Sutra theme. The attraction of the party were male strippers who came all they way from Mumbai."

The extent of money is exchanged through such acts has also got mention in many of the articles. The Pioneer – 24/8/1997 – What's there to be gay about anyway? Written by Punam Thakur reveal that one in every 10 homosexuals sells sex and not with out reason, as there is a lot of money to be made. Ajay, 20, a commercial sex worker for the last two years, says he makes Rs. 5,000 a month by servicing 50 clients. Ajay is uneducated and has only Rs. 2000 when he was employed in an export house so he prefers to indulge in commercial sex.

Male sex work is a known activity in the Mumbai film industry. HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi, India – May 1, 2003 reports that gender discrimination is passé in Bollywood – both men and women are subject to the casting couch, says supermodel-turned-struggling actor Marc Robinson. Man-management skills could in fact be helping a majority of male to boost their sagging careers in tinsletown, he alleges. "There are certain directors and producers who have a taste for eligible companions of the same sex. With sexuality being seen as a matter of choice, such liaisons are far more acceptable today than they were just a few years ago. (See Annexure for detail information)

10.3 Male sex workers on the Internet

Exchanging sexual favors for money by men through Internet network is a regular phenomenon but a recent happening. In Yahoo the first group- escorts_India⁵³was created in the year 2000 where Indian men offered sexual favors to both Indian men and women at a price. These groups have glorified Indian men and many of the escort service providers have marketed Kamasutra and masculinity of Indian men to get international client's as this is an easy way to earn more money. The language for communication is English. Membership is open for all. Anyone can post messages. Message archive is viewable by members only. Messages require approvals and e-mail attachments are permitted.

⁵³ <u>http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/escorts_india</u>



In yahoo there are individuals who have listed themselves as groups. The Indian list is consisting of 214 and the international are consisting of 287 groups. The prices that are expected vary from Rs.500 to any limits including gifts and payment of room/food/movie tickets and other incidental charges depending on a wide range of services. Contacts including e-mail addresses and phone numbers are given. These services are offered at any convenient location identified by the clients. The groups are classified under gigolo, male strippers and escorts. Description of some of the classified groups is given below.

A) Gigolos

The gigolo services in India are generally targeted to the lonely, socialite older women who can afford to pay good money to the service providers. Some of the groups also target rich gay men. The advertisement gives details of the services they provide including contact number and other details. The services are offered all over India. Most of the men travel from one city to the other for services. The services include companionship to sexual favors depending upon the client needs. The analysis clearly shows that all the gigolo services are paid. Most of the messages even mention the fees charged for various services provided. The payment varies from Rs.500 to any limits depending upon the number of days and kind of services provided. On an average for a night the charges are around Rs.1, 500-2,000. The age group is between 18-40 years. There are mentions of gigolo clubs where a group of men get together and offer services to women clients according to the needs.

In an article in the Sunday Express, December 12, 2004, on the gigolo's it is stated that there are 50,000 male prostitutes in Mumbai. This article also says that the young boys in this trade can earn up to Rs.50, 000 for one night. In Mumbai Travel Report, Saturday July 20 2002, there is a mention of a club in Colaba named VOODOO, a pick up joint for girls and gay men. They provide any services at a minimal cost of Rs.1, 500 for any sexual favors. The clients need not bother for rooms as the same building houses a hotel for such services. The same Mumbai Travel on Saturday, May 15, 2004 reports of a hotel in Nariman Point where MBA graduate gigolos in their early 20s offer services to women at a cost of Rs1, 500-1,800 per night. Mentioned below is the detail analysis of similar sites on the net.

i) Gigoloinmumbai4U: http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/gigoloinmumbai4u

This is a group for the women where men offer paid sexual services. This was created in September 2003. The total number of membership is 3,423. The total numbers of messages posted are 2,167. The analysis of messages reflects that sexual services are offered to women at a cost ranging from Rs. 500 to any limits. Few of the messages have expressed the willingness of offering services for gifts if not money. The messages are clearly not reflecting any interest towards committed relationship.



In-depth analysis of few messages shows that negotiation for money and other expenses like room, food and movie ticket costs are to be borne by the client. There are different charges for different kind of services. The level of risk behavior cannot be measured as very few messages are talking of condom use for vaginal and anal sex. There was no mention of condoms when oral sex was talked about.

ii) Hardlunds: http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/hardlunds

The group is talking of an e space where adults can share their feelings and exchange views related to intimate relationship. This was created in December 2002 and currently they have 10,000 members. The total numbers of messages posted are 10,812. The analysis is showing that this is a place where men and women can access services but mostly men offer services. The messages are even talking of offering services to couples. The services are for fun as well as there are mentions of paid services.

iii) Gayindiapersonals: http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/gayindiapersonals

The group is dedicated to all the gay guys in India who want to meet other gay guys for romance, relationship or whatever works for them. This was created in March 2003. The total numbers of members are 1,014. The total numbers of messages posted are 2009. This is primarily targeted at the gay community. The analysis of messages is not really reflecting paid male sex work. Very few of the total number of messages are talking of exchanging sexual favors for money. Most of the messages are talking of gay parties, gay events and even asking for gays to share apartments for fun and relationship. Risk behavior could be alarmingly high but it is difficult to establish the idea of paid sexual services offered by men.

iv) HOTdesiBOYZ: http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/HOTdesiBOYZ

This group is a forum for people to share their appreciation of males originating from the Asian subcontinent. This group was created in April 2004. The total number of membership is 2034 as of date. The total numbers of messages posted are 849. The analysis of all messages clearly indicates a considerable number of messages from Indian nationals. There are incidences of foreign nationals coming to India and looking for partners. Though explicitly none of the members have talked about money but the message profile clearly indicates that members are soliciting for paid services as messages are directly talking of sex and not of other issues like love, companionship. This is a group for the men and is clearly indicating male sex work with the men.

10.4) Escorts:

The escort services in India are offering services to male and female clientele in India as well as other destinations outside India. One of the web site registers, 1,56,000 male escorts in India.



For advertisement they register them in different web pages. The advertisement give descriptions of the types of services offered along with age, sex and physical descriptions of an individual including their language proficiency. All of them have said English as the mode of communication that clearly indicates that they are not only providing services to local clients but clients from all over India as well as clients from other international destinations.

These are all paid services and the advertisements are quite explicit in saying that sex is a part of the entire package. The payments vary from \$10 for an hour to \$100 for one night. The travel, boarding and lodging cost of the escort is to be borne by the client in addition to the fees offered. The age of these escorts are from 18 to 45. As part of the profiles, an escort may include erotic material and nude photographs. There are advertisements where males highlighted their exposure even in country's outside India as part of their credibility. Most of the escorts are male providing services either to male or to female clients. It is difficult to assess the risk perception and knowledge level of these escorts as very few of them has mentioned of condom use for exchanging sexual favors. Some of the similar sites are analyzed for better understanding of the groups.

i) Escorts India: http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/escorts_india

This is site for escort services in Indian cities. This was created in November 2000. The total number of membership is 1046. The total number of messages posted are 2,247. The analysis of messages indicates that men and women are providing escort services across India for Indian as well as foreign nationals. The messages clearly say that this is a paid service though it is not explicitly talking of sexual service. But certain phrases like "we are open for any kind of business" and vivid physical descriptions of the individual escorts is hinted to sexual services as part of the other services provided by these escorts. This is not only talking of male paid sex work but female sex work as well, though majority of messages posted are of males.

ii) Erotic_Indian_escorts:http://groups.yahoo.com/groups/erotic_indian_escorts

This group is to support adult tourism, to provide all information on erotic escorts, intimate travel companions and masseurs and is available for foreign tourists and select Indians. This was created in December 2003. Currently they have 2525 members. The total numbers of messages posted are 6209. The analysis of messages are indicating towards paid sex services as many messages are talking of escort services including staying with the individuals for many days and of offering any kind of services. These services are offered by both the sexes. Many women have posted messages seeking services from males.



10.5) Male strip dancers

Male strippers are not an uncommon feature in India. These are new groups that exist to provide sexual services to the men and women of a higher income group bracket. These strip shows are not only happening in the metro cities like Mumbai, Kolkata and Delhi but also in small towns like Lucknow and Kanpur. In an article in City Supplements-Kanpur Times it is stated that the trend of organizing such parties are increasing and not only men but women are also organizing and attending such parties. They perform in private parties, in hotels and also in marriages. The commonest are the bachelor and hen parties organized by the socialites.

These are increasingly becoming common, is supported by even Hindi movies like "OOPS" where it was clearly shown that male strippers are performing and exchanging sexual favors for money. Male strippers earn from Rs.5, 000 to Rs.25, 000 for a show of couple of hours. It is difficult to estimate numbers of strippers, but anecdotal evidence suggests that the strip shows are becoming increasingly common in most of the large cities.

11. Male sex work as depicted on the electronic media

The analysis of the movies, documentaries, News Clippings and Soap Opera-on channel Star One Siddhanth indicates the existence of two kinds of male sex work/workers. One that we see in movies like Kamasutra which is homosexuality for pleasure, and the other that we see in more recent movies like "Oops" where sexual favors are exchanged by men for money. All the movies accepted the fact that male prostitute or in other words paid male sex work exists. Movies are nothing but a reflection of our practices in the society. The movies are running full house also indicates that Indian society has the acceptance of male sex work as a profession though people are not forthcoming to accept this in public. The news clips are not talking of male sex work but the hijra and kothi sex workers engagement in sex work for money. These sex workers are providing sexual favors to men for money. A detailed analysis of movies, documentaries and news clips with portrayals of men getting paid for providing services exclusively sexual in nature is given in the annexure.

12. Masseurs of Mumbai Chowpatty

One of the earliest research work on masseurs appeared on Bombay Dost – a gay magazine of Mumbai. "Chowpatty beach – a kilometer long stretch of sand used by around 600 male sex workers as a place to sell their services. mostly from Uttar Pradesh aged between 12 and 50 years, these men called themselves Malishwalas. They were considered to be the most visible of the male sex workers in Bombay. Malishwalas were reported to be recruited by more senior men through caste links". ⁵⁴

⁵⁴ HIV, AIDS and sexually transmitted infections – care, support and prevention – AIDS activities, under the title Reaching Out. Bombay Dost.



In the year 2002, Vamp news published an article on police abuse on HIV/AIDS outreach and peer workers where masseurs figured as victims of such abuse. The article indicated how the masseurs were regularly harassed by the Mumbai police for money and sex. While citing the research of work of Samabhavana with 120 masseurs, how masseurs were kept in jail to have sex with the police and other inmates were pointed out. Further, most male sex workers were reported to detain from 3-7 days, depending on the whim of the concerned police officer.⁵⁵

Male sex workers are a group at once reviled and invisible in India, and they are at very high risk of HIV/AIDS. Few studies have been done of their situation, but in November 2001 the Samabhavana Society in Mumbai, an organization registered with the municipality of Mumbai, surveyed 120 male sex workers and Malishwalas or masseurs to get some idea of their concerns, HIV/AIDS knowledge and behavior. In this sample, 43 percent of the male sex workers were married, highlighting the overlap of these men with the general population. The average number of sex partners reported by this group was eleven male partners per month and two female partners per month, another indication of the degree to which this population is integrated with a wider population not normally considered at high risk⁵⁶.

"Jasmir Thakur, the secretary of Samabhavana Society, noted that it was difficult to estimate the number of male sex workers in any Indian city since the population is so hidden, but it is thought to be between 5,000 and 10,000 in Mumbai^{"57}. A report on mapping of sex workers and service outlets in Maharashtra mentioned about the presence of a group of male sex workers known as Malishwalas operating on the beaches of Mumbai. The study also indicated the need for estimating the proportion of male sex workers among the MSM population group⁵⁸.

13. Summary and Conclusion

Male sex workers and the masseur community are marginalized group in India.

They are prone to HIV/AIDS infection and their vulnerability increases by the secretive nature of their work. Male sex workers are confronted with specific problems and various forms of discrimination. They suffer from low self-esteem and do not have access to the support services. Media representations of the male sex workers and the masseurs community in India is highly stereotyped and often has a damaging impact on the self-esteem, sexual identity and health of the male sex workers and the masseur community.

As male sex workers and masseurs are known to involve in risky sexual behaviors, they are vulnerable to STI/HIV. Thus, there is a need for more information about male sex workers and

⁵⁵ Police abuse HIV/AIDS peer educators in India. Vampnews, 1(3). November 2002.

⁵⁶ Samabhavana Society, (2001), Knowledge, attitude, behavior and perception towards HIV/AIDS. A study among the male sex workers and the masseur community in Mumbai, November 2001.

⁵⁷ Human Rights Watch, (2002), Epidemic of abuse: Police harassment of HIV/AIDS outreach workers in India. Human Rights Watch, 14 (5). July 2002

⁵⁸ Family Health International, (2001), Mapping of commercial sex access points and relevant service outlets in Maharashtra. Family Health International, New Delhi.



masseurs that would help plan interventions among them and promote advocacy efforts for reducing their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

The methodology adopted for the study was to review literature covering the period 1985-2004. However, some of the important ancient texts were also reviewed. All the available media material including journals, newspapers, television, and movies were reviewed to gather information.

Some studies on sexual behavior, notably by Alfred Kinsey (1948, and 1953) indicated that when asked to rate themselves on a continuum from completely heterosexual to completely homosexual, and when the individual's behavior as well as their identity is analyzed, a majority of the people appears to be at least somewhat bisexual. Some people engage in homosexual behaviors for reasons other than desire. One example is hustlers, who are usually young men who make money through prostitution with men. Some hustlers are probably homosexual themselves, but a significant number of them are not. Different sexual identities such as gay, homosexuals, bisexuals, gay married men, behavioral bisexual men, transgender, kothis, transsexual, intersexuals, polymorous, lesbians, asexual have been discussed in the review report.

Sex work is defined as the sale of services (typically manual stimulation, oral sex, sexual intercourse, or anal sex) for money or other kind of return, generally indiscriminately with many persons. A person selling sexual favours is a prostitute and dictionary meaning is somebody who receives money in return for sexual intercourse or other acts, a type of sex worker. In a more general sense of the word, anyone selling their services for a cause thought to be unworthy can also be described as prostitutes are stigmatized in most societies and religions; their customers are typically stigmatized to a lesser degree. The term prostitution is sometimes used in the general meaning of having sex in order to achieve a certain goal different from procreation or pleasure

Masculine Male sex workers have become increasingly visible in India recently to urbanization, emancipation of feminity and commodifying of masculinty; and although male sex workers provide sexual services to a large proportion of male clients, most male sex workers do not identify themselves as gay. In fact, many male sex workers and masseurs are married to women or have live-in partners and children. Male sex workers are also known to have protected or unprotected sexual intercourse with multiple partners (including female sex workers).

Male sex-workers are defined as those males who engage in sexual activity with other males or females for the primary purpose of immediate financial and or material gain as a source of income.



Although there were references to homosexuality in all the historical texts, only Kamasutra dealt explicitly with masseurs and male sex workers. Male sex workers and masseurs are known to provide sexual services to both men and women in order to earn a living. Male sex workers such as, Escorts, strip tease dancers and gigolos are known to provide sexual services to women. Thus, the monetary benefits and material gains are the critical factors for the male sex workers, not the gender of the client.

Homosexual male sex workers mainly cater to gay men, and national/ international gay travelers. It is easy to spot such activity, as gay men are more explicit about their sexual needs.

Review of literature covering newspapers, journals and electronic media, related information has been discussed. Newspapers clearly bring about the existence of the different groups of male sex workers including masseurs. Among the Journal articles and other publications, WHO stresses the need for more study among male sex workers. Some other journals highlight the police harassment of male sex workers. UNAIDS technical update pointed out that there is lack of interest among donors in supporting HIV/AIDS prevention program among male sex workers. One of the earliest publication "Bombay Dost" indicated that there were more than 600 masseurs were operating on Chowpatty beach.

Exchanging sexual favors for money by men through Internet network is a regular phenomenon but a recent happening in the last half a decade. In Yahoo the first group was created in the year 2000 where Indian men offered sexual favors to both Indian men and women at a price. These groups have glorified Indian men and many of the escort service providers have marketed Kamasutra and masculinity of Indian men to get international client's as this is an easy way to earn more money.

Male sex workers are a group at once reviled and invisible in India, and they are at very high risk of HIV/AIDS. Few studies have been done of their situation, but in November 2001 the Samabhavana Society in Mumbai, an organization registered with the Charity Commissioners office of Mumbai, surveyed 120 male sex workers and Malishwalas or masseurs to get some idea of their concerns, HIV/AIDS knowledge and behavior. In this sample, 43 percent of the male sex workers were married, highlighting the overlap of these men with the general population. The average number of sex partners reported by this group was eleven male partners per month and two female partners per month, another indication of the degree to which this population is integrated with a wider population not normally considered at high risk⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ Samabhavana Society, (2001), Knowledge, attitude, behavior and perception towards HIV/AIDS. A study among the male sex workers and the masseur community in Mumbai, November 2001.



A report on mapping of sex workers and service outlets in Maharashtra mentioned about the presence of a group of male sex workers known as Malishwalas operating on the beaches of Mumbai. The study also indicated the need for estimating the proportion of male sex workers among the MSM population group.

The review of literature clearly provides substantial evidence of existence of masseurs and various other groups of masculine male sex workers in Mumbai and elsewhere. However there is no sufficient information about size and nature of the groups. There is a strong need for indepth study among these groups to know about the nature of sexual transaction and the HIV/AIDS vulnerability. Designing intervention among male sex workers and masseurs would require further need assessment addressing issues- locations, size of the groups, client profile, sexual practices, knowledge about safe sex practices. Different groups of male sex workers might need differential strategies depending on the nature of the group.

Samabhavana society in its work with Male Sex Workers (MSW) and Masseurs over the last five years has identified some key issues to work with the male sex workers. They are as follows:

Migration Rural – Urban Longer working hours Poor living and working condition Social isolation Poor access to basic amenities	Urbanization Literacy Economic instability Impact on health services Environmental degradation Spurt of Information technology 			
Sexualization of feminity	Commodifying Masculinity			
 Empowerment of women- Education Financial independence- two income theology, women equalling men in all sphere of industry Birth control - Emanicipation of women Media depiction of women in position of power and decision Emanicipation of familial traditions - Womens movement 	 Desire Sperm banks Media portrayals of men's bodies 			

Prevention programmes must be specifically targeted at men and

tailored according to different men's needs.



Annexure-1: Homosexuality and homosexual identities

Some studies on sexual behavior, notably by Alfred Kinsey (1948, and 1953) indicated that when asked to rate themselves on a continuum from completely heterosexual to completely homosexual, and when the individual's behavior as well as their identity is analyzed, a majority of the people appears to be at least somewhat bisexual. Some people engage in homosexual behaviors for reasons other than desire. One example is hustlers, who are usually young men who make money through prostitution with men. Some hustlers are probably homosexual themselves, but a significant number of them are not.⁶⁰ Different homosexual identities have been discussed in the following paragraphs.

a) Gay-Homosexuals

Gay homosexuals are those having sexual and/or emotional feelings towards other people of the same sex and sexual behavior with people of the same sex. Describing oneself as homosexual.

b) Bisexuals

Bisexuality is the potential to feel sexually attracted to and to engage in sensual or sexual relationships with people of either sex. A bisexual person may not be equally attracted to both sexes, and the degree of attraction may vary over time.

c) Gay Married Man (GAMMA)

Many homosexual men have been marrying straight woman in order to get a safe cover for their true sexual orientation, and not all married homosexual men have come to terms with or acknowledged their sexual preferences. Such men try to deny what they really feel due to the fear of society's condemnation of homosexuality. Often they put up a manly behavior and try to show that they are attractive to and can attract women.

d) Behavioral bisexual men (Prisoners, etc)

Persons due to lack of opposite sexual companion and to under the influence of power at times show bisexual behavior as in prisoners, etc

e) Gender Variant or Transgender- is an umbrella term

Hijras/Ali`s or chakkas as we know them in India are the third gender maybe due to there way of lifestyle or the castration that they undergo to be known as Hijras or Transgender, that means the gender that has been interchanged. The hijra community is a group of interlocking matriarchal, ecumenical, and communal religious, social orders. The hijra of India are a cult group who renounce male sexuality, and identify with the creative power of the Mother Goddess and god Shiva. Although they may use male, female, or gender-neutral pronouns for any given individual, they insist that hijra as a group is referred to with feminine pronouns. The traditional occupation of a hijra is a performer. They may have sex with men or become prostitutes. The hijra have a penectomy and orchiectomy (removal of penis and testicles).

Kothis are feminized males who feel that they are women trapped in a men's body. They dress up as women, marry panthis (masculine men), perform the role of a wife, and get penetrated from their panthi/other sexual partner.

g) Transsexuals

Transsexual, both before and following surgery, may be heterosexual, bisexual, Lesbian, or celibate, with the proportion of celibacy being somewhat higher than with the general population of women. Transsexuals are people who find their gender identity - the sense of themselves as male or female - in conflict with their anatomical sex. Some transsexuals may live part time in their self-defined gender. Many desire to live fully in their self-identified gender. Some undergo hormone therapy and sex reassignment surgery. People born in the body associated with one gender but believe internally that they are of another gender. Transvestites are also known as cross dressers. Most cross dressers are heterosexual men who cross-dress for pleasure. Bisexual and gay men who cross-dress usually do so for entertainment purposes, making fun of what it means to be a man.

⁶⁰ http://www.4reference.net/encyclopedias/wikipedia



h) Intersexuals (historically known as hermaphrodites)

A person born with mixed sexual physiology, with a physical manifestation of genital/genetic/endochronological differentiation which is different from the cultural norm. Intersexuals often are "assigned" a boy/girl gender, and surgery is done soon after birth to "correct" their "problem." The problem may well be our society's tightly held view that there are only 2 genders.

i) Polyamorous

Polymorous is the non-possessive, honest, responsible and ethical philosophy and practice of loving multiple people simultaneously. Polyamory emphasizes consciously choosing how many partners one wishes to be involved with rather than accepting social norms which dictate loving only one person at a time. Polyamory is an umbrella term that integrates traditional multi-partner relationship terms with more evolved egalitarian terms. Polyamory embraces sexual equality and all sexual orientations towards an expanded circle of spousal intimacy and love. Polyamory is from the root words "poly" meaning many and "amour" meaning love hence "many loves" or polyamory.

j) Lesbians

Lesbians are women loving other women. They are women who are sexually attracted to other women. They are also women who feel emotionally and spiritually closer to women. Women who prefer women as their partners are lesbians. Transgendered women are those women who think they are men trapped in women's body.

k) Asexual

A person who does not experience sexual attraction is asexual. Asexual people experience a minimal level of sexual attraction just as straight men experience negligible attraction to other men.



Samabhavana Society



Annexure-2: Press clippings

1. Sunday observer-19 July 1994 by A.T.Jayanti.

I ran away from home, which is near Salem in Tamil Nadu and came to Bombay, I arrived at V.T Station and on making some enquiries found out that many eunuchs lived in this area. I came here and began taking on customers right away; soon I had earned enough to have a castration done.

2. The Statesman – Delhi, 8th Feb 1998, by Annam Suresh. Homosexuality is a taboo and homosexual sex workers even more so. They operate on the

sly through shady channels and shadier contacts, caught in a sad limbo between their own

desires and the need to make a living.

3. COVER STORY- Inside the world of Homosexuals- Arvind Kala`s New book, Invisible minority, explores the gay experience- SUNDAY 15-21 March 1992.

" In Bombay I go to chowpatty, the litter strewn half kilometer of beach, where I met two gays and says he had sex with a masseur for an agreed price of Rs.30, but when the sex was over, the masseur flexed his muscles, demanded rs.100 and got them, when we talk one masseurs approaches us "Maalish seth?" he asks, he is around 18, an earring adorns his ear.

4. Sex shops thriving in Delhi- Indian Express, Bombay, 12th September 1981.

"Are there medicines available in the market? We will make them for you and the massage that also here?, the charge he adds are Rs, 500, 700, Rs 1,000 depending....... What do I need " we will begin with Rs.500, the treatment will continue for 20 days with our medicines and a daily massage" he specifies the parts of the body which need to be massaged. In the subsequent conversation remains on the massage.

5. COVER STORY -The nether world – Beneath the prudish exterior of the urban Indian, Promiscuity Flourishes- SUNDAY 7- 13 JUNE 1992.

In Bombay, restaurants in five star hotels and certain bars (which turn exclusively gay in the late evenings) are the favorite haunts for homosexuals. Those who go in for impersonal sex with a male prostitutes frequent the public toilets near a five star hotel and are never disappointed.

6. The Pioneer, Delhi, 11th August 1993- Choli song controversy highlights sexual hypocrisy in India.

There are classified in major newspapers like, The Times of India " Complete relaxation by massage to ladies/gents massagers available."

7. The Pioneer- Delhi, 9th March 1994- Homosexuality not rampant in Prisons- Staff Reporter.

We interacted with two youth intimates of Tihar. There was a group of 300 to 350 in each prison. Most of them agreed that they had indulged in pre – jail prostitution or sexual activities as well as homosexual activities.

8. Indian Express, Mumbai 21st June 2003. Alappuzha turns haven for male sex workers: Survey.



The survey has identified 144 men who are homosexual or both heterosexual and homosexual. Nearly 30 percent of them are in flesh tread. The survey found that among the male sex workers, there are even some college students.

9. Indian Express- Mumbai, 20th Feb 1994- The Gay Kingdom- by M Gautham Machaiah

While there are satisfying and mutually fulfilling homosexual relationship, there is correspondingly, a growth in the buying and selling of sex, from discotheques to pubs, pick up points for gays are proliferating as fast as the trade is growing.

Not all exchanges are voluntary and as the increasing trafficking in this trade grows, youngsters and students in need of money become targets of extortions, blackmails and prostitution. The players in this game are anywhere between the ages of 16 and 60. And new ones are join the ranks every year. Youngsters – most of them from distant places who come here in search of jobs- are seduced by promises of a good job and plenty of money. But they often wind up in the bedroom of a homosexual, only to be abused and exploited. Once a victim enters this maze, there is virtually no way out.

10. The Pioneer- Delhi, 30th Sept 1997, GENDER- Jeremy Seabrook on Indian men who have sex with other men – NOT 'STRAIGHT,' NOT GAY.

A 19-year-old tribal boy new in Delhi is drawn to the park, where he is sexually abused daily for a few rupees. On one Sunday afternoon, I met government servant, professional soldiers, garment workers, a rickshaw driver, an electrician, Students, Hotel workers, an engineer, a dancer, some sex workers. A boy of18 lives by offering oral sex. He disappears into the jungle with a customer. At Rs 20-50 a time, he earns up to Rs. 300 a day.

11. The Times of India, Mumbai, 6th Oct 1995, The Times of India News Service. Meager pay leads to gay's murder- when a middle aged homosexual refused to pay youths more then Rs.5 for sex, three of them decided to make him pay.

12. Times of India, Downtown Plus, Friday, October 18, 2002 by Anil Sadarangani. If lasts week arrests of the Bengali youth making living as a prostitute in Mumbai trains was a telling comment on survival tactics, south Mumbai's, Colaba reveals much more. While young boys are sexually exploited by those who frequent this area.

13. Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 17th Aug 2004 – CRUISE CRCUIT by Archis Mohan.

Top and bottom massage parlor. Full body massage with male to male. Contact David at', the classifieds from Monday mornings newspaper is nothing but an invitation for men looking for a male prostitute. For the uninitiated, 'Top' means an active partner while 'Bottom' denotes a passive one. David said he could get a young male between 18 to 25, and it is just not massage, this male will fulfill all your needs, but for a price which can be anywhere between Rs.1, 000 to Rs.2, 500. Finding a male prostitute in the city is not difficult such massage parlors are a dime a dozen. They can be found at several places in Delhi – Sanjay Park, Nehru Park and Sangam Cinema are just a few places.

- 14. The Times of India Pune edition 3rd March 2004 by Rekha Kumar Article on Samabhavana Society.
- 15. The Times of India, Monday March 8, 2004- Pune Times- Rewriting the Sex Code by Rekha Kumarr.
- 16. Welcome to the world of Male 'escorts' or male commercial sex workers in Pune. Be it the need for money or sheer pleasure, the numbers of such 'escorts' is clearly on the rise in the city The Samabhavana society, An NGO working for individuals with alternate sexuality, reveals that the number of male escorts in Pune is close to 500.



17. Sunday Express, Sunday, December 12, 2004 – Beginner's Luck – written by Sachin Rao – photograph by Neeraj Priyadarshi.

There are an estimated 50,000 male prostitutes in Mumbai.

18. The Times of India - Oops, striptease is the new male order. Times News Network,

Saturday, July 12, 2003 – Oops, striptease is the new male order.

Ali is a professional stripper in great demand, earning Rs. 25,000 for one two-hour strip show at private parties.

- 19. Deccan Herald, Tuesday, August 17, 2004 Gays, male prostitutes under police scanner – from Indo Asian News service, New Delhi, Aug 16.
- 20. Police have swooped down on dozens of male prostitutes and transsexuals catering to affluent gays in Delhi while probing the grisly murder of two young men that shocked the capital.
- The Hindu Online edition of India's National Newspaper Sunday, September 02, 2001. (Fallen Angels: The Sex Workers of South Asia, edited by John Frederick and Thomas L. Kelly, Roli Books, P.168)

He follows the young male sex workers who hang around places like Delhi's Connaught place. He describes the choices faced by a young boy of 16 who comes to the city to look for work and gets drawn into this other life.

- 22. Bollywood's Full Monty by Zubair Ahmed BBC correspondent in Bombay. Bollywood in India has long been known for its chaste storylines and traditional song and dance routines. But now, the Hindi film industry, based in Bombay (Mumbai), is set to release a clutch of daring, sexually explicit films. Even though male strippers are not common in India, Tijori claims they do exist: "I bumped into this whole new society which is there in our country and that's about the socialite, the high society women."
- 23. The Hindu online edition of India's National Newspaper Tuesday, June 03, 2003 Metro Plus Hyderabad.
 Kamalaksh Shetty and Ali Reza who strip as a vacation. And they do it matter-of- factly. "We are honest about our profession. It needs lots of guts," says Ali, and "work outs......" Their recent show at Underdeck, Taj Banjara, had three synchronized sequences with Hip-hop, Rap and

Bollywood masala jhamas.... Oops, a Hinglish film is a take off on their lives.....

- 24. Bombay Blush, a BBC show throwing light on different aspects on Mumbai, Profiled them for the 'lifestyle of a stripper'. The show had several re-runs.... They have done shows in Mumbai, Pune, Bangalore and New Delhi. The audience is 20-30 year-olds for the bridal showers and the 50-plus women for the hen nights.
- 25. The Times of India, Monday, January 17, 2005 City Supplements: Kanpur
- 26. Times. Akele Hum to Kya Hai Gum written by Sumit Jha Times News Network, Tuesday, January 18, 2005.

Not only men but women too are enamoured with the idea. On the condition of anonymity a member of a ladies group informs, "Yes her parties are in. recently we had a wild party, which was based on the Kama Sutra theme. The attraction of the party were male strippers who came all they way from Mumbai."

27. The Pioneer – 24/8/1997 – What's there to be gay about anyway? Written by Punam Thakur.

For instance, the findings reveal that one in every 10 homosexuals sells sex. And not with out reason as there is a lot of money to be made Ajay, 20, a commercial sex worker far the last two years, says he makes Rs. 5,000 a month by servicing 50 clients. Ajay is uneducated and has only Rs. 2000 when he was employed in an export house so he prefers to indulge in commercial sex.

28. Sunday – 17/5/1998 – The Desi Full Monty – In hamara Bharat.



Zeus and Eros, Bombay's very own male strippers..... Rs. 5,000 per dancer or more, depending on the number of women present and the tightness of their purse strings.

- 29. India Today, April 6, 1998, Pg. No. 54 Society and Trends Light My Fire by Madhu Jain under Neighborhood Aunties Cradle Crazy. Toy boys haven't yet begun to leave their calling cards in India even though rumor mills spin with stories about industrialist wives taking 20-something models off for a weekend on their yachts, or of actresses with a taste for progressively younger men. But the Kitty Party Boys have called thus because they are middle class, in their mid-20s and take up with an upper-class women. "She does not pay him, but gives him presents like designer belts, watches, shoes, grooms him, teaches him the finer things of the life and then passes him around the Kitty Party circuit," says Chandiramani. For the men, it is a way of supplementing their income, a huge step up the social ladder, out of their middle-class tenements and an entry into a world they could only have at best peeped into.......
- 30..... she takes care of his material needs and gets him prestigious assignments; he does what she tells him. And likes it: "She would come on to me, and I liked her frank and direct approach. So we decided to live together."
- 31. HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi, India May 1, 2003. Gender discrimination is passé in Bollywood – both men and women are subject to the casting couch, says supermodel-turned-struggling actor Marc Robinson. Man-management skills could in fact be helping a majority of male to boost their sagging careers in tinsletown, he alleges. "There are certain directors and producers who have a taste for eligible companions of the same sex. With sexuality being seen as a matter of choice, such liaisons are far more acceptable today than they were just a few years ago. Though industry bigwigs like Shahrukh Khan, Karan Johar, Mahesh Manjrekar and Sanjay Leela Bansali may shy away from publicly acknowledging the fact, their proximity to male friends is common knowledge", says the 35-year-old hunk who made his mark with a steamy campaign for Kama Sutra condoms.
- 32. Indo-Asian News Service on Saturday January 8, 10:44am Briton held for alleged sodomy Saturday January 8, 10:44am.

A British national has been arrested here for allegedly sodomizing two youths. According to police, Wheeldon, who arrived in Mumbai earlier this week from Britain, had picked up the two youths who worked as tourist guides and masseurs, servicing elderly foreigners. Both the youths told police that Wheeldon had promised them Rs. 1,000 each for giving him a massage. Sodomy and Homosexuality are illegal in India.

- 33. Hindustan Times.com 'gigolos & sex in the city' by Archis Mohan, New Delhi, May15. It was just the other day. Ankit Dheer sent for a substitute after the middle-Aged, Rohini resident insisted on oral sex. "She was a bit too old for me," Dheer told his interrogators after his arrest last week. At 22, it is a rare luxury for a gigolo to pick and choose customers. But Ankit entered the trade early (in his late teens) and is already a veteran. His customers range from lonely middle-aged women to influential businessmen and executives. Prostitution is big in Delhi, and MALE PROSTITUTION is getting bigger. Sunny is another escort. In his mid-twenties, Sunny advertises his services by word-of- mouth. "Gigolos don't cater only to women. Many of us have both men and women customers, in fact, mostly men," says Sunny. Most gigolos in the city are men between 18 and 25. Many websites have sprung up, advertising services of gigolos. Newspaper classifieds are full of massage services for men by men and women by men.
- 34. The article taken from the web site "Yellow Journalism in Indian Press" (http://www.geocities.com/) under the title The Times of India and Hindustan Times

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 Portal: www.indiaids.org



Running Male Homo-Brothels in Delhi From All comments on festivals and celebrations in India by tombaan on Sulekha Weblogs.

- 35. Homosexuality is strictly forbidden in India but more than 200 male homosexual brothels are running in NOIDA in the name of massage parlors where gay prostitutes are available 24 hours to homosexuals. Such brothels only supply boys to their customers in their homes/hotels whereas others offer their premises where customer can have sex with their boys. About 8 years ago, some people who were running heterosexual brothels in Delhi approached Times of India and told the about their intention to run homosexual brothels also in Delhi. They requested TOI special column for them for which they were ready to pay 4 times their rates for normal class. TOI agreed to carry such a column for them. It was decided that they will use the word 'massage parlors' instead of 'brothels' in their ads. Thus took birth the column 'HEALTH CLUB/PHYSICAL FITNESS.'
- 36. Marine Drive masseurs respond to catcall by Kashif Khusro December 15, 2004. Three masseurs on Marine Drive rescued a cat that had fallen into the sea, after the fire brigade failed to fish it out. On Monday night, when Rohit Singh, Mithilesh Singh and Kumar Sharma The three boys then plunged into the sea to the hapless animal's aid. Meanwhile, passerby pooled in money and rewarded the three boys for their good deed.
- 37. ESS CUTTING BUREAU, New Delhi. Publication THE SENTINEL, Guwahati, 29th February 2004. National Network of Sex Workers Meet. Bipul Chakkraborty pours out heart-rending stories of male sex workers.

"Some time ago a male sex worker was raped by three men. When we went

to police to complain, they ridiculed us, asking 'Can a man get raped?'" he says.



Samabhavana Society



Annexure-3: Journal articles and other publications

- STI/HIV Sex work in Asia. Published by World Health Organization (Regional Office for the Western Pacific) July 2001. Pg. No. 29.
 Research on male sex workers is even more limited. This is to be expected in a context in which male-male sexual desire is a threat to strong, family-oriented social patterns.
 However, homosexual behaviors are extremely common. Many of these are non-commercial exchanges but many involve material transactions. There are no clear dividing lines separating the male sex worker from the man who has sex with men. In the same way there is no absolute dividing line between the MSM and the person who is a 'regular' family man with wife and children. In many instances all these behaviors and roles are found in the same individual.
- Study done by AVERT Pg. No. 3. Male sex workers (MSWs) may represent a small proportion of all MSM, but this needs verification.
- 3) Rights or Wrongs? Under the heading of Police Abuse HIV/AIDS Peer Educators in India. Collected from http://www.vampenews.org/vol01no03/rights.html. In Mumbai, police harassment is a frequent experience for male sex workers, were an invisible population... "They are threatened just to get money," said Jasmir Thakur, secretary of the Samabhavana Society, which surveyed 120 male sex workers and Malishwalas in the city in November 2001.... "They are kept in jail and have to have sex with the police and other inmates.".... Most male sex workers are detained from days, depending on the whim of the concerned police officer....
- 4) Gay Cultures in Madras, India Madras.

Young men of both feminine and masculine identity who sell sex are prevalent at different places but mainly at Marina Beach, In almost all hotels some of the hotel boys are selling sex on the side. Hence there is an important network "family boys" who operate through brokers. Situational homosexual behavior is common among the military, male cine extra's, college boys who live in all male hostels, rickshaw drivers, truck drivers and their helpers, workers including house servants, soldiers, pupils at schools, prison population.

- 5) Lessons learned in India written by Maitreya, India published in "SPAM." There is still no concept of Male Sex Workers (MSW) but only of Men Seeking Men or Men having Sex with Men (MSM). This stems from the assumption that sex workers are only women; again no one sees it as sexwork but only as exploitation of women, because if you admit the reality of sexwork, then the strategy and policy will have to change. So the authorities just shut their eyes conveniently against the reality. But those who are involved in sex work whether they are male or female know it as work. So we should understand that there is a distinct category of male sex workers, who should be addressed independently....... right now there is enough confusion in these MSM project.
- 6) CDC NEWS UPDATES titled HIV/AID, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, and Tuberculosis Prevention News Update published on 19th November 2002. Health workers estimate that 40 percent of Bombay's male prostitutes are married.
 - 7) UNAIDS Technical update of May 2000 issue under the title AIDS and men who have sex with men.



Lack of interest among donor agencies in supporting and sustaining prevention programs among men who engage in same-sex behavior, and a lack of programs addressing male sex workers in particular.

8) HIV, AIDS and sexually transmitted infections – care, support and prevention – AIDS activities, under the title Reaching Out. Bombay Dost.
One of the most mobile and invisible groups involved in the sex industry is male sex workers. Reaching male sex workers, however, poses a greater challenge,... Chowpatty beach – a kilometer long stretch of sand used by around 600 male sex workers as a place to

sell their services. mostly to Uttar Pradesh..... Aged between 12 and 50 years, these men call themselves Malishwalas. They are the most visible of the male sex workers in Bombay. Bar boys, fast-food waiters and others also sell sex, but not on a regular basis. Malishwalas are usually recruited by more senior men through caste links. They are told a bright future awaits them in Bombay – and they leave with dreams of finding jobs in the Hindi film industry. They end up being trained, by men from their own castes, as masseurs whose intention is clear: they sell sex, too.

9) Long distance truck drivers in India: HIV infection and their possible role in disseminating HIV into rural areas' written by Singh YN. Malaviya AN. Published from 'Department of Medicine. All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi.' International Journal of STD AIDS. 1994 Mar-Apr; 5(2): 137-8.

Sixty percent of the drivers were married with families, were all of the wayside prostitutes, and none of the male prostitutes. 78% of drivers admitted having multiple heterosexual partners, including prostitutes, and 5% admitted to regular homosexual sexual encounters.

10) Kothis and Giriyas by Ninad Jog published on 15th January 2001. Kothis are effeminate homosexual men from India who dress up as women, 'marry' giriyas and perform the role of wife. Giriyas are men who have sex with kothis, dress and act like 'real men' and perform the role of husbands to their kothi. This piece is an adaptation of a post to the khush list.....

11) HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care in Resource-Constrained Settings- Chapter Eleven, Pg. No. 269. Under the title Prevention Efforts Among MSM in Asia.
.... Non-gay- identified MSM, including the "massage boys" of one of Mumbai's beaches, in certain public sex environments and within several other sexual networks.

12) AIDS in Asia

While heterosexual transmission is assumed to be the primary route of infection, there is also a significant level of male-to-male sexual activity. Truck drivers in India are known to have multiple sexual relationships with both men and women. Moving through the major cities of India, they often visit female or male sex workers every two to three days..

13) Sexual Behavior and AIDS in India by Moni Nag. 1996.

He lists 8 high priority topics for research: "Clients of Female Sex Workers," "Female Sex Workers living outside red-light areas," "Sexually exploited and violated groups," "Male homosexuals and male sex workers," "Sexual networks of persons with high risk of HIV transmission," "Women's control over sex in marital relations," "Sex education among adolescents," and "Strategies for increasing the use condoms."

14) AIDS ASIA. Men Who Have Sex with Men written by Shivananda Khan. Published by the IHO in India, issue 6 October 1994. Pg. No. 21. Ranjan is a male prostitute, a young man of 16 who plies his "business" in Central Madras near the railway station. He has done this since he was 13, when he had run away from



home because of the beatings of his father. He never wants to go back home. He says that he enjoys his "work" because it gives him a lot of money, even though sometimes his clients are rough. He is saving money to buy a small business. He doesn't call himself a homosexual, even though he enjoys the sex. It is only business.

- 15) The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality: India 6. Homoerotic, Homosexual, and Ambisexual Behaviors.
 In a study in Madras, it was found that 3 percent of the homosexuals earned their livings as dancers and/or sex workers. It is further reported in this study that most of the men were between the ages of 21 and 30, and took both active and passive roles in unprotected anal and oral intercourse.
- 16) Gay Cultures in Madras, India Madras

Young men of both feminine and masculine identity who sell sex are prevalent at different places but mainly at Marina Beach, In almost all hotels some of the hotel boys are selling sex on the side. Hence there is an important network "family boys" who operate through brokers. Situational homosexual behavior is common among the military, male cine extra's, college boys who live in all male hostels, rickshaw drivers, truck drivers and their helpers, workers including house servants, soldiers, pupils at schools, prison population.

- 17) Combating HIV/AIDS in INDIA 1999-2000 published by NACO. Section 10-Targeted Intervention - Pg. No. 60.
 Sexually Exploited Male Children and Male Child Prostitutes: It intends to study the situation of male child prostitutes in Bangalore and aims to provide awareness on these issues and create interventions based on the research findings.
- 18) India's Poor: Some Episodes' by Kenneth Champeon.

One evening while walking to Chowpatty I was approached by a masseur. One of the masseurs took hold of my hand. He squeezed and rubbed it; he pulled my fingers until they cracked. Then he began to work on my head: this entailed painfully rubbing my hair. The police arrived and poked the masseur with their lathis. He scurried away, but as soon as the police were gone he returned. The police returned and demanded that I leave also. As I headed back to the road the masseur appeared again. He offered to come to my home and continue the massage there. I began walking down the street but he followed. I pushed him away but he tried to grab my crotch and said, "Fucksies." Then I began to run, and I must have run a kilometer before I lost him. I never went to Chowpatty alone after that. Even when I was in the company of a friend, masseurs would follow us and whisper, "Sex massage."



Annexure-4: Analysis of Movies and news clips with portrayals of men getting paid for sexual services as well as mentions of Male Sex Work.

A) Movies

Title: Kamasutra, directed by- Mira Nair.

Synopsis: It deals with the politics of sex and love in ancient India with reference to Vatsayana's famous manual on sexuality by the same name. There is clear demonstration in the film of homoeroticism being existent in ancient India and a clear pointer that Male sex work existed. The clip shows a prince playfully petting a male attendant who ends up sitting on the prince's lap. The male attendant is shown to be affectedly effeminate and made up. That he is not a friend of the prince is easily distinguishable.

Title: Oops! Directed by- Deepak Tijori.

Synopsis: the whole movie revolves around the lives and loves of two male strippers living in Mumbai. It charts the events that lead them to become male strippers and follows their lives thereafter bringing their problems, achievements and failures to the forefront. The film is a path breaker in itself for being the first such movie in India to portray men as sexual objects, whose sexual services are available in return for money, and thus acknowledging the fact that men are prostitutes. Another fact that comes to light in the same movie is that, these men, contrary to popular belief, are not homosexual; gender variant transvestites or hijras, but gender conformist heterosexuals. It is specifically shown that their clients are only women and not men.

Title: Split Wide Open. Directed by- Dev Benegal

Synopsis: The movie revolves around the life of a young man who is an orphan surviving in the lower echelons of Mumbai and who gets involved in a chat show, aired on TV, which is titled the same as the movie. The chat show is a reality show that has non-celebrity people as guests, who talk about their lives and problems that are intimate in nature. The movie brings out the secret lives that the people of Mumbai lead behind closed doors and issues like marital rape, child abuse, pedophilia, homosexuality and male sex work are brought to the forefront.

The clip that is of interest to us, deals with the confessions of a male cook. He works in a household where he does his designated job as well as satisfies the sexual urges of the master and his wife both and gets paid. The interesting fact is that the cook is portrayed to be a man and leaves no space for any gender ambiguity.

Title: Aitraaz. Directed by Abbas-Mustan

Synopsis: The movie revolves around an upwardly mobile professional man who is married and ambitious but not at the cost of his moral upbringing. His boss turns out to be a demanding woman who wants sexual favors from him and so, promotes him and promises him much more if he satisfies her physical needs without any sort of attachment. The protagonist denies being involved, as he is not a 'male prostitute'. His lady boss takes the rejection unfavorably and she sets out to ruin his life. The important thing in this movie is the usage of the word 'male prostitute' by the protagonist, acknowledging the fact that such a Profession exists.



Title: Chameli. Directed by

Synopsis: The main theme of the movie revolves around a night in the life of a professionally established man, when he has a chance encounter with a female prostitute and events that follow thereafter leading to an ambiguous bond that grows between them. There is a character in the film that is a male transvestite and does sex work in the same area as the female prostitute. The camaraderie between the two is strong and goes to show that all these gender variant sex workers (Transvestites, Kothis, and Hijras) ply their trade in the red light areas, not as 'men' but impersonators of women. These red light areas give them more access to male clients who necessarily may not be looking for them.

Title: Judaai. Directed by

Synopsis: This movie shows how an Indian woman literally sells her husband to another woman. The important thing that comes to the forefront is that the husband is willing and satisfies the other woman's needs.

B) Documentaries

Title: Masculinity Bazaar. Conceptualized and created by Samabhavana Society after the 2nd study-

Synopsis: The documentary shows the real world of Masseurs and Male Sex Workers of Chowpatty (Mumbai). Through personal interviews with the masseurs themselves, their world of sex, exploitation and substance abuse, unfolds gradually.

Title: Love Is Not Just A Straight Thing. Collaborative project of Bachelor of Mass Media (1st year) students of Wilson College (Mumbai) and Samabhavana Society. Synopsis: The documentary deals with the opinions of the public, police officers, and

psychiatrists on the IPC Act 377 and its validity as regard to Homosexuality.

In one of the interviews a man reveals that he has been picked up by other men, many a times, and with whom he has had sex and even got paid for it.

Title: Sh... Sh... S (he) Ki Katha Tahar Saathe (Bengali) produced and directed by Debalina Mukherjee

Synopsis: The documentary probes into the lives of Transvestite and transgender sex workers of Calcutta. "It talks about love and loneliness, of failures and achievements, the satisfaction and hazards of a profession necessarily located at the fringes of legitimized social existence." (Source: Write up accompanying the CD of the Documentary, provided by Debalina Mukherjee and team.)

C) TV. News clips

Star News Red Alert coverage of Hijra and Kothi sex workers, In Delhi, India, aired on TV on 15/01/2005 at 22:30 Hrs.

Synopsis: Expose on hijra and Kothi sex workers operating at Connaught place, Delhi. Shows how these gender variant sex workers operate.

NDTV 24x7 news report of HIV/AIDS interventions in the MSM community of Chennai, India, aired on 31/10/2003.

Synopsis: News clip showing the lives of Transvestite men working as Sex workers in Chennai and how the HIV/AIDS scenario has affected them. One of the men interviewed, reveals that he was a sex worker and as many of his friends who were in the same profession, died of AIDS, he stopped prostituting himself and has become an outreach worker sensitizing others like himself to have safe sex.



NDTV 24x7 News Feature of MSM and HIV/AIDS in Delhi, India, aired on 21/08/2004 Synopsis: The News Feature investigates the instances of child sex work (male) and Kothi Sex work on the streets of Delhi. It shows street children being exploited by pedophiles and how the incidence of HIV infection is rising amongst them. It also takes a look at the nighttime operations of a Kothi Sex worker.

D) TV. Serial:

Title: Siddhanth, Channel- Star One, aired on 09/ 02/2005

Synopsis: 'Siddhanth' is a serial that charts the achievements of a lawyer of the same name as

the serial itself. It basically deals with courtroom drama. In this specific episode we get to see

the lawyer fighting against a notorious gang of miscreants who force young adolescents into

sex work under the guise of tourist guides and rent them out to foreigners visiting India.

In this episode we get to see a 13 years old boy, by the name of Rizwan Khan who was working as a sex worker under the guise of a tourist guide before he was apprehended by the police and he claims that his uncle (one of the convicts) was responsible for it. The episode ends with the court ruling against the convicts and punishing them on the basis of this boy's testimony. While proclaiming the verdicts against the miscreants the judge very strongly condemns the growing industry of 'Sex Tourism' in India.





Annexure-5:

List of INTERNET ELIST & GROUPS ADVERTISEMENTS yahoo groups and email with portrayals of men getting paid for sexual services

Indian elists -214 groups (list attached) International elists- 287 groups (list attached) Google Search result – male escorts India Results 1-10 of about 1, 56,000 for male escorts India. (0.29 seconds) (List attached) 4) Goggle Search result – Malishwalas India Results 1-8 of about 11 for Malishwalas India. (0.32 seconds) (List attached) http://www.gayuniverse.net/boards/india/read/11222 Gay Universe Boards- India Aroma Massage to M/F- Mumbai Posted by Ayaan Khan on 4th December 2004 at 11.38 P.M. 25 M, 5"11 tall 32 W 43 Chest 16.5 arms tanned muscular stud- cut 7.5-http://www.gayuniverse.net/boards/india/read/11590 Gay Universe Boards- India (+) NUDE MASSAGE - MUMBAI Posted by Prashant on 12th January 2005 at 12.19 A.M. HI! PRAHANT GIVES NUDE MASSAGE SERVICE TO ALL PHONE XXXXXXXXXX MUMBAI.INDIA READY TO FLY/TRAVEL mumbai@thehotforum.com Posted by Rahu on August 11, 2004 at 13.30:58 Kashmir Punjabi Delhi callboys in Mumbai posted by parveen - how much do u charge: sexy fully dedicated lots of horsepower full night service call rich boys 0.00 http://www.expatriates.com/cls/232382.html Looking for a male masseur, preferably professionally trained, like relaxing oil massages and back rubs, someone trained in aromatherapy or Thai massage or any other form of relaxing nix techniques would be welcome gigoloinmumbai@yahoogroups.com Friday, 14th Jan 2005 20:01:29-0000 Sub: hi! Available Hi! My name is Sameer and I am a 22years old guy, cute and sweet. Any female interested in having wild sex pls contact me. Satisfaction guaranteed. Massage provided with a healing touch 10) http://www.worldsexguide.com/guide/Asia/India/Mumbai Mumbai/Bombay Travel Report - Sat May 15, 2004 submitted by Nikki Posting something for us women out there. Been to Mumbai (India) last year to attend a colleagues wedding. I had to stay in a hotel in Nariman Point (Mumbai town area) as my friends place was full with friends and relatives. During my 1-week stay I discovered this racket in Mumbai, which I had never heard of. There is this group of well-educated MBA kinda guyz, who offer their services for Lady tourists like us. I got the information from another colleagues of mine and thought of giving a try. This guyz can be contacted through mail only. Just mail your requirements along with your hotel address and time and wholla the guy is at yours...... Don't pay more than US\$35-40 (1500-1800 rupees) they accept foreign currency (US\$). Worth giving a try, guyz in their early 20's and can be contacted at dotfire30@yahoo.com.



- 11) http://www.worldsexguide.com/guide/Asia/India/Mumbai
 - I visited VOODOO at Colaba (near radio club).....

There are a few gay gigolos hanging out looking for someone to pick them up but if you are looking for female they do not try to interact with u.

12) http://queerindia.rediffblogs.com /2003_21_09_queerindia_archive.html

rediff.com – QueerIndia – this blog is about looking at queer issues......

The law works against us in several ways, some of them are:

Frequent harassment and threats by the police of prosecution; harassment takes the form of extortion as well as forced intercourse

Extortion/blackmail by hustlers/male sex workers

The law is a deterrent against leading a life free from fear; it is not conductive to romantic/live-in relationship, representations of homosexuality/gay issues.

13) http://www.sexyescortads.com/escort-147-13019.html

Callboy_gigolos – Hello Top Growing Boy Escort Agency in Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Hyderabad, Lucknow and Etc.....

Hello ladies, now it's ur turn to hire a any escort bcz now we already expended our business in these cities also:-Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, pune, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Kanpur, ahmadabad, guzrat, so just contact us and get ur dream boy escort on ur bed. Secrecy maintained since 1999.

- 14) http://www.escortset.com/escorts/india/bombay/male-escorts.htm if you still cannot find someone you like, you may want to consider visiting the Bombay Adults network. They can match you with other people in your area looking for a "one night stand".

Horny Guys!!!!!!!!!!wannaaaaaa have fun; sex; enjoyment in this cool weather of Delhi with **** xxxhatest Gay model scouts*** if int. call at Aarayn

- 16) http://groups.yahoo.com/group/indian-desi/ http://groups.yahoo.com/group/sweet-indiamen/ http://groups,yahoo.com/group/masti//indiamen/ A group of Indian, desi men, who are gorgeous, manly, handsome and ooze not only appeal, and lotsa oomph, but are the best loversreach out and enjoy
- 17) http:// in.geocities.com/gigolo4bombay/Mypage.html
 Gigolo service only for Mumbai & Pune Females & couple.
 Hello Ladies! Welcome to the web page of Mumbai's No. 1 Male Escort / Gigolo service.
 I only accept women as clients. No men please



List of ancient studies with portrayals of men getting paid for sexual services

1) glbtq-social sciences- Hinduism Pg 3:

Annexure-6:

The Kamasutra written in approximately the third century B. C., describes a " third nature" (2.9.1). The third natured male, like a hijra, is described as wearing clothing perceived as appropriate for women, and providing oral sex to male customers (2.9.5). Masseurs who dress as men also provide oral gratification (2.9.6-24)

- Tours operators of India, Gay Travel India, Gay tours India IGLTA auparashtika, or male masseurs indulging in oral sex at public baths.Kamasutra 3 A.D
- 3) (IM) POSSIBLE LOVE AND SEXUAL PLEASURE by CHARU GUPTA g no: 198

Popular literature came under increasing attack, especially with charges of obscenity leveled against it.⁶ The strongest was the case of Pandey Becan Sharma 'Ugra`s book Chaklet published in 1927, which dealt with sodomy, sexual acts between adults males and adolescent boys, and other aspects of homosexuality⁷.

Chaklet Proved to be a commercial sensation and within six weeks of its publications, two editions of it were sold out.⁹.

4) Pg-199- CHARU GUPTA

Gandhi initially wrote against Chaklet without having read it, but later after going through it he did not find it obscene. He wrote to Banarasidas Chatrurvedi a letter to this effect, which, however, was brought to light only in 1951.¹³

5) Pg-200- CHARU GUPTA

Ancient Texts and medieval courtly customs reveal a history of Homosexual relationships¹⁶. However, Chaklet highlighted that there were new institutions and sites for increasing male-male bondings like schools, colleges, hostels, cinemas, theatres, social services organizations, parks, clubs, fairs and jails. ¹⁷Roughly at the same time, we find the Jails Inquiry Committee of UP, expressing its worries over general association barracks; besides fears of plots and escapes, there were increasing concerns of male sexual activities

6) Pg-201- CHARU GUPTA

Chaklet brought into public view emergent urban male attachments and Alternate sexualities

- Pg-202- CHARU GUPTA Chaklet brought to the forefront same- sex love and sexual attraction Between men and boys
- 8) The Persistence of Gender: From Ancient Indian Pandakas to modern Thai Gay- Quings written by Peter A. Jackson.

⁶ For further details, see Charu Gupta, "obscenity, Sexuality and the other "Genders and Hindu identity in Uttar Pradesh, 1880s-1930s, Unpublished PhD Thesis 9SOAS, University of London, 2000pp-29-39.

⁷ Pandey Becan Sharma'Ugra', *Chaklet* [Chocolate] {Calcutta, 1953, 3rd Edition, published after 25 years}

⁹ Ibid., Cover

¹³ Ugra, *Chaklet*, p.1; Pandey, Ugra pp 271-2

¹⁶ Gita Thadani, sakhiyani, Lesbian Desires in Ancient and Modern India (London, 1996); Vanita and Kidwai Same sex.

¹⁷ Ugra, *Chaklet*, pp.53-4, 87-95,102,125,137.

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Bangkok's gay and Kathoey (transvestite/transsexual) subcultures are among the largest and most vibrant homoerotic subcultures in Asia. But while pride in masculine homosexuality is common to Western and Thai formulations of gayness, there is much about being gay in Thailand that Western gay men would find foreign and unexpected. In this paper I suggest that contemporary attitudes to homosexuality and transgenderism derive from an ancient and distinctively Thai cultural source.

9) The Kautilya Arthashastra –under the title sexual morality – Pg. No. 67

Intercourse with a woman, other than through the vagina, was punishable offence. The only references to female homosexuality are defloration or rape; male homosexuality, on the other hand was a punishable offence.

10) The Kautilya Arthashastra –under the title Women's Employment – Pg.

No.69

That women were employed by the state for prostitution is obvious from the earlier discussion.

11) The Kautilya Arthashashtra –under the title The Chief Controller of

a 8 1.0.1

Entertainers (courtesans, brothels, prostitutes and other entertainers) -

Pg. No. 351

Professions to be supervised:

The regulations regarding courtesans and prostitutes also apply to actors, dancers, singers, musicians, story-tellers, bards, rope dancers [acrobats?], jugglers, wandering minstrels, people who deal in women and women who follow a secret profession.

Training of prostitutes and courtesans:

The state shall bear the expenditure on training courtesans, prostitutes and accomplishments: playing musical actresses in the following singing, instruments.....

1111

Management of brothels:

Court attendants:

Release and retirement Obligations of a prostitute Protection of prostitutes:

Revenue:

Independent prostitutes:

Punishment:

12) The Laws of Manu – Pg. No. 58

Footnote 150. Kliba usually translated as 'eunuch', is not a eunuch; there is no evidence that there were eunuchs in India before the Arab invasions many centuries after Manu. The term designates a 'non-man' (na-punsaka is given by all the commentators on the verse as a synonym for kliba), that is, a sexually dysfunctional male, who might be, according to the context, impotent, homosexual, a transvestite, or in some cases, a man with mutilated or defective sexual organs. (One commentator on this verse gives, in addition to na-punsaka, several glosses: a hermaphrodite, a man with blighted semen, and a sanda). One dictionary describes fourteen different kinds of klibas, one of whom is a mukhabhaga (a man allows his mouth to be used as a vagina) and resorts to boys. Male homosexuals are scorned in the Kamasutra, and female homosexuals are scorned by Manu (8.369).

13) The Laws of Manu – Pg. No. 204 – (59)

When the line of descendants dies out, a woman who has been properly appointed should get the desire children from a brother or a co-feeding relative.

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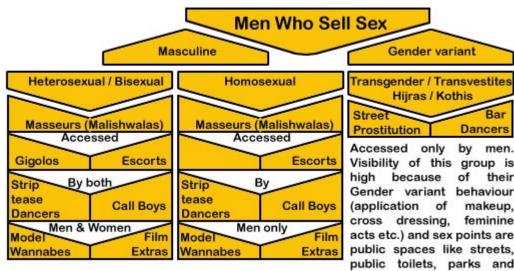
14) The Laws of Manu – Pg. No. 268 –(175)

If a twice-born man unites sexually with a man or a woman in a cart pulled by a cow, or in water, or by day, he should bathe with his clothes on.





Annexure 7: **Typologies of Male Sex Workers**



In the above sub segment some operate through Pimps who contact them via Mobile phones, then others offer their services on Internet on chat rooms and e-groups and some work exclusively through - Newspaper advts in health section under massage, as well as on recommendation of clients to other clients .

Their sex points are coffee shops, bars, gay crusing areas, beauty parlours, health clubs and beaches, parks, railway stations and most of these settings come under the category of Public Sex Environments (PSEs).

Accessed only by men. Visibility of this group is high because of their Gender variant behaviour (application of makeup, cross dressing, feminine acts etc.) and sex points are public spaces like streets, public toilets, parks and railway stations.



Annexure: 8

Definitions:

- 1. Escorts Men who act as guides as well as are available for dinner, play dates
- 2. Gigolos- Type of Male sex workers
- 3. Strip Tease / exotic Dancers Type of Male sex workers
- 4. Callboys Type of Male sex workers
- 5. Hustlers- Type of Male sex workers
- 6. Rent boys- Type of Male sex workers
- 7. Trade and Toy boys- Type of Male sex workers
- 8. Tourist guides- Type of Male sex workers
- 9. Adult Film (porn) actors- Type of Male sex workers
- 10. Malishwalas- Masseurs
- 11. Kothis Effeminate men who are transgendered
- 12. Hijras An Indian terminology for a Cult in which men cross dress and some of them undergo Nirvan (Castration)
- 13. Sugar Daddies men who support males/females with cash or kind for sexual favours
- 14. Sugar Mummies- women who support males/females with cash or kind for sexual favours
- 15. Kamasutra Split wide open, Chameli, Aitraz, Judaai, and Oops!! Indian Hindi movies
- 16. Homosexual, Bisexual, Heterosexual, and Gender variant sexual identity terminologies
- 17. Fantasy an Indian adult magazine
- 18. Gandu/Chakka/ Napunsak/ Homo derogatory slang meaning one who gets penetrated or one who is impotent
- 19. Kamasutra Old ancient sex scripture

C cint (When the creator created his creatures he first composed in a 100,000 chapters the means of achieving the three aims of human life – dharma, artha, Kama which is the vital link with what sustains those creatures. Manu the son of the self born made one part of these into a separate work about religion, Brihaspati made one about power and Nadin the servant of the great god Siva made a separate work of a 1000 chapter the Kamasutra which Swetaketu Auddalaki cut down to 500 chapters and then Babhravya of Panchala cut this down further to a 150 chapters in a following 7 parts - general observations on sex, virgins, wives, other men's wives, courtesans and erotic esoterica. Thereafter different scholars made separate books on these individual parts. When the text's essence were about to be destroyed because of the constant divisions made, Vatsayana condensed the entire subject matter into a small volume and made this into Kamasutra)



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