

REDUCING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE SEX WORKERS

Findings from the Samvedana Plus baseline study



Technical Report

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Reducing intimate partner violence against female sex workers: Findings from Samvedana Plus baseline study

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Editor: Bharathi Ghanashyam

Design: 129 Degrees Design Studio

Photography: The photographs are by NP Jayan and Priya Pillai. They have been used with consent from the community.

Suggested citation

Javalkar P, Prakash R, Isac S, DL Kavitha, Thalinja R, Sudhakar G, Ramanaik S, Bhattacharjee P. 2016. Reducing intimate partner violence against female sex workers: Findings from Samvedana Plus baseline study. Bengaluru: Karnataka Health Promotion Trust (KHPT).

Acknowledgements

We thank the female sex workers for their participation in the study and the valuable information provided by them. We also acknowledge the support of CBO partner, **Chaitanya AIDS Tadegattuva Mahila Sangha, in conducting this study. Thanks are also due to the STRIVE consortium partner researchers at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) focusing on the structural barriers of HIV for their significant contribution in developing the study protocol, designing the study, and** preparation of survey instrument. We thank the administrative staff in KHPT for providing the logistical support and the field investigators for conducting data collection work.

Disclaimer

Project Samvedana Plus is funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) as part of STRIVE, a 6-year programme of research and action devoted to tackling the structural drivers of HIV (<http://STRIVE.lshtm.ac.uk/>) and What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls? Global Programme, University of Manitoba (UoM), and the United Nations Trust Fund (UNTF). The survey was conducted with the financial support from STRIVE. The views expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the UK Department of International Development, UoM or UNTF.

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Acronyms

CBO Community-Based Organization
CDPO Child Development Protection Officer
DV Domestic Violence
FSW Female Sex Worker
IP Intimate Partner

IPV Intimate Partner Violence
LSHTM London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
NFHS National Family Health Survey
PBS Polling Booth Survey
UNTF United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Gender-based violence stems from the low social status of women and girls, undermining their safety and wellbeing. In the context of India, gender-based violence includes child marriage, sexual violence and intimate partner violence (IPV). The prevalence of violence is much higher among rural women than urban women; among women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST) than women from the general category, thereby increasing the risk and vulnerability of rural and SC/ST women.

Northern Karnataka is home to one of the most marginalised SC/ST communities in its rural areas – the Devadasi sex workers, through a tradition in which young girls are initiated as Devadasis, which provides them cultural sanction to engage in sex work. Their situation makes them vulnerable to violence from clients (56%), intimate partners (IPs) (23%), police (7%), and “rowdies” (7%).¹ In a participatory assessment workshop (2012), FSWs identified key triggers of intimate partner violence (IPV) as insistence on condom use, influence of alcohol, refusal to give status of a wife to the FSW, to have children with her, or accept her children. However, most of the interventions to address violence against sex workers are targeted to clients and the police.

Addressing IPV is a challenging programmatic gap since the woman and her partner may be in more than one intimate relationship.² The FSW-intimate partner relationships are complex with 98% FSWs reporting economic and non-economic support from their main intimate partners, including emotional support, social status, and protection from other men².

Because violence persists in sex workers' relationships with their intimate partners, an intervention and evaluation study, Samvedana Plus, was designed to understand and address violence and HIV risk in the intimate partnerships of female sex workers. Karnataka Health Promotion Trust (KHPT) is implementing Samvedana Plus, in partnership with Chaitanya AIDS Tadegattuwa Mahila Sangha, a community-based organisation (CBO) of sex workers in northern Karnataka, India. The programme will run from 2015 to 2017 with support from the United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women (UNTF), What Works to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls consortium, and the University of Manitoba, Canada. Samvedana Plus is informed by successful strategies piloted with the support of Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and UNTF from 2013 to 2014. Within the DFID-funded STRIVE consortium, KHPT and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) will evaluate the impact of Samvedana Plus on violence and condom use in sex-workers' intimate relationships.

The intervention is composed of innovations aimed at three levels: among individual FSWs and their IPs; through community-based organisations (CBOs) of FSWs; and in the wider community where the FSWs and their partners live. At the level of FSW collectives, the intervention will focus on strengthening

¹ <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2458/10/476/>

² Shaw, S and Pillai, P., 2012, Understanding Risk for HIV/STI Transmission and Acquisition within Non-paying Partnerships of Female Sex Workers in Southern India, KHPT.

supportive crisis management systems for FSWs experiencing intimate partner violence, improved distribution of male and female condoms, and improved referrals to clinical services for FSWs and their partners.

Samvedana Plus was designed not only as a set of interventions to reduce HIV/STI risk and vulnerability among FSWs, but also to study the structural drivers of HIV transmission. Specifically, the programme will investigate the relationship between social norms and HIV risk in the context of intimate partnerships of FSWs and assess the efficacy of its interventions to alter such norms.

Samvedana Plus began in April 2014 and is proposed for a period of three years. It covers 800 FSWs and their IPs in 47 villages in Bagalkot district of northern Karnataka. Fifty per cent of the village clusters (n=24) will receive the intervention for the first 24 months (Cohort 1); the remaining 50 per cent (n=23) from months 25 to 36 (Cohort 2). The study employed a cluster-randomised control trial design with waitlist control, using the village as the unit of randomisation. The design of the study was based on an enumeration of the FSWs in the villages of Mudhol and Jamkhandi talukas of Bagalkot district in 2011-12 to identify those who fulfil the following criteria: (a) more than one IP; (b) frequently change IPs; and (c) whose IP has more than one sexual partner.

These characteristics were associated with STI vulnerability in a previous study. In both cohorts, the baseline was conducted simultaneously in June 2014. As part of the baseline, cross-sectional surveys were conducted through face-to-face interviews using an interviewer-administered questionnaire for the FSWs and their IPs in both cohorts. These surveys measured the following:

a Existing levels of condom use and IPV in the intimate relationships of the target FSWs and their IPs

b Structural factors that influence condom use and IPV in FSWs' intimate relationships

c Existing levels of sense of self-worth; individual and collective efficacy; critical thinking on gender, violence, social norms and HIV risks among the FSWs and their IPs; sense of safety and well-being among the FSWs; awareness among FSWs and their IPs about HIV/STI risks in the context of intimate partnerships; awareness among FSWs, their IPs and other stakeholders about violence, rights and the law; and acceptance of IPV among the FSWs.

For each indicator measured, broad indicator domains were delineated and questions were developed for each subject domain. The survey questionnaires were developed in English, translated into the local language Kannada, pretested, piloted, revised, and translated back into English. The tools were administered by following all the ethical protocols of research of this nature.

Findings

The findings are related to four broad categories: characteristics of FSWs and IP relationships; gender attitudes, social norms and violence acceptance; experience of IPV, solidarity and self-worth; and STI/HIV risk perceptions, skills for self-protection and condom use among FSWs. The key findings are mentioned below.

Characteristics of FSWs and IP Relationships

The vulnerability of FSWs to violence or HIV is heightened because it is inextricably linked to the occupational contexts of their work, characterised most commonly by age, education, income levels, endemic violence, number of children, place of sex work and so on. Findings show that the mean age of the FSWs was 34.5 years. A vast majority of them - nearly nine in ten (89.8%) - were non-literate. A higher percentage (95%) of the FSWs reported that they did not marry and had two children, on average. Nearly two in three FSWs (67.7%) had children exclusively with the intimate partner.

Only 18% of the FSWs relied exclusively on sex work as their source of income, majority of them (60.5%) earning between Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 6999.

Most of the FSWs had sex before the age of 16. Overall, the average age at which the FSWs of the study had sex was around 14 years of age. On average, the FSWs started sex work at the age of 15 years and the mean duration of sex work was found to be about 19 years. Three in four FSWs (76%) solicited sex at their home. On average, an FSW had close to three clients per week, more than half (53.5%) of whom had both regular clients as well as occasional clients. Almost all the FSWs (96.9%) stated that they had just one IP. When the FSWs were asked about nature of the IP relationship, three in four (77.7%) said that their relationship with their IP can be termed as *Hiriya/Malak*.³

The average age of IPs of the FSWs was about 40 years. The findings show that the IPs were more educated than the sex workers. A vast majority of the FSWs (88.7%) stated that their IPs were currently married, and they did work related to agriculture, either as cultivators or farm labourers. While all the FSWs were from SC/STs, a majority of IPs (61.1%) were from other castes. On an average IP had three children of which half of them were from their FSW partners. Two in three IPs (68.9%) never used alcohol.

The mean duration of intimate relationship with the IP was around 12 years. Nearly two in three (63.8%) FSWs said that they met their IP first as a client, although a majority of them (84%) said that their IPs were not aware of their sex work. About one in two FSWs said that they met their IP at least once a week, and had at least one sexual intercourse with their IP in the last seven days. A majority of the IPs (76%) never consumed alcohol during sex. Similarly, a vast majority of the FSWs (95.5%) said that they did not consume alcohol either. Almost all the FSWs (99.7%) said that having an IP provided

them with emotional support and almost an equal number of FSWs (99%) said that they provided financial support as well. One in two (50.5%) FSWs said that they were afraid of their IP and only one in four (27.4%) FSWs felt that their IP would leave them.

Gender attitude, social norms and violence acceptance

Almost all of the FSWs agreed that adults should resolve conflict through discussion. A majority of the FSWs (59.2%) disagreed with the statement “a woman should not tolerate violence for the sake of her children”. A slightly higher number (64.1%) of FSWs did not feel that a woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep her family together. When it came to having a man with her, most of the FSWs (65.6%) felt that a woman is seen as more respectable if she has a man with her. There was a mixed response to the line “a woman should have the right to do sex work regardless of what her lover may think.” With regard to a woman’s role in a relationship, only one in ten (10.2%) agreed with the idea that her role is not only to serve her partner.

There was relatively mixed response to the idea that men need sex and cannot control their urges, with one in five (20.5%) disagreeing with the statement. When asked whether women and men should share work both within and outside of the home, a majority of the FSWs said that they should share the work. When the FSWs were given the statement “forcing a woman to have sex when she does not want to is a sign of disrespect”, only a minority (15.6%) of them disagreed with the statement. When asked whether neighbours should intervene if they hear a woman being beaten by her lover, only 12% of them disagreed with the statement.

A majority of the FSWs (83%) agreed or somewhat agreed that most women they know believe that men have a right to beat them if they have done something wrong.

³ Means Owner in English

Similar percentage also said that the majority of women they know would rather accept violence than lose their relationship. Nearly one in four agreed or somewhat agreed to the lines “the majority of my friends think I should tolerate violence from my lover” and “my family thinks that I should tolerate violence from my lover”. When given the statement, “the majority of my friends think I should obey my lover and do what he says”, one in four (24.7%) FSWs disagreed with the statement.

To the question “what do you think would happen if you threaten to leave your lover/IP if he continues to hit you”, three in five FSWs agreed or somewhat agreed that their IP would beat her more. One in five disagreed to the response “family would respect her more”. A majority of FSWs felt that other sex workers would consider her foolish; about one in two felt that her lover might leave her for another woman. About 93% of the FSWs said that getting beaten by IPs is not justified if she did nothing wrong. Significantly lesser percent (60%) of FSWs agreed that violence is not justified if she continues to see clients when he has asked her not to. To 71% of the FSWs, violence was not an acceptable response when she refused to have sex with her partner on a particular night. Nor was it seen as justifiable by one in three FSWs (35%) when she goes out without her IP’s permission. Violence was seen as acceptable by nearly one in five FSWs when the partner beats her so badly that she needs to seek medical care. Violence was not justified, stated three in four (75.4%) FSWs, when her partner fails to provide her financially. Similar, a number of FSWs agreed that their partner hitting them is not justified if he has multiple lovers. Only one in three FSWs (34.4%) agreed that violence is not acceptable/ justified in all the situations mentioned above.

Experience of IPV, solidarity and self-worth

IP violence is defined as when a person in a

relationship purposely hurts another person physically, emotionally or sexually. One in two FSWs (50.8%) experienced some form of violence in the six months that preceded the survey. About 49% of the FSWs experienced some form of emotional violence; one in three FSWs (33%) said that they faced some form of physical violence; and very few (6.3%) FSWs reported experiencing sexual violence. Only 16% FSWs experienced some form of violence, 15% FSWs reported experiences any form of physical violence, and nine percent of the FSWs reported that they experienced some form of sexual violence in the last six months from the clients.

To understand the severity of IPV in the six months that preceded the survey, questions on different acts of violence and their frequencies were asked. On average, about 24% of FSWs stated that they experienced violence severely. Nearly one in two (48.4%) FSWs did not disclose violence to anybody. One in five (21.5%) shared the experience of violence with their co-workers and slightly higher number (23%) of FSWs reported they disclosed IP violence with their friends. FSWs who shared it with family member constituted 17% and who shared with neighbours were one in ten. Only six percent of the FSWs shared the incidence of violence with CBOs. Of all the FSWs, who sought help for any source were 17% and nearly one in four FSWs managed the violence on her own. Findings show that a majority of the sex workers (61.7%) did nothing about IPV.

More than half of the FSWs were aware of the domestic violence act. However, only nine percent FSWs had any safety plan for times of violence. Nearly 60% of the FSWs were aware of some form of support structure. About one in four (23.4%) said that they were aware of *Santwana Kendras*⁴, seven percent FSWs were aware of a shelter or a short stay home, nearly 30% were aware of the police station, and one in five were aware

⁴ Counselling and help line centers for survivors of violence initiated by Government of Karnataka

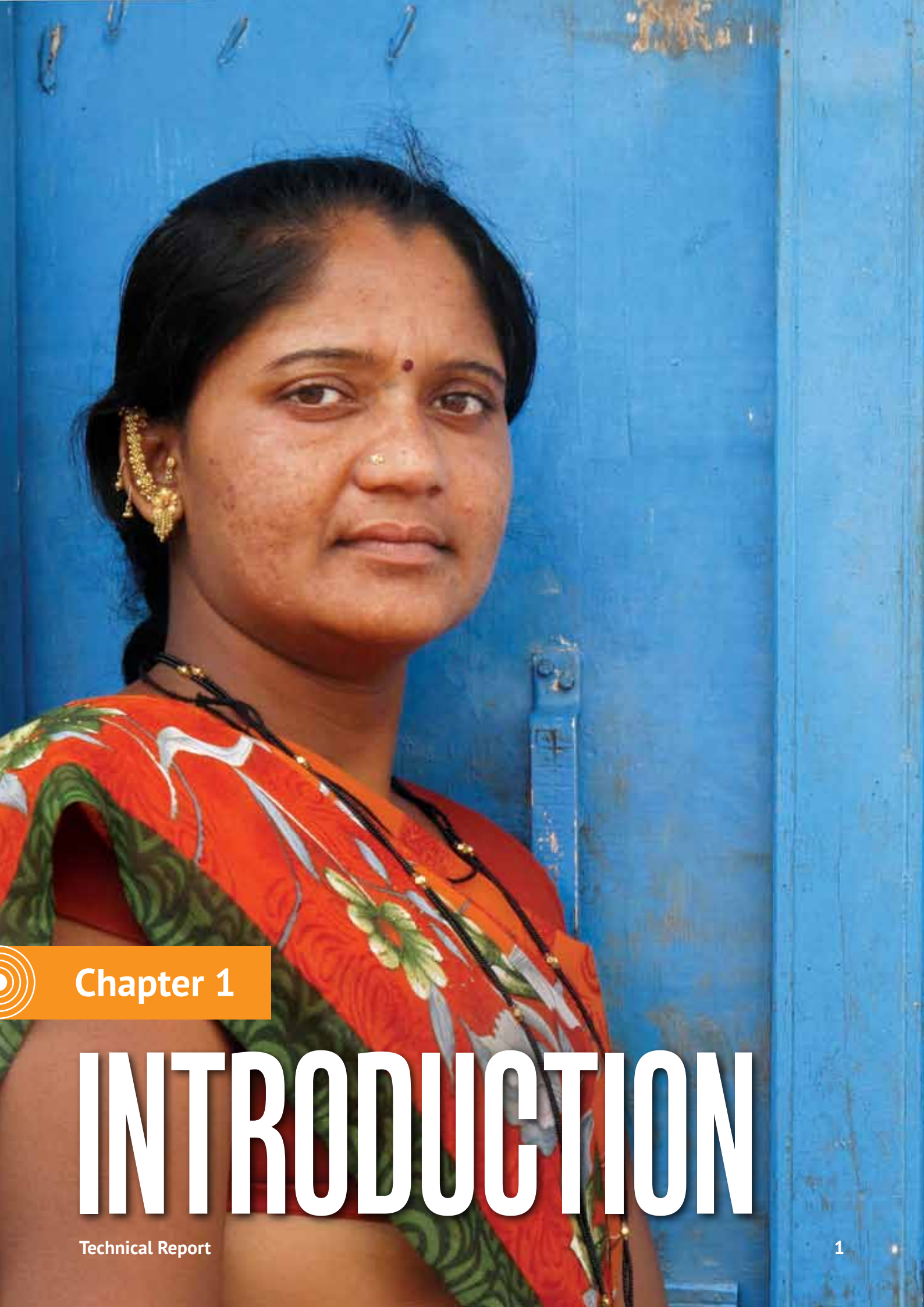
of the child development protection officers (CDPO). Only 23% of the FSWs were aware of the legal aid cells. It is important to note that, although one in two FSWs were aware of the support system, just four percent of the FSWs, or 15 out of 310 (who were aware of the services) availed these services. When it came to talking about IP problems, nearly one in three (34.4%) FSWs said that they never had confidence in other sex workers to discuss it. Nearly 46% of the FSWs said that they sometimes trusted other sex workers with it. About 36% of the FSWs reported that they never had confidence to go to their fellow FSWs for help while facing IPV. Only 10% of the FSWs felt there was competition for IPs in the community. Most of the FSWs (81%) said there was no competition among co sex workers for IPs “most of the times”. An attempt was also made to assess the extent of self-worth among the FSWs participated in the survey. Nine percent of FSWs thought of ending their life at some point in their life. Out of these, 30% said they thought of it in the last 30 days and 16% said that they even attempted to end their life.

STI/HIV risk perception, skills for self-protection & condom use among FSWs

Prevention of STI/HIV is important to a sex worker’s well-being. In this regard, information was gathered about the STI/HIV risk perception, skills for self-protection, and a sense of safety to challenge unsafe sex by FSWs. A total of 15% FSWs felt they were at risk of acquiring HIV. Nearly nine percent of the FSWs felt at risk, in high or medium levels, of acquiring HIV from their IP. FSWs got tested for HIV in the six months that preceded the survey were 83% of the total. When asked whether they visited an STI clinic in the last six months, nearly 52% of the FSWs said that they did. About 38% of the FSWs knew someone who was currently on ART. More than half of the FSWs were confident of convincing their IPs to use condoms, and similar number of FSWs felt they could convince their IPs to go for STI testing and treatment. Overall, about 35% of FSWs were confident of convincing their IPs for all the three activities.

Information was collected on FSWs sense of safety in challenging unsafe sex. More than half (55%) of FSWs reported that they asked their current IP to use a condom. About 41% of the FSWs said that their current IP used a condom on his own. With regard to objection to use a condom, about 19% of FSWs said that their current IP ever objected to its use. One in ten FSWs (10.8%) ever refused to have sex with any of their IP without using condom. It is important to note that only 20 FSWs (3%) out of the 620 surveyed ever objected to use of a condom with any of their IPs. Nearly 83% of FSWs said that the majority of the FSWs she knows do not use condoms with their lovers. Higher number (95%) of them reported that her friends thought she should use condoms with her lover to protect herself from disease.

About 42% of the FSWs had sexual intercourse with the IP for less than three times in the one month that preceded the survey and about 30% of the FSWs had sex with the IP more than five times in the last month. With regard to anal sex with the IP in the last six months, about one in ten FSWs said that they had anal sex. When asked if they used a condom at last sex with the IP, about 56% of the FSWs said that they did and around 43% of the FSWs reported using condoms consistently with the IP. Nearly 14% of the FSWs used female condoms. Condom use with the clients was high (94.5%) at last sex. Only seven percent of the FSWs reported ever having anal sex with occasional/regular clients in six months that preceded the survey. When asked what are the issues that prevent the FSWs from using a condom with their IPs, majority of the FSWs (81.3%) said that it was an issue of trust; this was cited three times more than the issue of getting pregnant (24.4%) and around five times more than IP not liking to use a condom (16.5%).



Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Gender-based violence stems from the low social status of women and girls, undermining their safety and wellbeing. In the context of India, as in many low and middle-income countries, gender-based violence includes child marriage, sexual violence and intimate partner violence (IPV). A WHO multi-country study⁵ of domestic violence and women's health found that partner violence is the most common form of violence. Data from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-3⁶ indicates the extent of gender-based domestic violence in India – 35% ever married women aged 15-49 years experienced spousal physical or sexual violence (in Karnataka it is 20%). The prevalence of violence is much higher among rural women than urban women; among women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST) than women from the general category, thereby increasing the risk and vulnerability of rural and SC/ST women.

Northern Karnataka is home to one of the most marginalised SC/ST communities in its rural areas – the Devadasi sex workers, through a tradition in which young girls are initiated as Devadasis, which provides them cultural sanction to engage in sex work. Their situation makes them vulnerable to violence from clients (56%), intimate partners (23%), police (7%), and “rowdies” (7%).⁷ In a participatory assessment workshop (2012) that KHPT conducted, FSWs identified key triggers of IPV as insistence on condom use, influence of alcohol, refusal to

give status of wife to FSW, to have children with her, or accept her children. However, most of the interventions to address violence against sex workers are targeted at clients and the police. Addressing IPV is a challenging programmatic gap since the woman and her partner may be in more than one intimate relationship.² The FSW-IP relationships are complex with 98% FSWs reporting economic and non-economic support from their main IPs, including emotional support, social status, and protection from other men².

FSWs reported low condom use at last sex with their main IPs at 38%. As per the Polling Booth Survey (PBS), 2009, 27% FSWs in Karnataka reported that they could not use the condom because either of the partners was under the influence of alcohol.⁸ Data from NFHS-3 indicates that women whose husbands drink alcohol experience significantly higher rates of violence than women whose husbands do not drink at all. A paper by Beattie et al (2010)⁹ shows significant linkage between women who reported violence, low condom usage, and reduced likelihood of accessing HIV services. Gurnani et al (2011)¹⁰ cite findings indicating the possibility of addressing the broader structural factors of violence as part of HIV prevention programmes.

1.2 The intervention

Because violence persists in sex workers' relationships with their IPs, an intervention and evaluation study, Samvedana Plus, was

⁵ Heise, Lori L., 2011 What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview

⁶ <http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/frind3/15chapter15.pdf>

⁷ <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2458/10/476/>

⁸ KHPT, 2010, HIV/AIDS Situation and Response in Karnataka: Epidemiological Appraisal Using Data Triangulation.

⁹ Beattie et al, “Violence against female sex workers in Karnataka state, south India: impact on health, and reductions in violence following an intervention program”, BMC Public Health 2010, 10: 476

¹⁰ Gurnani et al, “An integrated structural intervention to reduce vulnerability to HIV and sexually transmitted infections among female sex workers in Karnataka state, south India”, BMC Public Health 2011, 11:755

designed to understand and address violence and HIV risk in the intimate partnerships of female sex workers. Karnataka Health Promotion Trust (KHPT) programmes have successfully reduced violence by clients, police and gangs against FSWs, largely through advocacy and community mobilisation. KHPT is implementing Samvedana Plus, with 800 FSWs and their IPs, in partnership with Chaitanya AIDS Tadegattuwa Mahila Sangha, a community-based organisation (CBO) of sex workers in northern Karnataka, India. This programme will run from 2015 to 2017 with support from the United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women (UNTF), What Works to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls consortium and the University of Manitoba, Canada. Samvedana Plus is informed by successful strategies piloted with the support of Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and UNTF from 2013 to 2014. Within the DFID-funded STRIVE consortium, KHPT and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) are evaluating the impact of Samvedana Plus on violence and condom use in sex-workers' intimate relationships.

The intervention is composed of innovations aimed at three levels: among individual FSWs and their IPs; through CBOs of FSWs; and in the wider community where the FSWs and their partners live. At the level of FSW collectives, the intervention will focus on strengthening supportive crisis management systems for FSWs experiencing intimate partner violence, improved distribution of male and female condoms, and improved referrals to clinical services for FSWs and their partners.

The study will test whether the intervention can increase condom use and reduce violence within the sex workers' intimate partnerships. At the larger community level, the intervention will link the FSW groups to women's organisations, identify and train male champions and folk media troops to build a community environment that encourages action against IPV.

Samvedana Plus was designed not only as a set of interventions to reduce FSWs' HIV/STI risk and vulnerability, but also to study the structural drivers of HIV transmission. Specifically, the programme will investigate the relationship between social norms and HIV risk in the context of FSWs' intimate partnerships and assess the efficacy of its interventions to alter such norms.

1.3: Study design

As stated earlier, the intervention began in April 2014 and is proposed for a period of three years. It covers 800 FSWs and their IPs in 47 villages in Bagalkot district of northern Karnataka. Out of these, 50% of the village clusters (n=24) will receive the intervention for the first 24 months (Cohort 1); the remaining 50% (n=23) from months 25 to 36 (Cohort 2). The evaluation will have three main components:

- a Quantitative assessments, which will include quantitative baseline, midline and endline assessments with the FSWs, and baseline and endline assessments with their IPs.
- b Qualitative process documentation, which will include longitudinal case studies with the FSWs and their IPs, as well as in-depth interviews with the facilitators of the programme.
- c Detailed implementation monitoring by measuring the exposure of each target group to the various components of the intervention.

The study employed a cluster-randomised control trial design with waitlist control, using the village as the unit of randomization. In both cohorts, the baseline was conducted in June 2014. The design of the study was based on an enumeration of the FSWs in the villages of Mudhol and Jamkhandi talukas of Bagalkot district in 2011-12 to identify those who fulfil the following criteria: (a) more than one IP; (b) frequently changing IPs; and (c) whose IP has more than one sexual partner. These characteristics were associated with STI

vulnerability in a previous study.

Forty-seven villages were identified for intervention, with intensive programme components introduced in the phased manner described above. The villages were stratified on the basis of two criteria – population size and number of FSWs with IPs (<=12 FSWs and >12 FSWs. There are two sets of villages i.e. villages with <=12 FSWs and with >12 FSWs in the strata.) – to allocate cohorts. Two strata of FSWs with IPs and three strata of village population size were created, giving a total of six strata (three sub-groups based on size of population under each group based on number of FSWs with IPs). Randomization of villages was then performed within each stratum using STATA. Half the villages were randomised into Cohort 1 and the other half into Cohort 2, acting as a control arm initially and receiving the intervention after 24 months.

Instruments and measures:

As part of the baseline, cross-sectional surveys were conducted through face-to-face interviews using an interviewer-administered questionnaire for the FSWs and their IPs in both cohorts. These surveys measured the following:

- a Existing levels of condom use and IPV in the intimate relationships of the target FSWs and their IPs
- b Structural factors that influence condom use and IPV in FSWs’ intimate relationships;
- c Existing levels of sense of self-worth; individual and collective efficacy; critical thinking on gender, violence, social norms and HIV risks among the FSWs and their IPs; sense of safety and well-being among the FSWs; awareness among FSWs and their IPs about HIV/ STI risks in the context

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE	COHORT	
	1	2
Number of villages	24	23
Mean household size	5.3	5.3
Sex ratio (F/M*1000)	983	985
SC population (%)	19.7	20.7
ST population (%)	4.5	2.3
SC/ST population (%)	24.2	23.0
Total literate adults (%)	53.4	52.0
Literate males (%)	60.9	60.2
Literate females (%)	45.7	43.7

of intimate partnerships; awareness among FSWs, their IPs and other stakeholders about violence, rights and the law; and acceptance of IPV among the FSWs.

For each indicator measured, broad indicator domains were delineated and questions were developed for each subject domain. The survey questionnaires were developed in English, translated into Kannada, the local language,

pretested, piloted, revised, and translated back into English.

Sampling:

The following sampling criteria were used for FSWs and IPs:

FSW sampling: A regularly updated line list of FSWs and their IP status maintained by the CBO were used to identify the FSWs for baseline

surveys. All women who engage in commercial sex work, are over 18, have an IP or did, in the preceding six months from these 47 villages, were surveyed face-to-face programme exposure variables.

Although the aim was to interview 800 FSWs from the intervention and control villages (47), only 620 FSWs could be interviewed due to lack of willingness on the part of FSWs to be part of the study.

Ethical Issues: Appropriate procedures were followed to obtain informed consent from the respondents. A key source of potential distress for the FSWs could be to disclose acts of violence or coercion by their IPs. The study took great care to minimise potential for such distress or harm – questions were carefully worded to ensure that they were non-judgmental; the interviews were conducted in private; interviewers were trained to respond sensitively to disclosures of violence or requests for assistance, and the respondents were directed to sources of support, if required. The study obtained the requisite ethical clearances from institutional review boards in India and the collaborating institutions. A broad-based Community Advisory Board (CAB) was established.

Consent Forms: Interviews were conducted in private settings in a sensitive and non-judgmental manner. The purpose of the study was introduced and the respondent's written or witnessed consent was administered using an informed consent form prior to the interview. The Kannada/ English version of the consent/ assent form was given to the participants to read; it also was read out and explained prior to the interviews. Written informed consent was sought prior to conducting the interviews. With those who could not read or write, oral consent was sought from a friend or family member of the respondent's choosing. As part of the consenting procedure, participants were assured that their participation was voluntary, and that their decision to participate or not would not affect

any benefits they receive from the intervention.

Confidentiality : In the context of IPV research, confidentiality is both a foundation for participant privacy and a strategy for limiting harmful fallouts that may occur if others deduce the nature of the research. Therefore, training and strict guidelines were imparted to the field team to emphasise the importance of confidentiality as a cornerstone of the research. Anonymity was maintained by using proxy names to distinguish individual participants. The identity of the participants and the information shared by them were not revealed to anyone not working in the research study. At no time was any of the information given by individual participants shared with anyone outside the research team. All questionnaires were stored in locked filing cabinets in the KHPT offices in Bangalore after the data has been computerised. The computer data was password protected and only the statisticians working on the teams were authorised to open and/ or use the data. Unique identifying numbers were used to identify the questionnaires; no identifying names were entered with the computer data. All data used at LSHTM was kept on the secure server.

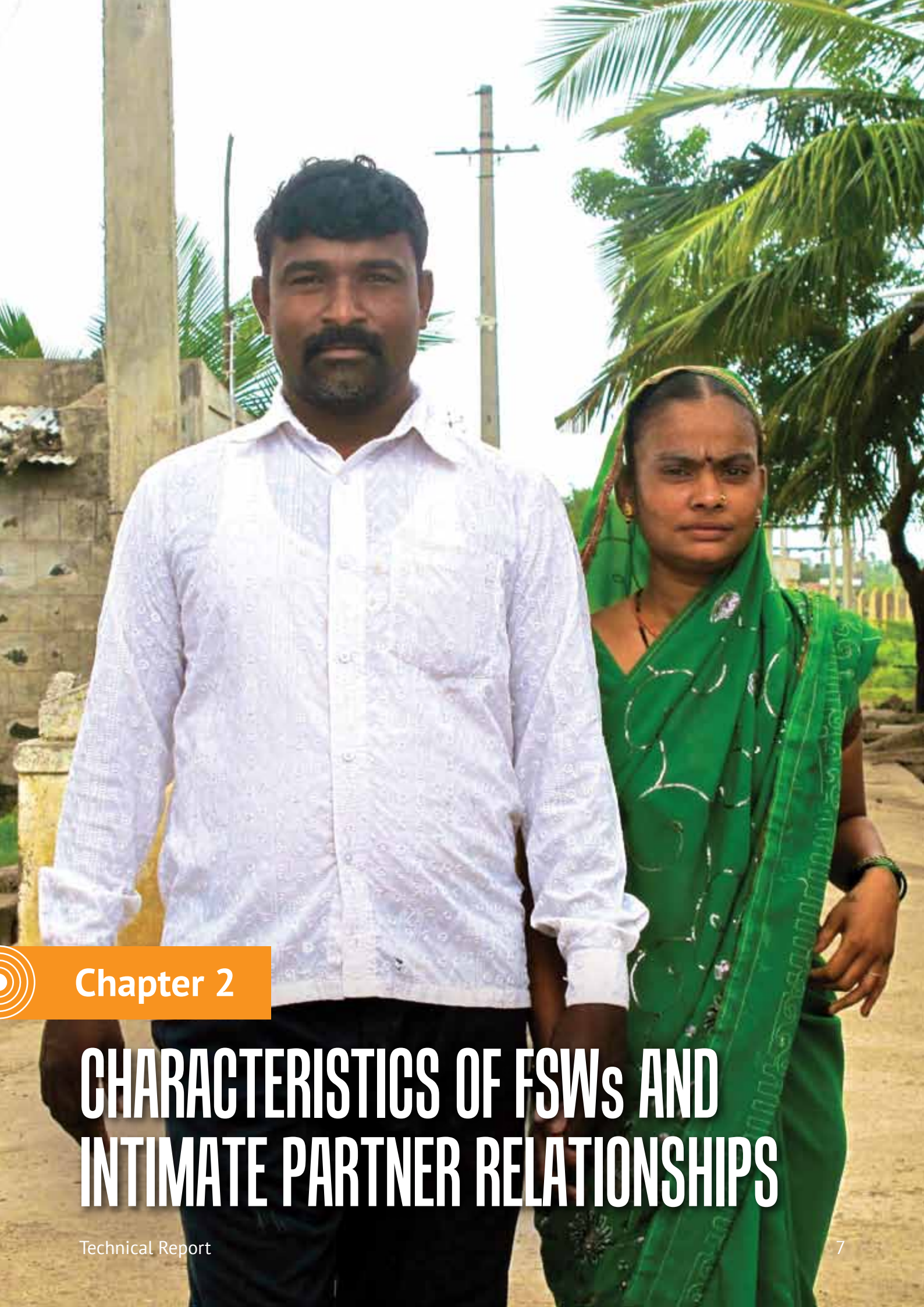
Ensuring participant and researcher safety
Training of interviewers included content on gender, violence and HIV, role-plays, and value clarification exercises to limit the possibility that they will consciously or unconsciously come across as judgmental toward the respondents. They were extensively trained on the survey instrument and how to handle potential breaches of privacy. To limit stigma and possible retaliation from abusive partners, the study was referred to in the community and with other family members as a study on women and men's relationships. Respondents were informed of the true nature of the study as part of the informed consent process. The FSWs and their IPs were interviewed separately. Discussions with CBO members running the project revealed that the FSWs live independently and have their own source of income, making them less vulnerable

to threats of retaliation than other women might be. In addition, many of the IPs does not belong to the same village as their FSW partners. During consent, access numbers to crisis response teams were given to the women that they could call in case of a crisis. The interviews were one-on-one and there was a code used to stop talking if the event of an interruption, and a plan to start the interview over at a new time or place which was decided prior to the interview, as a part of the process. Interview locations were determined according to the respondent's convenience.

Data Analysis: Univariate and bi-variate analyses were done using the STATA 14.0 version software.

1.4: Structure of the report

This report is divided into five chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 describes the socioeconomic and psychosocial characteristics of female sex workers and their intimate partners. Chapter 3 highlights gender equity aspects with regard to IPs, empirical and normative expectations on violence, reported consequences of violence, and levels of acceptability of IP violence. Chapter 4 deals with violence from IPs and clients in relation to intimate relationships, severity and disclosure of IPV, help-seeking behaviour, awareness on the Domestic Violence Act and support structures, and actions taken by FSWs. Chapter 5 addresses the issues of STI/HIV risk perceptions, skills for self-protection, and a sense of safety to challenge unsafe sex by FSWs, and also covers aspects of sexual behaviour and condom use by FSWs with intimate partners and with clients.



Chapter 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF FSWs AND INTIMATE PARTNER RELATIONSHIPS

To understand IPV in the context of sex work, we need to have information on triggers of violence. These key triggers include insistence on condom use, influence of alcohol, refusal to give status of wife to an FSW, to have children with her, or accept her children, and so on. Moreover, addressing IPV becomes a challenge if the woman and/or her partner are in more than one intimate relationship because the FSW-IP relationships include economic and non-economic support, emotional support, social status, and protection from other men. This chapter provides a profile of FSWs and their IPs, who participated in the study, and gives information on their socioeconomic and psychosocial characteristics.

2.1: Socio-demographic characteristics of FSWs

Socio-demographic factors are important as they affect a sex worker's ability to function normally in her everyday life. Their vulnerability to violence or HIV is heightened because it is inextricably linked to the occupational contexts of their work, characterised most commonly by age, education, income levels, endemic violence, number of children, place of sex work and so on. This section focuses on sociodemographic characteristics of sex workers alone. Table 2.1 shows that the mean age of the FSWs was 34.5 years. Of the total FSWs surveyed, about 48% fell in the age group of 26-35 years. The next biggest group (40%) was that of FSWs who were above 36 years of age. Only 12% FSWs were aged 25 or below. A vast majority of the

FSWs - nearly nine in ten (89.8%) - were nonliterate while just one in ten was literate. As stated in the introduction chapter, the study was undertaken with the Devadasis of northern Karnataka. About 96% of the surveyed FSWs said that they were Devadasis. Consequently, as the tradition proscribes them from marrying, 95% of the FSWs reported that they did not marry. About five percent said that they ever married. The FSWs who were surveyed reported that they had two children, on average. The findings indicate that FSWs who had only two children made up about 37% of the FSWs while those with three children or above constituted 30.2% of the total. Nearly one in five FSWs (18.9%) had only one child and one in seven (13.7%) had no children at all. Nearly two in three FSWs (67.7%) had children exclusively with the intimate partner and around 11% of the FSWs said that they had children exclusively with others, who were not IPs. Only a small number of FSWs, around 7% of the total, said that they had children both with the IPs as well as others. Majority of the FSWs (82.3%) had an alternate source of income other than the sex work. Only 18% of the FSWs relied exclusively on sex work as their source of income. Of those who had an alternate source of income, about 57% of them were part of the non-agriculture sector. Only a minor part of the FSWs (16.9%) were agricultural labourers, and a small portion of the FSWs were doing other work such as salaried employment (3.7%), petty business (2.3%), and artisan/handicrafts (0.5%).

Table 2.1 Sociodemographic characteristics of female sex workers

Percentage of FSWs by selected socio-demographic characteristics

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
Total	100	620
<i>Age in Years</i>		
<= 25	11.9	74
26-35	48.1	298
36+	40.0	248

Table 2.1 contd.

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
Mean age	34.5	620
<i>Literacy status</i>		
Non-literate	89.8	557
Literate	10.2	63
<i>Current marital status</i>		
Never married	95.2	590
Ever married	4.8	30
<i>Respondent belongs to Devadasi community</i>		
No	3.9	24
Yes	96.1	596
<i>Number of children</i>		
0	13.7	85
1	18.9	117
2	37.3	231
3+	30.2	187
Mean number of children	2.0	620
<i>With whom FSW has children</i>		
No children 13.7 85	13.7	85
Only with IP	67.7	420
IP and others	7.3	45
Others only	11.3	70
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>		
No	17.7	110
Yes	82.3	510
<i>Occupation apart from sex work</i>		
Only sex work	17.7	110
Agricultural labour	16.9	105
Non-agricultural labour	56.6	351
Other work	8.7	54
<i>Occupation apart from sex work</i>		
Only sex work	17.7	110
Agricultural labour	16.9	105
Non-agricultural labour	56.6	351
Other work	8.7	54
<i>Average monthly income (in rupees)</i>		
<3500	22.1	137
3500-6999	60.5	375
7000+	17.4	108
Mean average monthly income	4882	620

The average monthly income of the FSWs varied. A majority of them (60.5%) earned between Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 6999. Nearly one in five FSWs (22.1%) earned less than Rs. 3500 per month and slightly lesser number (17.4%) earned more than Rs. 7000 per month.

Sex work characteristics have a bearing upon the violence a sex worker experiences and they also show her vulnerability to violence. Therefore, information on place of solicitation, age as it relates to sex work, duration in sex work, number of clients, and types of clients was collected as part of the survey. The following section highlights the findings.

2.2: Sex work related characteristics of FSWs

Table 2.2 Sociodemographic characteristics of female sex workers

Percentage of FSWs by selected sex work characteristics

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
Total	100	620
<i>Place of solicitation</i>		
Home	76.0	471
Public places	14.4	89
Phone/others	9.7	60
<i>Age at first sex</i>		
Age <14 years	17.1	178
Age 14-15 years	45.0	279
Age 16+ years	26.3	163
Mean age at first sex	14.6	620
<i>Age at start of sex work</i>		
Age <14 years	17.1	106
Age 14-15 years	45.2	280
Age 16+ years	37.7	234
Mean age at first sex	15.2	620
<i>Duration in sex work</i>		
< 10 years	9.8	61
10-19 years	41.0	254
20+ years	49.2	305
Mean duration in sex work	19.3	620
<i>Client volume per week*</i>		
1 client	35.1	214
2 clients	30.0	183
3+ clients	34.9	213
Mean clients per week	2.7	610
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>		
Occasional clients only	5.3	33
Regular clients only	41.1	255
Occasional & regular clients	53.5	332

*Excludes 10 missing cases

As Table 2.2 indicates, most of the FSWs had sex before the age of 16. Of these, 45% of the FSWs stated that they had sex between 14-15 years of age. About 29% of the FSWs said that they had sex before they reached 14 years. Nearly one in four (26.3%) had sex after they reached 16 years of age or above. Overall, the average age at which the FSWs of the study had sex was 14.6 years of age.

Considering the fact that the first sex experience is different from being part of sex work, the FSWs were asked at what age they began sex work. On average, the FSWs started sex work at the age of 15.2 years. For the 14-15-year age group, the percentage of FSWs who experienced sex for the first time (45%) is almost same as the number of FSWs who said they started sex work (45.2%). However, about 29% of FSWs who said they had first sex below 14 years of age, only 17% said that they started sex work before they turned 14. On the other hand, while about 26% said that they had their first sex above 16 years of age, around 38% of them stated that they started sex work only after 16 years of age. One in two FSWs (49.2%) was in sex work for more than 20 years. A similar number of FSWs replied that they started sex work at the age of 14-15. Two in five FSWs stated that they were in sex work for between 10-19 years. And only one in ten FSWs (9.8%) stated that they were in sex work for less than ten years. On average, the mean duration of sex work was found to be 19.3 years.

Three in four FSWs (76%) solicited sex at their home. Very few sex workers (14.4%) went outside their home for soliciting sex work. An even lesser number (9.7%) solicited sex work telephonically or through other means. On average, the number of clients an FSW had per week was close to three (2.7). One in three (35.1%) reported that they had just one client per week and near equal number of FSWs (34.9%) reported that they had more than three clients a week. A slightly lesser percentage of FSWs (30%) reported that they had two clients a week. (Ten FSWs did not answer this question.)

The FSWs were asked about the types of clients they had and whether they were occasional clients exclusively or regular clients exclusively. They were also given an option of stating whether they had both types of clients. Of all the FSWs who took the survey, more than half (53.5%) said that they had both regular clients as well as occasional clients. Most of them (41%) said that they had regular clients exclusively and very few FSWs (5.3%) said that they had occasional clients exclusively.

2.3: Background characteristics of IPs

As the study focuses on addressing the violence faced by the sex workers, an integral part of the study was to understand the IPs and what prompts them to be violent. The current survey gathered information on characteristics of IPs as they may have a bearing on perpetration of violence. These characteristics included the age of IPs, caste, marital status, type of IP, duration of relationship, etc.

Table 2.3 shows that almost all the FSWs (96.9%) stated that they had just one IP. Only six in 620 (1%) FSWs stated that they had two IPs. Only one respondent said she had three IPs. However, 12 (1.9%) of 620 FSWs stated that they had no IP. The FSWs were asked whether they had a breakup with an IP in the past 6 months that preceded the survey. A vast majority of the FSWs (94.5%) stated that they had no breakup. Only 34 in 620 FSWs (5.5%) stated that they broke up with their IP in the past six months.

In the context of the current research in Karnataka, the term “lover” is typically used by younger participants to refer to their IPs whereas the term “husband” is typically used by FSWs such as Devadasis to refer to an informal and longstanding relationship (since Devadasi, in accordance with tradition, cannot legally marry). “Hiriya” and “Malak” are terms used by older sex workers to refer to a more permanent, or regular non-paying partner with whom an emotional bond is shared. When the FSWs were asked about the nature of their IP relationship,

three in four (77.7%) said that their relationship with their IP can be termed as *Hiriya/Malak*. One in five (20.6%) said that the relationship can be termed as that of a lover/boyfriend whereas around two percent of the FSWs said that the relationship they have with their IP is that of a husband.

The FSWs were asked about the age of their IP. The average age of the IP of the FSWs was 40.3 years. The findings show that one in two IPs (50.6%) was between 30-40 years of age, followed by two in five FSWs who responded that their IP was above 40 years of age. Around nine percent said that the IP age was below 30 years. The findings show that the IPs are more educated than the sex workers. While nearly 90% of the FSWs were non-literate, only 67%

of the IPs were non-literate. A vast majority of the FSWs (88.7%) stated that their IPs were currently married. Only a small percentage (9.4%) said that their IPs were never married. About two percent stated that their IPs were deserted, separated, divorced, or widowed.

The occupation of most of the IPs of the FSWs was related with agriculture, either as cultivators or farm labourers. Nearly one in three IPs (31.7%) were cultivators and nearly equal number (32.8%) were agricultural labourers. The non-agricultural labourers were just 14% whereas one in five (21.2%) were doing other work that is not related to agriculture and labour. While all the FSWs were from SC/ST caste, two in five IPs (38.9%) were from SC/ST caste while the remaining IPs (61.1%) were from other castes.

Table 2.3 Background characteristics of intimate partners (IPs)

Percentage of FSWs by selected characteristics of their IPs

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
Total	100	620
<i>Number of IPs</i>		
1	96.9	601
2	1.0	6
3	0.2	1
No Current IP	1.9	12
<i>Experienced breakup with an IP in past 6 months</i>		
No	94.5	586
Yes	5.5	34
<i>IP relationship with FSWs</i>		
Husband	1.6	10
Lover/Boyfriend	20.6	128
<i>Hiriya/Malak</i>	77.7	482
<i>Age (in years)</i>		
<30	8.5	52
30-40	50.6	311
>40	41.0	252
Mean age at first sex	40.3	615
<i>Literacy status</i>		
Non-literate	66.9	415
Literate	33.1	205

Table 2.3 Contd.

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
<i>Marital status</i>		
Never married	9.4	58
Currently married	88.7	548
Deserted/separated/divorced/widowed	1.9	12
<i>Occupation</i>		
Cultivator	31.7	196
Agricultural labourer	32.8	203
Non-agricultural labourer	14.2	88
Other work	21.2	131
<i>Caste</i>		
SC/ST	38.9	235
Others	61.1	369
<i>Total number of children IP has</i>		
0	10.2	63
1 to 2	25.5	158
3 to 4	31.1	193
5+	33.2	206
Mean number of total children IP has	3.4	620
<i>Number of children IP has with FSWs</i>		
0	24.6	152
1	20.6	127
2	30.6	189
3+	24.1	149
Mean number of children IP has with FSWs	1.6	617
<i>Frequency of alcohol use</i>		
Never	68.9	427
Occasionally	24.4	151
Frequently	6.8	42
Mean number of children IP has with FSWs	1.6	617

On an average, IPs had more than three children (3.4). Only a minor percentage (10.2%) of IPs had no children. One in four (25.5%) had one to two children, nearly one in three (31.1%) had three to four children, and a slightly more number of IPs (33.2%) had more than five children. On average, an IP had between one and two children (1.6) with the FSWs who were surveyed. One in four IPs (24.6%) did not have any children with the FSWs. On the other hand, about 21% have just one child with the FSWs whereas a slight higher number of IPs (30.6%)

had two children. Nearly one in four IPs (24.1%) had three or more children with the FSWs (three FSWs did not answer the question).

As the use of alcohol has been associated with the tendency of violence, the survey asked the FSWs about the alcohol use of the IPs. Most of the IPs, as stated by the FSWs, never used alcohol. Two in three IPs (68.9%) never used alcohol. One in four (24.4%) occasionally used alcohol whereas a minor percentage (6.8%) frequently used alcohol.

2.4 Characteristics of intimate relationship

As characteristics of intimate relationship strongly correlated to the violence faced by the sex workers in a relationship, the survey contained questions related to duration of intimate relationship, frequency of IP visits, frequency of sex encounters, and use of alcohol. Also, questions related to the support provided by the intimate partner as well as the fears of FSW towards the IP relationships were probed.

As Table 2.4 shows, the mean duration of intimate relationship with the IP, as reported by the FSW, was 12.4 years. Of total, about 62% of the FSWs stated that their relationship with the IP was for more than 10 years. Nearly one in four FSWs (23.7%) stated that their relationship was for 5-9 years. Only 14% of the FSWs reported that the relationship was for less than five years.

A majority of the IPs were also first clients to the FSWs. Nearly two in three (63.8%) FSWs said that they met their IP first as a client. Only one in three (36.2) said that they met the client outside of sex work. When the FSWs were asked whether their IPs knew that they did sex work, a vast majority of them (84%) said that their IPs were not aware of their sex work. Only a minor percentage (16%) said that their IP knew that they were in sex work. A majority of FSWs (46.3%) said that they met their IPs at least once a week. Nearly one in four FSWs (27%) said that they met their IPs at least once a month. Of the total, about 19% FSWs said that they met their IPs almost every day and only 8% FSWs said that they did not meet their IPs even once a month.

The average number of intercourses that the FSWs had with their IPs in the last seven days was around one (1.2). However, about 42% of FSWs said that they had no intercourse with IPs in the last seven days. Nearly one in four (26.6%) FSWs said that they had intercourse just once in the last seven days. Slightly more number of FSWs (31.8%) said that they had intercourse two or more times in the last one

week. The FSWs were asked about the number of sexual intercourses with IPs in the last one month from the date the interview was conducted. Thirty-six FSWs chose not to answer the question. Of the remaining, 45% of the FSWs said that they had less than three intercourses with the IP in the last one month. Nearly one in four (23.8%) said they had it between three to four times and the remaining (31.3%) said that they had it for more than five times. On average, it was found that the FSWs had between four to five sexual intercourses (4.7) with the IP in the last one month.

A majority of the IPs (76%) never consumed alcohol during sex in the past one month. One in five (19.4%) said that their IPs consumed alcohol some of the times when they had sex. Only 5% of the FSWs said that their IPs consumed alcohol frequently when they had sex. Similarly, a vast majority of the FSWs (95.5%) said that they did not consume alcohol, whereas only 5% FSWs claimed that they consumed alcohol while having sex in the past one month.

Support systems play important roles in the lives of sex workers, especially when they are susceptible to multiple vulnerabilities, such as financial, social, and emotional. Almost all the FSWs (99.7%) said that having IPs provided them with emotional support and almost an equal number of FSWs (99%) said that they provided financial support as well. This was followed up physical protection support (96.1%) and decision-making support (90.5%). A vast majority (80.3%) of the FSWs also mentioned social support by IPs. However, a minority of FSWs (30.2%) mentioned that they provided financial support to their IPs.

FSWs were asked how they perceived their relationship with their IPs. This was operationalized as containing three aspects: (a) fear of IPs, (b) fear that the IPs will leave them, and (c) tension in their relationship with their IPs. Findings show that one in two (50.5%) FSWs said that they were afraid of their IPs. But only one in four (27.4%) FSWs felt that their IPs

would leave them. Even lesser number of FSWs (18.4%) stated that they have tension in their relationships with their IPs.

Table 2.4 Characteristics of intimate relationship

Percentage of FSWs by selected relationship level characteristics

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
Total	100	620
<i>Duration of intimate relationship</i>		
<5 years	14.0	87
5 to 9 years	23.7	147
10+ years	62.3	386
Total	12.4	620
<i>Male partner was a client before turning to an IP</i>		
No	36.2	224
Yes	63.8	394
<i>Frequency of visit by IP</i>		
Almost every day	18.9	116
At least once a week	46.3	285
At least once a month	27.0	166
Less often	7.8	48
<i>IPs aware of FSW's sex work profession</i>		
No	84.0	518
Yes	16.0	99
<i>Number of sexual intercourse with IP in the last 7 days</i>		
No intercourse	41.6	258
One time	26.6	165
Two or more times	31.8	197
Mean number of sexual intercourse with IP in the last 7 days	1.2	620
<i>Number of sexual intercourse with IP in last one month*</i>		
<3 times	44.9	262
3-4 times	23.8	139
5+ times	31.3	183
Mean number of sexual intercourse in last one month	4.7	584
<i>IP under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>		
IP consumed alcohol most of times	4.7	29
IP consumed alcohol some of the times	19.4	120
IP never consumed alcohol	76.0	471
<i>FSW under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>		
FSW consumed alcohol	4.5	28
FSW never consumed alcohol	95.5	592

Table 2.4 Contd.

CHARACTERISTICS	%	NO. OF FSWs
<i>Support system in intimate relationship</i>		
Financial support by IP	99.0	614
Financial support to IP	30.2	187
Emotional support by IP	99.7	618
Physical protection support by IP	96.1	593
Social support by IP	80.3	498
Decision-making support by IP	90.5	560
FSWs feel afraid of their IP	50.5	313
FSWs think their IP will leave them	27.4	170
FSWs who have tension in their relationship with IP	18.4	114

* Excludes 36 cases reported Don't Know/remember the number of sexual intercourse in last one month





Chapter 3

GENDER ATTITUDE, SOCIAL NORMS AND ACCEPTANCE OF VIOLENCE

To know more about the views of sex workers on gender attitudes, social norms and violence acceptance, the FSWs were asked a series of questions on the following broader themes: gender equity in relation to their IPs; empirical and normative expectations on violence and reported consequences of violence, including what happened when the FSWs departed from the norms; and whether violence was acceptable/justified or not. The responses were analysed based on the background characteristics of FSWs, IPs and clients to know if the responses differed significantly based on these characteristics. The characteristics included: age, literacy status, children, income source, place of solicitation, duration in sex work, and types of clients. The findings are reported below.

3.1 Intimate relationships and principles of equity and respect

Table 3.1a and table 3.1b show that only 1% of the FSWs disagreed with the statement “adults should resolve conflicts through discussion”. A vast majority (81%) of them agreed and the remaining 18% “somewhat” agreed with the statement. As for the perceived agreement on gender equity and respect in intimate partner relationship, it was found that there was no significant difference in the responses of FSWs based on their background characteristics (such as age, literacy status, children, income source, place of solicitation, duration in sex work and types of clients).

A majority of the FSWs (59.2%) disagreed with the statement “a woman should not tolerate violence for the sake of her children”, whereas nearly 6% of them completely agreed with it. Of the 41% who agreed, FSWs who were below 25 years agreed more (52.7%) while FSWs above 36 years of age agreed less (37.2%). FSWs who were literate (44%), without children (49.4%), and who solicited sex work at home (44.3%) were more in agreement with the statement. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (22.5%), had more than three clients per week (31%) and who were in sex work for more than 20

years (37.5%) agreed less than others. On the other hand, FSWs who had two clients per week (53%) and FSWs with occasional clients only (57.6%) agreed the most.

When the FSWs were given the statement “A woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep her family together”, a majority of the FSWs (64.1%) disagreed with the statement and only 6% of them completely agreed with it. FSWs who did not disagree (36%), FSWs who were under 25 years (48.6%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (42%), who had more than two clients per week (45%), without children (42.4%), and who only had occasional clients (45.5%) agreed more than others. However, literate FSWs (30%) and those who solicited sex in public places (31.5%) agreed less the least.

When it came to having a man with her, most of the FSWs (65.6%) disagreed with the line “a woman is not seen as more respectable if she has a man with her”. Of the remaining 35%, there was no significant difference in responses in relation to age or number of children or duration in sex work. However, the FSWs who were literate (47.6%) and who solely depended on sex work (39.1%) agreed more than others whereas the FSWs who solicited sex in public places (28.1%), who had just one client per week (28%), and had regular clients (27.5%) agreed relatively less when compared to others.

There was a mixed response to the line “a woman should have the right to do sex work regardless of what her lover may think.” Nearly 36% of the FSWs disagreed with the statement. Of the remaining 64%, there was no significant difference in response in terms of age, having children, and source of income. Literate FSWs (52.4%), FSWs who solicited sex in public places (30.3%) and with more than three clients per week agreed less (56.1%). FSWs with occasional clients only (77.4%) and who solicited sex through phone (73%) agreed the most.

When it came to a woman's role in a relationship, only one in ten (10.2%) agreed with the idea that her role is not only to serve her partner. A majority of them (53.9%) disagreed with the statement. Of those who did not disagree (46.1%), there was no significant difference in response based on age, having children, duration of sex work, and client volume per week. Literate FSWs agreed the least (34.9%) followed by FSWs with occasional clients only (39.4%) who agreed less compared to others. FSWs who relied on sex work alone for income agreed the most (58.2%) and so did FSWs who solicited sex on phone (58.3%).

There was relatively mixed response to the statement "men need sex and cannot control their urges", with one in five (20.5%) disagreeing with the statement. Of the remaining 79.5%, there was no significant difference based on age, literacy levels, having children, source of income, and duration in sex work. However, FSWs who solicited sex in public places agreed the most (95.4%) and who had just one client per week (66.7%) and with regular clients only (70%) agreed the least.

When asked whether women and men should

share work both within and outside of the home, nearly 6% of them disagreed with the statement. Of the remaining 94%, there was no significant difference in response based on background characteristics. However, noticeable differences were seen among FSWs who were literate (100%) and who solicited sex through phone (90%).

When the FSWs were given the statement "forcing a woman to have sex when she does not want to is a sign of disrespect", only a minority (15.6%) of them disagreed with the statement. Of the remaining 84%, below 25 years of age (77%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (68.9%), with just one client (78.4%), and with regular clients only (77.2%) agreed less than others. However, FSWs who solicited sex in public places (95.5%) agreed more than other groups.

When asked whether "neighbours should intervene if they hear a woman being beaten by her lover", only 12% of them disagreed with the statement. Of the remaining 88%, FSWs who solicited sex in public places (94.4%) agreed more than others and who had occasional clients only (72.7%) agreed less than others.



Table 3.1a Intimate relationship built on principles of equity and respect

Percentage of FSWs by their perceived agreement on gender equity and respect in IP relationships

STATEMENTS	AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	DISAGREE
Adults should resolve conflict through discussion	81.0	17.9	1.1
A woman should not tolerate violence for the sake of her children	5.5	35.3	59.2
A woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	6.5	29.4	64.1
A woman is not seen as more respectable if she has a man with her	2.6	31.8	65.6
A woman should have the right to do sex work regardless of what her lover may think	25.5	35.6	36.1
A woman's role in a relationship is not only to serve her partner	10.2	35.9	53.9
Men need sex and cannot control their urges	38.7	37.3	20.5
Women and men should share work both within and outside of the home	69.0	25.3	5.6
Forcing a woman to have sex when she does not want to is a sign of disrespect	39.5	44.5	15.6
Neighbours should intervene if they hear a woman being beaten by her lover	36.9	51.1	11.9
Number of FSWs	620	620	620

Table 3.1b Intimate relationship built on principles of equity and respect

Percentage of FSWs by their perceived agreement on gender equity and respect in intimate partner relationship by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Adults should resolve conflict through discussion	A woman should not tolerate violence for the sake of her children	A woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.	A woman is not seen as more respectable if she has a man with her	A woman should have the right to do sex work regardless of what her lover may think
Total	98.9	40.8	35.9	34.4	62.9
<i>Age in Years</i>					
<= 25	98.6	52.7	48.6	37.8	60.8
26-35	99.0	40.7	31.6	35.9	64.1
36+	98.8	37.2	37.1	31.5	61.9
<i>Literacy status</i>					
Non-literate	98.9	40.4	36.5	32.9	64.1
Literate	98.4	44.4	30.2	47.6	52.4
<i>Has children</i>					
No	100.0	49.4	42.4	32.9	60.7
Yes	98.7	39.4	34.8	34.6	63.2
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>					
No	99.1	42.7	33.6	39.1	64.5
Yes	98.8	40.4	36.3	33.3	62.5
<i>Place of solicitation</i>					
Home	99.6	44.3	36.4	36.1	67.8
Public Spaces	100.0	22.5	31.5	28.1	30.3
Phone/ others	91.7	40.0	38.3	30.0	73.3
<i>Duration in sex work</i>					
< 10 years	98.4	41.0	42.6	34.4	57.4
10-19 years	99.2	44.7	33.6	37.4	64.9
20+ years	98.7	37.5	36.4	31.8	62.2
<i>Client volume per week</i>					
1 client	99.5	40.6	32.4	28.0	65.8
2 clients	98.9	53.0	44.8	39.3	69.2
3+ clients	98.6	31.5	32.9	37.6	56.1
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>					
Occasional clients only	97.0	57.6	45.5	33.3	77.4
Regular clients only	99.6	40.7	32.3	27.5	60.6
Occasional & regular clients	98.5	39.2	37.7	39.8	63.1

A woman's role in a relationship is not only to serve her partner	Men need sex and cannot control their urges	Women and men should share work both within and outside of the home	Forcing a woman to have sex when she does not want to is a sign of disrespect	Neighbours should intervene if they hear a woman being beaten by her lover	FSWs agree 6 or more specific attitudes	Number of FSWs
46.1	78.8	94.4	84.3	88.1	79.5	620
46.6	82.2	93.2	77.0	86.5	77.8	74
45.3	75.8	95.0	83.8	87.9	78.8	298
47.0	81.4	94.0	87.1	88.7	80.9	248
47.4	78.4	93.7	84.5	87.6	79.8	557
34.9	81.7	100.0	82.5	92.1	76.7	63
46.4	79.5	95.3	81.2	91.8	79.3	85
46.1	78.6	94.2	84.8	87.5	79.5	535
58.2	77.3	94.5	82.6	84.5	81.7	110
43.5	79.1	94.3	84.7	88.8	79.0	510
43.5	76.5	94.5	82.7	86.4	80.4	471
51.7	95.4	96.6	95.5	94.4	78.2	89
58.3	71.7	90.0	80.0	91.7	75.0	60
41.7	77.6	93.4	68.9	90.2	71.9	61
47.2	77.3	95.7	85.0	85.8	81.5	254
46.1	80.2	93.4	86.8	89.5	79.3	305
42.1	66.7	91.1	78.4	87.9	73.0	214
47.8	82.8	95.6	89.1	85.8	87.2	183
49.1	87.2	96.7	86.3	89.7	80.8	213
39.4	78.1	97.0	90.9	72.7	80.6	33
44.7	70.0	91.4	77.2	89.8	69.9	255
47.9	85.1	96.4	89.1	88.3	86.2	332

3.2 Social norms on violence and perceived consequences

When regard to empirical expectations, two statements were given to FSWs. As Table 3.2a and table 3.2b show, for the first statement, “the majority of women I know, believe that men have a right to beat them if they have done something wrong”, only a minority of the FSWs (16.5%) disagreed. Of the remaining (83.4%), FSWs who were younger than 25 years (69.4%), and who were literate, FSWs (73%), who solicited clients through phone (66.1%) and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (66%), and who had occasional clients only (75.8%) agreed less than others. Having children, source of income, and client volume per week had no significant difference on the responses.

For the second statement, “the majority of women I know would rather accept violence than lose their relationship,” only 14% FSWs disagreed. Of the remaining 85%, whose age was less than 25 years agreed less (73.6%) and so did a similar percent of literate (74.6%). Having children and source of income made no significant difference. FSWs who solicited through phone (67.8%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (66.1%) and had occasional clients only (75.8%) agreed less than others. On the other hand, FSWs with two clients per week responded favourable (91%) than others in the group. The next four statements in the survey tool were related to normative expectations. The first of the statements, “the majority of my friends think I should tolerate violence from my lover”, nearly 20% disagreed.

Of the remaining 80%, the FSWs younger than 25 years (71%) and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (67.8%) agreed less than others. Literacy status, having children, source of income, place of solicitation, clients per week and types of clients did not make any significant difference in responses. FSWs (30%) reported that they had two clients a week. (Ten FSWs did not answer this question.)

For the statement “my family thinks that I should tolerate violence from my lover,” 18% FSWs disagreed. Of the remaining 82%, there was no significant difference in response based on age, literacy status, having children, source of income, and types of clients. However, there was a slightly less agreement by FSWs who solicit sex through phone (76.3%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (74.6%), and whose client volume was just one per week (76.3%). When given the statement, “the majority of my friends think I should obey my lover and do what he says”, one in four (24.7%) FSWs disagreed with the statement. Among the remaining 75%, FSWs who were literate agreed more (85.7%), and the FSWs who had occasional clients only agreed the least (66.7%).

One in five FSWs disagreed with the statement, “my family expects me to obey my lover and do what he says”, and (19.2%). Of the remaining 80%, who were older than 36 years (75.4%), who solicited sex through phone (71.7%), and who had occasional clients only (72.7%) agreed less than others whereas FSWs who were literates (92%) agreed more.

Table 3.2a Social norms on violence and perceived consequences

Percentage of FSWs agreed to the empirical and normative expectations on violence and reported consequences of violence

STATEMENTS	AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	DISAGREE
<i>Empirical expectations</i>			
The majority of women I know believe that men have a right to beat them if they have done something wrong	53.4	29.5	16.5
The majority of women I know would rather accept violence than lose their relationship	42.4	42.4	14.5
<i>Normative expectations</i>			
The majority of my friends think I should tolerate violence from my lover	34.5	45.0	19.7
My family thinks that I should tolerate violence from my lover	24.8	56.5	17.9
The majority of my friends think I should obey my lover and do what he says	33.5	41.5	24.7
My family expects me to obey my lover and do what he says	30.6	50.0	19.2
<i>Consequences of departing from norms (What FSWs think would happen if they threaten to leave their lover if he continued to hit them)</i>			
Lover would beat her more	23.1	34.8	41.0
Her family would respect her more	26.3	52.4	20.0
Other sex workers would consider her foolish	26.1	44.4	29.2
Lover might leave her for another woman	13.7	39.4	45.2

Table 3.2b Social norms on intimate partner violence

Percentage of FSWs by their perceived agreement on social norms related to intimate partner violence by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Empirical expectations		Normative expectations				No. of FSWs
	Majority of women I know believe that men have a right to beat them if they have done something wrong	Majority of women I know would rather accept violence than lose their relationship	Majority of my friends think I should tolerate violence from my lover	My family thinks that I should tolerate violence from my lover	Majority of my friends think I should obey my lover & do what he says	My family expects me to obey my lover and do what he says	
Total	83.4	85.4	80.2	82.0	75.2	80.8	620
<i>Age (in years)</i>							
<= 25	69.4	73.6	70.8	79.2	73.0	82.4	72
26-35	85.2	87.2	81.5	85.5	75.4	84.8	297
36+	85.4	86.6	81.3	78.5	75.7	75.4	247
<i>Literacy status</i>							
Non-literate	84.6	86.6	80.4	81.5	74.1	79.5	553
Literate	73.0	74.6	77.8	85.7	85.7	92.1	63
<i>Has children</i>							
No	85.9	84.7	76.5	80.0	71.8	81.2	85
Yes	83.1	85.5	80.8	82.3	75.8	80.7	531
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>							
No	82.6	85.3	80.7	84.4	70.9	82.7	109
Yes	83.6	85.4	80.0	81.4	76.2	80.4	507
<i>Place of solicitation</i>							
Home	85.7	87.4	79.9	81.4	75.5	81.9	468
Public places	83.1	86.5	85.2	88.8	76.4	80.9	89
Phone/others	66.1	67.8	74.6	76.3	71.7	71.7	59
<i>Duration in sex work</i>							
< 10 years	66.1	66.1	67.8	74.6	73.8	82.0	59
10-19 years	85.8	88.1	83.0	86.9	75.1	85.0	253
20+ years	84.9	86.8	80.2	79.3	75.7	77.0	304
<i>Client volume per week</i>							
1 client	85.4	84.0	76.8	76.3	71.7	77.1	212
2 clients	85.8	91.3	85.2	86.3	78.1	84.6	183
3+ clients	80.1	83.4	80.0	84.8	77.0	81.7	211
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>							
Occasional clients only	75.8	75.8	75.8	78.8	66.7	72.7	33
Regular clients only	80.6	82.6	78.1	77.8	73.5	78.4	253
Occasional & regular clients	86.4	88.5	82.2	85.5	77.4	83.4	330

To understand the consequences of departing from norms, a set of four statements were given to FSWs. All the four statements were framed as responses to the question “what do you think would happen if you threaten to leave your lover/IP if he continues to hit you”. The following are the results, as mentioned in Table 3.2c.

Two in five FSWs (41%) disagreed with the response “lover would beat her more”. Of the remaining 59%, who were younger than 25 (43.2%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (38.3%), and who saw both occasional clients only (51.5%) were less likely to agree more than others compared to FSWs in the age group of 26-35 (64.2%), who solicited sex at public places (77%) and FSWs with two clients per week (67.8%), who were more likely to agree.

One in five (20%) disagreed to the response “family would respect her more”. Of the remaining 80%, there was no significant difference in response based on the background characteristics. Nearly 29% of the FSWs disagreed to the response “other sex workers would consider her foolish”. Of the remaining 71% who did not disagree, significant difference was noticed among FSWs who were literate (63.5%), with more than three clients per week (61.6%), and who solicited sex in public places (56.3%), all of who agreed less than others.

Lastly, when given a response of “lover might leave her for another woman”, 45% of the FSWs disagreed with the statement. Of the remaining 54%, FSWs who solicited sex in public places tended to agree more (77%) whereas those who were in sex work for less than 10 years (46.7%), with one client (41.8%) and had regular clients only (44.7%) agreed less compared to others.



Table 3.2 c Consequences of intimate partner violence

Percentage of FSWs by perceived consequences of intimate partner violence by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	<i>What would happen if FSWs threaten to leave their lover if he continued to hit them</i>				Number of FSWs
	Lover would beat her more	Her family would respect her more	Other sex workers would consider her foolish	Lover might leave her for another woman	
Total	83.4	85.4	80.2	80.8	620
<i>Age (in years)</i>					
<= 25	43.2	82.2	68.9	47.3	74
26-35	64.2	78.0	73.0	57.9	293
36+	56.5	81.1	68.5	51.4	246
<i>Literacy status</i>					
Non-literate	59.1	79.3	71.5	53.8	550
Literate	54.0	83.9	63.5	55.6	63
<i>Has children</i>					
No	55.4	81.9	75.3	57.3	83
Yes	59.1	79.4	70.0	53.5	530
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>					
No	56.5	81.5	66.7	60.2	108
Yes	59.0	79.4	71.6	52.7	505
<i>Place of solicitation</i>					
Home	55.2	80.6	74.7	49.9	467
Public places	77.0	76.4	56.3	77.0	87
Phone/others	57.6	78.3	60.0	52.5	59
<i>Duration in sex work</i>					
< 10 years	38.3	83.3	75.4	46.7	60
10-19 years	64.9	80.1	73.8	56.8	251
20+ years	57.3	78.7	67.2	53.2	302
<i>Client volume per week</i>					
1 client	52.1	77.3	73.8	41.8	211
2 clients	67.8	84.0	79.2	61.2	180
3+ clients	59.0	79.5	61.6	62.5	212
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>					
Occasional clients only	51.5	84.8	69.7	50.0	33
Regular clients only	53.0	74.4	67.1	44.7	251
Occasional & regular clients	63.5	83.3	73.6	61.7	329

3.3: Recognition of male dominance and unacceptance of violence in an intimate relationship

To understand what percentage of FSWs, by specific situations, thought violence is not acceptable/ justified, a series of questions were asked. The questions tried to understand what percentage of FSWs agreed that a man is not accepted/ justified in beating his lover in certain situations. The following are the findings.

Nearly 93% of the FSWs said that beating her is not justified if she did nothing wrong (Table 3.3). Of the responses, there was no significant difference on any background characteristics. Only the FSWs who solicited sex through phone (86.7%) agreed significantly less than others.

Nearly three in four (75%) said that the partner cannot hit her if she did not prepare good food for him, or prepare it on time. There was significant difference in the case of FSWs who solicited over the telephone (85%) and who had only one client per week (69%). Nearly 60% of FSWs agreed that violence is not justified if she continues to see clients when he has asked her not to. FSWs who had only sex work as their source of income (54%), with more than three clients (54%), and both occasional and regular clients (54%) agreed less than the others. There was significantly low agreement from FSWs whose place of solicitation was at public places (38.8%).

Violence was not an acceptable response to 71% of the FSWs when she refuses to have sex with her partner on a particular night. There was significantly low agreement in response when they had children (66.7%) and when the place of solicitation was a public place (50.6%). However, if they were literate (82.3%) they tended to agree more than the average. Violence was seen as not justifiable by two in three FSWs (64.8%) when she goes out without her IP's permission. There was significant difference among FSWs whose place of solicitation was a public place (54.8%) and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (73.8%). Violence was not seen as acceptable by 82% of

the FSWs when the partner beats her so badly so that she needs to seek medical care. Literate FSWs (87%) and who have occasional clients only (87.5%) agreed slightly more than others.

Violence was not justified in three of four (75.4%) FSWs, when her partners fail to provide her financially. FSWs below 25 years of age (85.1%), literate (85.7%), who were in sex for less than ten years (85.2%), and who have occasional clients only (91%) agreed more than others. FSWs who have two clients per week (69.2%) and who solicited sex in public places (59.1%) agreed less. Nearly 74% of all FSWs agreed that her partner hitting her is not justified if he has multiple lovers. FSWs who solicited sex in public places seem to agree less (59.3%) and so did FSWs who had two clients per week (65.4%). However, FSWs who were less than 25 years of age (81%), in sex work for less than ten years (82%) and who saw occasional clients only (94%) agreed more than others.

Lastly, only one in three FSWs (34.4%) agreed that violence is not acceptable/ justified in all the situations mentioned above. FSWs who were below 25 years of age (40.5%), who were in sex work for less than ten years (41%), and who saw occasional clients (42.4%) agree more. FSWs who solicited clients in public places (23.6%) agreed less.

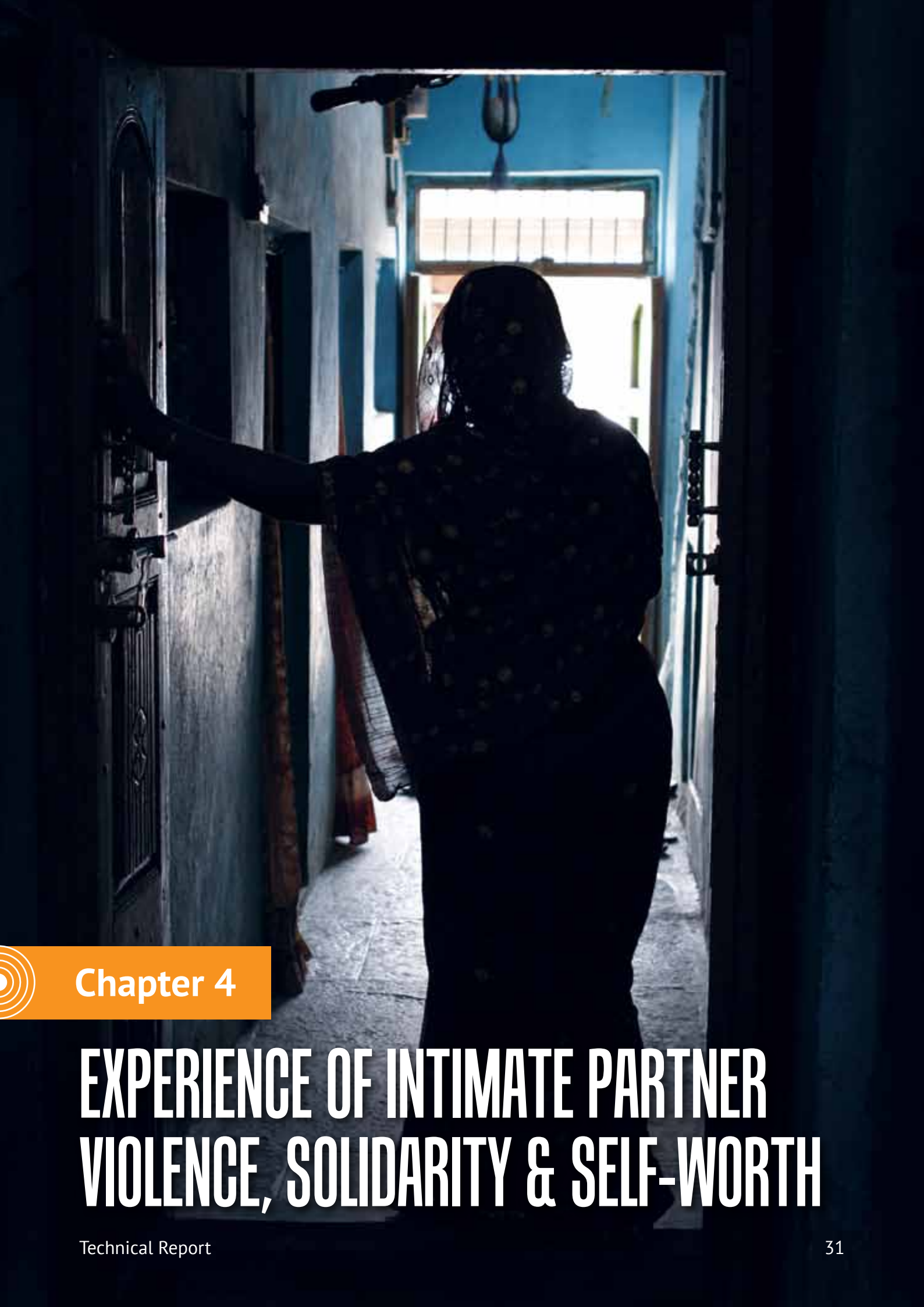
Table 3.3 Recognition of male dominance and unacceptance of violence in an intimate relationship

Percentage of FSWs by specific situations when violence is not acceptable/justified to them by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	<i>Percentage of FSWs who agree that a man is not accepted/justified in beating his lover if:</i>			
	She did nothing wrong	She did not prepare food for him well or on time	She continues to see clients when he has asked her not to	She refuses to have sex with him on a particular night
Total	93.1	74.7	60.3	71.3
<i>Age in Years</i>				
<= 25	91.9	77.0	59.5	77.0
26-35	93.3	74.8	59.8	73.3
36+	93.1	73.8	61.1	67.2
<i>Literacy status</i>				
Non-literate	92.8	74.3	59.8	70.1
Literate	95.2	77.8	64.5	82.3
<i>Has children</i>				
No	90.6	77.6	56.5	66.7
Yes	93.4	74.2	60.9	72.1
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>				
No	90.9	79.1	54.1	69.2
Yes	93.5	73.7	61.6	71.8
<i>Place of solicitation</i>				
Home	93.8	72.8	63.5	74.3
Public Spaces	93.3	77.5	38.8	50.6
Phone/ others	86.7	85.0	65.0	76.7
<i>Duration in sex work</i>				
< 10 years	91.8	73.8	60.7	77.0
10-19 years	93.3	75.6	56.3	73.1
20+ years	93.1	74.1	63.5	68.7
<i>Client volume per week</i>				
1 client	92.0	69.2	64.8	72.6
2 clients	94.0	80.9	62.0	69.6
3+ clients	93.0	74.6	53.8	71.5
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>				
Occasional clients only	93.9	81.8	65.6	78.1
Regular clients only	92.1	71.0	67.6	74.8
Occasional & regular clients	93.7	76.8	54.1	67.9

Percentage of FSWs who agree that a man is not accepted/ justified in beating his lover if:

She goes out without his permission	He beats her so badly so that she needs to seek medical care	He fails to provide her financially	He has multiple lovers	Percentage of FSWs said not acceptable/ justified in all situations	Number of FSWs
64.8	81.6	75.4	73.9	34.4	619
68.9	81.1	85.1	80.8	40.5	74
68.4	83.2	76.5	73.9	34.2	297
59.2	79.8	71.3	72.0	32.7	248
64.1	80.9	74.3	73.1	33.8	556
71.0	87.3	85.7	81.0	39.7	63
60.7	82.4	72.9	73.8	31.8	85
65.4	81.5	75.8	74.0	34.8	534
60.0	78.2	77.3	69.7	30.0	110
65.8	82.3	75.0	74.9	35.3	509
65.7	81.5	78.1	76.8	35.9	470
54.8	85.4	59.1	59.3	23.6	89
71.7	76.7	78.3	72.9	38.3	60
73.8	83.6	85.2	82.0	41.0	61
67.5	84.2	77.2	73.6	34.3	254
60.7	79.0	72.0	72.6	33.1	304
64.2	80.4	79.4	80.4	36.9	213
64.4	78.7	69.2	65.4	31.1	183
66.4	84.9	76.1	74.0	33.8	213
62.5	87.5	90.9	93.9	42.4	33
65.6	80.8	77.3	78.7	39.2	254
64.3	81.6	72.5	68.2	29.8	332



Chapter 4

EXPERIENCE OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE, SOLIDARITY & SELF-WORTH

IP violence is when one person in a relationship purposely hurts another person physically, emotionally or sexually. IP violence is also called domestic violence because it is often caused by a husband, a partner or a lover. To understand the various aspects related to IP violence, the survey included various questions related to the following: violence from IPs and from clients; experience of violence by selected characteristics of the IPs, clients, and intimate relationships; severity of experience of IP violence; disclosure of IP violence and help-seeking behaviour; awareness on domestic violence act and sense of safety; awareness about support structure available to FSWs; and individual and collective actions taken to challenge IP violence.

Information was gathered on the FSWs' experiences of different forms of violence in the last six months preceding the survey. The questions were divided into three categories - emotional, physical and sexual violence - and were related to the FSWs themselves as well as their IPs and clients. Multiple questions were asked under each category to get a breadth of responses. The following are the findings.

4.1: Violence from intimate partners

Table 4.1 shows that one in two FSWs (50.8%) experienced some form of violence in the six months that preceded the survey. Nearly one in four (23.4%) experienced it only once in the past six months, a similar percentage (24.2%) of FSWs experienced violence a few times, and only 3% of the FSWs experienced violence many times in the same time period. Table 4.2a provides information on how the responses varied on the background characteristics of FSWs. Results show that the FSWs under the age of 25 years (29.7%), who had just one client per week (38.8%), who have children (40%), and with regular clients only (40.4%) experienced significantly lesser violence compared to others. However, literate women experienced more (58.7%) violence when compared to non-literates (48%). FSWs who solicited sex in public places experienced violence the most (71%)

while FSWs who were in sex work for less than 10 years experienced the least (26.2%).

Emotional violence: About 49% of the FSWs experienced some form of emotional violence in the six months preceding the survey; 25% of FSWs experienced it only once, 20% experienced it a few times, and three percent experienced it many times. Nearly 42% FSWs stated that they were humiliated in front of others, and nearly 30% said it happened once in the past six months. When it came to IP threatening to harm her or someone close to her, nearly 23% of the FSWs said that it happened in the last six months, majority of whom stated that it happened only once. A similar percentage of FSWs (26%) said that they were insulted repeatedly to make them feel bad about themselves, and most of them (16%) said it happened only once. Nearly one in four (23.4%) said that they faced things that scared or intimidated them on purpose, half of whom said it happened once in the last six months.

Physical violence: One in three FSWs (33%) said that they faced some form of physical violence in the last six months; nearly half (17.4%) of those who faced it said that it happened once, and slightly lesser percent (13%) said it happened a few times. The majority of FSWs (23.6%) said that they were shaken, pushed or had thrown something at them, followed by "slapped or shoved" (17.6%), "hit with a fist" (16%), or "kicked or beaten" (15%). In nearly half of all these cases, it happened once. "Choked/burnt" (1.5%) and threatened to use a weapon (0.6%) were rarely mentioned with regard to physical violence. Around two percent of the FSWs said that any of these incidents happened multiple times in the last six months.

Sexual violence: Very few (6.3%) of the FSWs reported experiencing sexual violence. Of these, (5.6%) were physically forced to have sex, threatened by violence or rejection (3.4%) and forced to do something degrading (1.1%). Half of these happened once in the last six months.

Table 4.1 Experience of intimate partner violence

Percentage of FSWs experienced different forms of violence in the last 6 months preceding the survey

TYPE OF VIOLENCE	Ever experienced in last 6 months	Frequency of experience of violence in last 6 months		
		Once	Few times	Many times
Any violence	50.8	23.4	24.2	3.2
<i>Emotional violence</i>				
Any form of emotional violence	49.0	25.8	20.0	3.2
Said or did something to humiliate her in front of others	41.9	29.4	9.8	2.7
Threatened to hurt or harm her or someone close to her	22.6	15.2	6.5	1.0
Insulted repeatedly to make her feel bad about herself	26.0	16.6	7.3	2.1
Done things to scare or intimidate on purpose, e.g. by way of looking at her, by yelling or smashing things	23.4	12.7	7.9	2.7
<i>Physical violence</i>				
Any form of physical violence	33.1	17.4	13.1	2.6
Pushed, shaken, or thrown something	23.6	12.0	9.4	2.3
Slapped or shoved	17.6	8.4	6.8	2.4
Hit with a fist that could hurt	16.5	10.5	3.9	2.1
Kicked/dragged or beating	15.7	6.9	6.6	2.1
Choked or burnt on purpose	1.5	0.8	0.2	0.5
Threatened to use or actually used a knife, gun or any other weapon	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.2
<i>Sexual violence</i>				
Any form of sexual violence	6.3	3.5	2.1	0.6
Physically forced you to have sex with him even when she did not want to	5.6	2.9	2.1	0.6
Used threats of violence or rejection to force her to have sex with him when she did not want to	3.4	1.8	1.0	0.6
Forced her to do something sexual that she found degrading or humiliating	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.0
Number of FSWs	620	620	620	620

4.2: Experience of violence by background characteristics of FSWs

This section described the findings related to FSWs who experienced different forms of violence in the last six months preceding the survey, from both the intimate partners and the clients, in relation to their selected background characteristics.

4.2.1: Violence from intimate partners

Emotional violence: When one looks at how background characteristics influence experience of violence, the data shows (Table 3.2a) that, when compared to others, those who were below 25 years (28.4%) were half as likely as FSWs between 25-39 (53.7%) to experience it, and the same holds true for FSWs who were in sex work for less than 10 years (25%) compared to others. FSWs who had children (37%) and who had one client per week (38%) experienced significantly lesser violence. However, FSWs who were literate (57%), who solicited sex at public places (72%), had two clients (59%), and who had both occasional and regular clients (59%) reported experiencing significantly more violence compared to their counterparts.

Physical violence: FSWs who were less than 25 years of age (16.2%), FSWs who worked for less than 10 years (16.4%), had one client per week (20%), and who had regular clients only (19%) were half as likely as others to have experienced physical violence. On the other hand, FSWs who were literate (41%), who solicited sex in public places (48%), had more than three clients (42%), and who had both regular and occasional clients (43%) experienced significantly more violence than others.

Sexual violence: When it came to sexual violence, however, FSWs who were younger than 25 years (8%) experienced more sexual violence than FSWs who were about 36 years of age (4.8%). FSWs who solicited sex in public places (3.4%) were half as likely to experience it as those who solicited it at home (7%). FSWs who were in sex work between 10-19 years (8.3%) were more than twice as likely as FSWs in sex work for less than 10 years (3.3%) to

experience sexual violence. FSWs who had only one client per week (3.7%) and who had regular clients only (4.3%) were half as likely as others to face sexual violence.

4.2.2: Violence from Clients

Only 16% of the FSWs experienced some form of violence from the clients (Table 3.2a). FSWs who were between 26-35 years of age (21.5%) were nearly thrice as likely as those younger than 25 years of age (8.1%) to experience it. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (29.2%) were nearly five times as likely to experience it as FSWs who solicited sex through phone (6.7%). Same holds true for FSWs who had both occasional and regular clients (25.3%) compared to FSWs who had only regular clients (5.5%). Similarly, FSWs who were in sex work for 10-19 years (22.4%) were thrice as likely as those who were in it for less than 10 years (8.2%) to face violence from clients. FSWs who had more than three clients per week (24.4%) were four times as likely to face it as FSWs who had only one client per week (6.5%).

Physical violence: Physical violence: Only 15% of the FSWs reported any form of physical violence from clients (Table 3.2a). FSWs who were between 26-35 years of age (19.8%) were thrice as likely as FSWs who were below 25 years of age to experience it. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (25.8%) were four times more likely to experience it compared to those who solicited by phone (6.9%). FSWs who were in sex work for 10-19 years (21.3%) were thrice as likely to face it from the clients as those in it for less than 10 years (6.6%). Similarly, FSWs with three clients per week (22.5%) were nearly thrice as likely to experience physical violence when compared to who had just one client per week (6.1%). Lastly, FSWs who had both occasional and regular clients (24.2%) were over five times more likely to face physical violence from the clients compared to who had just regular clients only (4.3%) and twice as likely as FSWs who had only occasional clients (9.1%).

Table 4.2a Experience of violence by background characteristics of FSWs

Percentage of FSWs experienced different forms of violence in the last 6 months preceding the survey by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Experience of violence from intimate partners				Experience of violence from clients			
	Any violence	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	Any violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	No. of FSWs
Total	50.8	23.4	24.2	3.2	50.8	23.4	24.2	3.2
<i>Age in Years</i>								
<= 25	29.7	28.4	16.2	8.1	8.1	6.8	4.1	74
26-35	55.7	53.7	38.6	7.0	21.5	19.8	11.8	298
36+	51.2	49.6	31.5	4.8	12.5	12.2	6.6	248
<i>Literacy status</i>								
Non-literate	49.9	48.1	32.1	6.1	15.3	14.4	8.0	557
Literate	58.7	57.1	41.3	7.9	25.4	22.2	15.9	63
<i>Has children</i>								
No	40.0	37.6	27.1	7.1	17.6	16.7	13.3	85
Yes	52.5	50.8	34.0	6.2	16.1	15.0	8.1	535
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>								
No	47.3	45.5	33.6	7.3	13.6	13.6	8.3	110
Yes	51.6	49.8	32.9	6.1	16.9	15.6	8.9	510
<i>Place of solicitation</i>								
Home	46.3	44.2	29.7	7.0	15.1	14.3	9.6	471
Public Spaces	71.9	71.9	48.3	3.4	29.2	25.8	9.1	89
Phone/ others	55.0	53.3	36.7	5.0	6.7	6.9	1.7	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>								
< 10 years	26.2	24.6	16.4	3.3	8.2	6.6	4.9	61
10-19 years	56.3	53.9	39.8	8.3	22.4	21.3	11.9	254
20+ years	51.1	49.8	30.8	5.2	12.8	11.9	7.0	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>								
1 client	38.8	37.9	20.1	3.7	6.5	6.1	4.2	214
2 clients	59.0	57.4	38.3	7.1	19.1	18.0	10.9	183
3+ clients	56.3	54.0	41.8	8.5	24.4	22.5	11.9	213
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>								
Occasional clients only	48.5	48.5	39.4	9.1	9.1	9.1	3.0	33
Regular clients only	40.4	39.2	19.2	4.3	5.5	4.3	3.9	255
Occasional & regular clients	59.0	56.6	43.1	7.5	25.3	24.2	13.1	332

Sexual violence: Nearly 9% of the FSWs surveyed reported that they experienced some form of sexual violence in the last six months (Table 3.2a). FSWs who solicited sex on phone (1.7%) were significantly less likely to experience sexual violence compared to others (over nine percent). FSWs who were between 26-35 years (11.8%) were twice as likely to face it as those below 25 years of age (4.1%). Similarly, FSWs who were non-literate (8%) were about half as likely as those who were literate (15.9%) to experience it, and who were in sex work for 10-19 years (11.9%) were over twice as likely to experience it compared to those with less than 10 years of sex work (4.9%). Lastly, FSWs who had both occasional and regular clients were four times as likely as those who just had occasional clients to experience it.

4.3 Experience of violence by selected characteristics of their intimate partners

As stated earlier, nearly 51% of the FSWs experienced violence from their IPs. Table 3.2b shows that IPs who were less than 30 years of age (35%), who were never married (38%), and who never used alcohol (43.8%) were significantly less likely to indulge in violence compared to others. On the other hand, IPs who used alcohol frequently (74%) were most likely to indulge in violence than others. Otherwise, the IP's literacy status, his caste, and whether he had a child with the FSW or not did not make any difference in his predisposition towards violence.

Emotional violence: When it came to emotional violence, nearly 49% FSWs experienced it from their IPs. FSWs whose IPs who were less than 30 years of age (31%), who were never married (36%), and who never had alcohol (42%) experienced significantly lesser emotional violence compared to others. On the other hand, IPs who had alcohol occasionally (63%) and who had it frequently (69%) exhibited most violence.

Physical violence: With regard to physical violence, one in three (33%) of the FSWs

reported experiencing it. IPs who were less than 30 years of age (21%) and who were never married (22.4%) inflicted significantly lesser physical violence on FSWs than others. The IPs that showed significantly more violence were those who used alcohol frequently (74%), which is three times more violence compared to those who did not drink.

Sexual violence: Sexual violence is the least reported form of violence (6.3%). In this as well, IPs younger than 30 years of age (3.8%), and who were never married (3.4%) were least likely to show sexual violence. However, IPs who frequently used alcohol (23.8%) were more than seven times as likely to indulge in it compared to those who never had alcohol (3.7%).

4.4: Experience of violence by selected characteristics of intimate relationship

The survey also aimed to find out if the relational characteristics had an influence on how the FSWs experienced different forms of violence in the six months that preceded the survey. The relation with both the IPs and the clients were explored. The results are given in Table 4.2c. Nearly one in two FSWs (50.8%) reported facing some form of violence in the past six months, as can be seen in Table 4.2c. FSWs who were in a relationship for less than five years (42.5%) and who thought their IPs will not leave them (43.6%) experienced significantly lower levels of violence. FSWs who had no tension in their relationship with IPs (43.7%) and FSWs who were not afraid of their partners (35.2%) were half as likely as others to experience violence. However, FSWs with IPs who consumed alcohol most of the times during sex in the last month (72.4%) and who consumed alcohol some of the times (61.7%) reported significantly higher levels of violence. FSWs who were afraid of their IPs (66.1%), afraid of him leaving her (70%), and who had tension in their relationships with IPs (82.5%) were twice as likely as others to experience violence.

Table 4.2b Experience of violence by selected characteristics of their intimate partners

Percentage of FSWs experienced different forms of violence in the last 6 months preceding the survey by selected characteristics of their intimate partners

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Experience of violence from intimate partners				No. of FSWs
	Any violence	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	
Total	50.8	49.0	33.1	6.3	620
<i>Age in Years</i>					
<= 25	34.6	30.8	21.2	3.8	52
26-35	54.7	53.1	37.0	7.7	311
36+	50.0	48.4	31.0	5.2	252
<i>Literacy status</i>					
Non-literate	52.5	51.3	32.3	6.5	415
Literate	47.3	44.4	34.6	5.9	205
<i>Marital status</i>					
Never married	37.9	36.2	22.4	3.4	58
Ever married	52.1	50.4	34.1	6.6	560
<i>Caste</i>					
SC/ST	49.4	48.5	29.4	5.1	235
Others	52.6	50.1	35.8	7.3	369
<i>Has a child with FSW</i>					
Never married	47.4	44.7	28.9	5.3	152
Ever married	52.0	50.5	34.4	6.7	465
<i>Frequency of alcohol use</i>					
Never	43.8	42.2	28.8	3.7	427
Occasionally	64.2	62.9	33.8	8.6	151
Frequently	73.8	69.0	73.8	23.8	42

Emotional violence: While 49% of the FSWs reported experiencing emotional violence, FSWs who were in a relationship for less than five years (39%) and who supported their IPs financially (41%) reported significantly lower levels of violence. FSWs who were not afraid of their IPs (32.6%), who had no tension in their relationships (41.9%) were half as likely to face emotional violence when compared to others.

However, FSWs whose IPs consumed alcohol most of the times (69%), and some of the times (59%), and FSWs who were afraid of their IPs (68%) and who had tension in their

relationships (81%) experienced significantly more emotional violence than others.

Physical violence: One in three (33%) FSWs reported facing physical violence in the past six months. FSWs whose IPs were aware of their profession (35.5%) and who thought their IP would leave them (45.3%) reported significantly more violence than others. However, FSWs with IPs who never consumed alcohol (29.5%), who were not afraid of their IP (22.8%), and who had no tension in the relationship (25.5%) were about half as likely to experience physical violence as their counterparts. Whether an IP was a client

before he became an IP, frequency of IP visits, and whether FSW financially supported the IP or not had no effect on the violence reported.

Sexual violence: About 6% of the FSWs reported sexual violence from their IPs. IPs who visited less often (4.2%) were half as likely to show sexual violence compared to those who visited monthly (8.4%). IPs who consumed alcohol most of the times (31%) were six times as likely as IPs who did not consume alcohol to indulge in sexual violence. FSWs who did not

receive social support from IPs (12.3%) were three times more likely to experience sexual violence than those who did, and similarly, FSWs who were afraid of their IP (8.6%) were twice as likely to face sexual violence when compared to others. FSWs who were afraid that their IPs will leave them (11.8%) were about three times more likely to face sexual violence compared to those who did not feel that way. Lastly, FSWs who had problematic relationships (21.1%) were about seven times more likely to face violence than those who did not.



Table 4.2c Experience of violence by selected characteristics of intimate relationships

Percentage of FSWs experienced different forms of violence in the last 6 months preceding the survey by selected relationship level characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	<i>Experience of violence from intimate partners</i>				No. of FSWs
	Any violence	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	
Total	50.8	49.0	33.1	6.3	620
<i>Duration of intimate relationship</i>					
<5 years	42.5	39.1	29.9	5.7	87
5-9 years	48.3	46.9	30.6	6.1	147
10+ years	53.6	52.1	34.7	6.5	386
<i>Was the IP a client before he became an IP</i>					
No	47.3	46.4	32.1	6.7	224
Yes	52.8	50.5	33.8	6.1	394
<i>Frequency of visit by IPs</i>					
Most frequent (daily/weekly)	50.1	48.6	30.7	5.2	401
Monthly	50.0	47.6	37.3	8.4	166
Less often	54.2	52.1	33.3	4.2	48
<i>IPs aware of FSW's sex work profession</i>					
No	51.4	49.4	35.5	6.6	518
Yes	48.5	47.5	21.2	5.1	99
<i>IPs under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>					
IPs consumed alcohol most	(72.4)	(69.0)	(69.0)	(31.0)	29
IPs consumed alcohol some	61.7	59.2	38.3	7.5	120
IPs never consumed alcohol	46.7	45.2	29.5	4.5	471
<i>FSWs supports IPs financially</i>					
No	54.0	52.4	32.6	6.5	433
Yes	43.3	41.2	34.2	5.9	187
<i>FSWs receive social support from IPs</i>					
No	55.7	52.5	41.8	12.3	122
Yes	49.6	48.2	30.9	4.8	498
<i>FSWs feel afraid of their IPs</i>					
No	35.2	32.6	22.8	3.9	307
Yes	66.1	65.2	43.1	8.6	313
<i>FSWs think their IPs will leave them</i>					
No	43.6	41.8	28.4	4.2	450
Yes	70.0	68.2	45.3	11.8	170
<i>FSWs who have tension in their relationships with their IPs</i>					
No	43.7	41.9	25.5	3.0	506
Yes	82.5	80.7	66.7	21.1	114

4.5 Severity of intimate partner violence

To understand the severity of experience of IP violence in the six months that preceded the survey, questions on different acts of violence and their frequencies were clubbed together. The following section relates the responses to the background characteristics of the FSWs, that of their IPs and the nature of the relationship.

Severe physical and/or sexual violence is defined as any act of moderate physical violence (pushed, shaken, thrown something, slapped or shoved) many times in the past six months and/or any severe physical or sexual violence (hit, kicked, dragged, beaten, choked or burnt, threaten to use or actually used a knife, gun or any other weapon, physically forced the FSW to have sex against her will, threat of violence or rejection in forceful sexual act or forcing her to do something degrading or humiliating to her) irrespective of the frequency in the past six months preceding the survey. Moderate physical violence is defined as any act of moderate physical violence (pushed, shaken, thrown something, slapped or shoved) once/few times in the past six months without any act of severe physical and/or sexual violence. All the FSWs who did not experience any form of violence were categorised into none, whereas FSWs who did not fall in any of these three categories are categorised as those subjected to emotional violence.

4.5.1 Severity of experience of intimate partner violence among FSWs

Table 4.3a shows that when it came to physical and sexual violence, on average about 24% of FSWs stated that they experienced it severely. FSWs who were less than 25 years old (13.5%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (13%), who had one client per week (12.6%) and who had regular clients only (14%) reported they were less prone to experience severe violence as compared to others. On the other hand, FSWs who had two clients (32.2%), were literate (33%) and who were with occasional and regular clients (32.5%) experienced severe violence more than others. Higher experience

of severe physical and/or sexual violence among literate FSWs can be attributed to the fact of higher reporting of violence by them.

4.5.2: Severity of experience of intimate partner violence by characteristics of their intimate partners

Table 4.3b show that IPs who were less than 30 years (15.4%), who were never married (14%) were less likely to exhibit severe violent behaviour. However, IPs who used alcohol frequently (67%) were more like to exhibit severe behaviour compared to others.

4.5.3: Severity of experience of intimate partner violence by characteristics of intimate relationships

Table 4.3c shows that IPs who were aware of FSWs sex work (15%), who were not afraid of IPs (18.6%), who have not had any tension in their relationships (17.6%) were less likely to experience severe violence as compared to other FSWs. On the other hand, IPs who consumed alcohol frequently (65.5%), who did not receive social support from IP (34.4%), who were afraid their IPs would leave them (34.7%), and who have tension in their relationship (54.4%) were more likely to experience severe violence than other FSWs.

Table 4.3a Severity of experience of intimate partner violence among FSWs

Percentage of FSWs who experienced violence in the last six months by severity according to their background characteristics

FSW's CHARACTERISTICS	None	Emotional violence	Moderate Physical violence	Severe physical and/or sexual violence	No. of FSWs
Total	49.0	17.6	9.0	24.4	620
<i>Age in Years</i>					
<= 25	70.3	13.5	2.7	13.5	74
26-35	44.0	16.8	11.1	28.2	298
36+	48.8	19.8	8.5	23.0	248
<i>Literacy status</i>					
Non-literate	49.9	17.6	9.2	23.3	557
Literate	41.3	17.5	7.9	33.3	63
<i>Has children</i>					
No	60.0	12.9	8.2	18.8	85
Yes	47.3	18.3	9.2	25.2	535
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>					
No	52.7	13.6	10.9	22.7	110
Yes	48.2	18.4	8.6	24.7	510
<i>Place of solicitation</i>					
Home	53.7	16.1	7.4	22.7	471
Public Spaces	27.0	24.7	16.9	31.5	89
Phone/ others	45.0	18.3	10.0	26.7	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>					
< 10 years	73.8	9.8	3.3	13.1	61
10-19 years	43.3	16.1	10.6	29.9	254
20+ years	48.9	20.3	8.9	22.0	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>					
1 client	61.2	18.7	7.5	12.6	214
2 clients	41.0	19.7	7.1	32.2	183
3+ clients	43.2	15.0	12.7	29.1	213
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>					
Occasional clients only	51.5	9.1	15.2	24.2	33
Regular clients only	59.6	20.8	5.9	13.7	255
Occasional & regular clients	40.7	16.0	10.8	32.5	332

Table 4.3b Severity of experience of intimate partner violence by selected characteristics of their intimate partners

Percentage of FSWs who experienced violence in the last six months by severity according to selected background characteristics of their IPs

IP CHARACTERISTICS	None	Emotional violence	Moderate Physical violence	Severe physical and/or sexual violence	No. of FSWs
Total	49.0	17.6	9.0	24.4	620
<i>Age in Years</i>					
< 30	65.4	13.5	5.8	15.4	52
30-40	45.0	17.7	10.6	26.7	311
> 40	50.0	18.7	7.9	23.4	252
<i>Marital status</i>					
Never married	62.1	15.5	8.6	13.8	58
Ever married	47.7	17.9	9.1	25.4	560
<i>Caste</i>					
SC/ST	50.2	20.4	6.8	22.6	235
Others	47.4	16.3	10.3	26.0	369
<i>Has a child with FSW</i>					
No	52.6	18.4	7.2	21.7	152
Yes	47.7	17.4	9.7	25.2	465
<i>Frequency of alcohol use</i>					
Never	56.0	14.8	9.8	19.4	427
Occasionally	35.8	30.5	7.3	26.5	151
Frequently	26.2	0.0	7.1	66.7	42

Table 4.3c Severity of experience of intimate partner violence by selected characteristics of intimate relationship

Percentage of FSWs who experienced violence in the last six months by severity according to relationship level characteristics

RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERISTICS	None	Emotional violence	Moderate Physical violence	Severe physical and/or sexual violence	No. of FSWs
Total	49.0	17.6	9.0	24.4	620
<i>Duration of intimate relationship</i>					
<5 years	56.3	13.8	10.3	19.5	87
5-9 years	51.7	17.0	8.8	22.4	147
10+ years	46.4	18.7	8.8	26.2	386
<i>Was the IP a client before he became an IP</i>					
No	52.7	15.2	6.7	25.4	224
Yes	47.0	18.8	10.4	23.9	394

Table 4.3c Contd.

FSW's CHARACTERISTICS	None	Emotional violence	Moderate Physical violence	Severe physical and/or sexual violence	No. of FSWs
<i>Frequency of visit by IP</i>					
Most frequent	49.6	19.5	8.5	22.4	401
Monthly	50.0	12.0	10.8	27.1	166
Less often	45.8	20.8	6.3	27.1	48
<i>IPs aware of FSW's sex work profession</i>					
No	48.5	15.6	9.7	26.3	518
Yes	51.5	27.3	6.1	15.2	99
<i>IP under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>					
IP consumed alcohol most of times	(27.6)	(3.4)	(3.4)	(65.5)	29
IP consumed alcohol some of the times	38.3	23.3	6.7	31.7	120
IP never consumed alcohol	53.1	17.0	10.0	20.0	471
<i>FSWs supports IP financially</i>					
No	45.7	21.2	11.3	21.7	433
Yes	56.7	9.1	3.7	30.5	187
<i>FSWs receive social support by IPs</i>					
No	44.3	13.1	8.2	34.4	122
Yes	50.2	18.7	9.2	21.9	498
<i>FSWs feel afraid of their IPs</i>					
No	64.8	12.1	4.6	18.6	307
Yes	33.5	23.0	13.4	30.0	313
<i>FSWs think their IPs will leave them</i>					
No	56.4	14.7	8.4	20.4	450
Yes	29.4	25.3	10.6	34.7	170
<i>FSWs who have tension in their relationship with their IPs</i>					
No	56.1	18.0	8.3	17.6	506
Yes	17.5	15.8	12.3	54.4	114

4.6: Disclosure of intimate partner violence and help-seeking behaviour by background characteristics of FSWs

The next set of findings relate to the aspect of disclosure: how many FSWs disclosed intimate partner violence to others, to whom they disclosed that information to, and what was the action taken. Selected background characteristics are used to understand the difference in responses, if any. The section findings are reported in Table 4.4. Nearly one in two (48.4%) FSWs did not disclose violence to

anybody. There was no significant and regular clients (32.5%) experienced severe violence more than others. Higher experience difference based on age, literacy levels, having children, and source of income. FSWs who solicited over the phone (30.3%) were half as likely to disclose violence to others compared to those who sought sex in public places. FSWs who were in sex work for less than ten years (37.5%), who had three clients per week (41.3%), and who met occasional and regular clients (38.6%) were significantly less likely to not share the

incidence of violence with anyone. On the other hand, FSWs who solicited sex in public places (60%), who had just one client per week (65%), and who met regular clients only (67%) were more likely to keep it to themselves.

Disclosed to co-workers: Nearly one in five (21.5%) shared the experience of violence with their co-workers. Here also, age, literacy status, having children and duration of sex work had no significant effect on the responses. However, FSWs who relied exclusively on sex work (11.5%) were half as likely to share it with a co-worker than those who had other source of income. FSWs who solicited sex at home (25.2%) were nearly thrice more likely to disclose than those who solicited on phone (9%). FSWs who had only one client per week (14.5%), and who had regular clients only (8%) were significantly less likely to share the information whereas FSWs who had occasional clients only (37.5%) were more likely to share the information with the co-worker than others.

Disclosed to friends: Nearly 23% of the FSWs reported they disclosed IP violence to their friends. FSWs who were more than 36 years of age (18.9%), who solicited sex over the phone (18%), and were in sex work for more than 20 years (17.3%) were significantly less likely than others to share it with friends. FSWs who had just one client (13.3%) were half as likely as those who had more than three clients per week (28.1%) to disclose to a friend. FSWs who had both regular and occasional clients (29%) were three times more likely to share it as compared to those who had just regular clients (29%). On the other hand, FSWs who were literate (30%), who relied exclusively on sex work (36.5%), who solicited sex in public places (31%), who were in sex work for less than 10 years (31.3%), and who had occasional clients only (37.5%) were significantly more likely to share it with a friend as compared to others.

Disclosed to family members: FSWs who disclosed violence to family members constituted 17%. FSWs who were younger than 25 years (27.3%) were nearly twice as likely as those between 26-35 years (15%) to disclose violence. FSWs who solicited over the phone (45.5%) were nearly four times more likely to share the information as compared to those who solicited at home (12.8%). FSWs who were in sex work for less than 10 years (37.5%) were twice more likely to share with family members than others. Lastly, FSWs who had only regular clients (19.4%) were nearly three times more likely to share the information as compared to those who had only occasional clients (6.3%).

Disclosed to neighbours: Only one in ten (10.1%) shared IP violence with a neighbour. FSWs who were younger than 25 years of age (13.6%) were twice as likely as those above 36 (7.1%) to disclose the information. FSWs who were literate (16.2%) were more likely than others to share it with neighbours whereas FSWs whose source of income was not just sex work alone (11.4%) were nearly three times more likely to disclose than those who relied just on sex work and same holds true for FSWs who had two clients per week (13.9%) compared to those who had one clients per week (4.8%). FSWs who had both kinds of clients (13.2%) were nearly twice as likely to disclose as those who had regular clients only (4.8%). None of the FSWs who were in sex work for less than 10 years disclosed the violence to the neighbours.

Disclosed to CBOs: Only 6% of the FSWs shared the incidence of IP violence with CBOs. FSWs who sought sex at home (8.3%) were four times more likely than those who sought sex in public places (1.5%) to approach a CBO. FSWs who had more than three clients per week (9.1%) were more than twice as likely to disclose compared to those who had just two clients per week (3.7%). The FSWs who had occasional clients only (19%) were most likely of all to go to a CBO, almost five times more likely when compared to those who had regular clients only (3.9%).

Sought help from any source: 17% of all the FSWs sought help from any source. . FSWs who were younger than 25 (22.7%) were significantly more likely to seek help compared to those who were above 36 years of age (13.4%). FSWs whosought sex at public places (11%) were nearly twice as likely as those who sought sex at home to seek help. FSWs who had occasional clients only (31.3%) were nearly five times more likely to seek help than those who had regular clients only (6.8%).

Managed on their own: Nearly 23% of the FSWs reported that they managed the IP violence on their own. FSWs who had no children (14.7%) were least likely than others (23.8%) to manage

on their own, whereas who were in sex work for less than 10 years (31%) and who solicited over the phone (30%) were more likely than the others to do the same.

Figure 4.1 shows the proportion of FSWs who sought help on violence from different sources. Findings show that the majority of the sex workers (61.7%) did nothing about the violence of IPs, followed by those who managed it on their own (22.8%). Nearly 7% of the FSWs reported that they separated from their partner, followed by those who sought help from allies (4.7%), and sought counselling (3.8%). Only 1% reported to the crisis management team (CMT).

Figure 4.1 Percentage of FSWs sought help from different sources

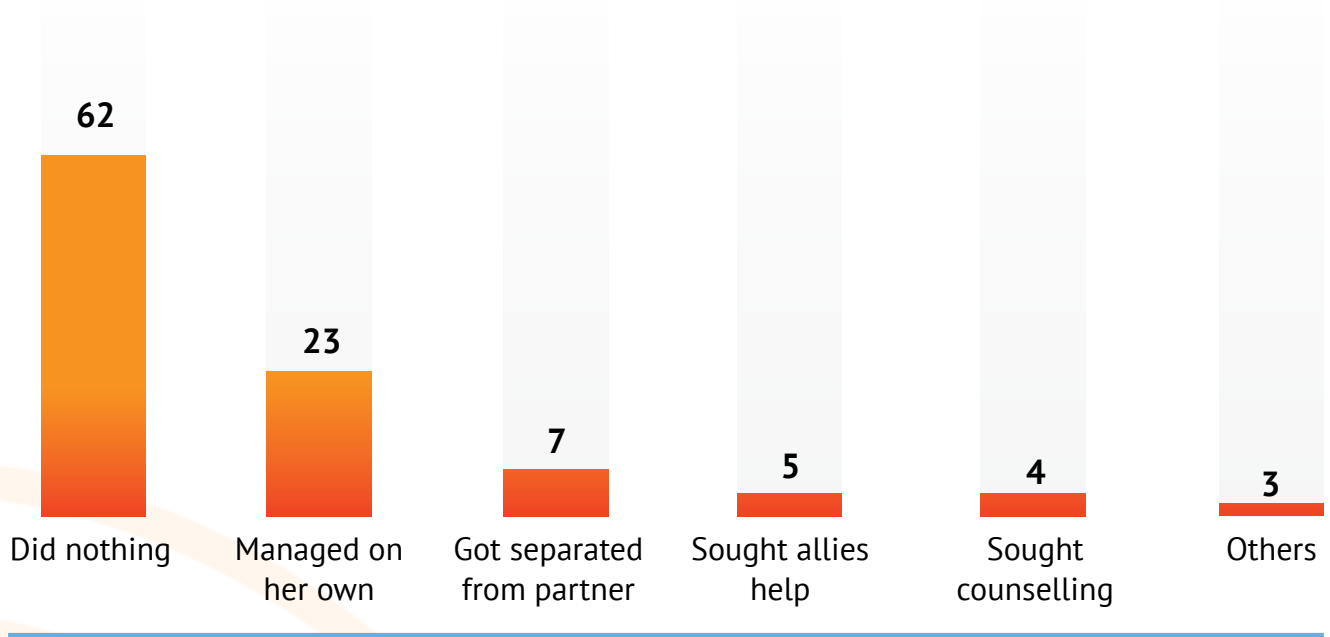




Table 4.4

Disclosure of intimate partner violence and help-seeking behaviour by background characteristics of FSWs

Percentage of FSWs disclosed intimate partner violence by person to whom they disclosed and by type of action taken, according to their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs disclosed violence to*:		
	No one	Co-sex workers	Friends
Total	48.4	21.5	23.1
<i>Age in Years</i>			
<= 25	45.5	22.7	27.3
26-35	46.1	22.8	25.7
36+	52.0	19.7	18.9
<i>Literacy status</i>			
Non-literate	48.7	22.2	22.2
Literate	45.9	16.2	29.7
<i>Has children</i>			
No	50.0	17.6	23.5
Yes	48.2	22.0	23.0
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>			
No	46.2	11.5	36.5
Yes	48.9	23.5	20.5
<i>Place of solicitation</i>			
Home	47.7	25.2	21.6
Public Spaces	60.0	15.4	30.8
Phone/ others	30.3	9.1	18.2
<i>Duration in sex work</i>			
< 10 years	(37.5)	(18.8)	(31.3)
10-19 years	45.8	22.9	28.5
20+ years	51.9	20.5	17.3
<i>Client volume per week</i>			
1 client	65.1	14.5	13.3
2 clients	42.6	25.0	25.9
3+ clients	41.3	24.0	28.1
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>			
Occasional clients only	(50.0)	(37.5)	(37.5)
Regular clients only	67.0	7.8	9.7
Occasional & regular clients	38.6	27.4	28.9

* Among those who experienced intimate partner violence. Percentages shown in parenthesis are based on less than 30 cases.

<i>Percentage of FSWs disclosed violence to*:</i>			<i>Percentage of FSWs sought help from*:</i>		Number of FSWs
Any family members	Neighbour	CBO	Any source	Managed on her own	
17.1	10.1	6.3	16.8	22.8	316
27.3	13.6	9.1	22.7	27.3	22
15.0	12.0	5.4	18.6	22.2	167
18.1	7.1	7.1	13.4	22.8	127
16.8	9.3	6.1	16.8	22.6	279
18.9	16.2	8.1	16.2	24.3	37
17.6	8.8	8.8	17.6	14.7	34
17.0	10.3	6.0	16.7	23.8	282
21.2	3.8	7.7	15.4	23.1	52
16.3	11.4	6.1	17.0	22.7	264
12.8	12.4	8.3	19.3	21.1	218
16.9	4.6	1.5	10.8	24.6	65
45.5	6.1	3.0	12.1	30.3	33
(37.5)	(0.0)	(6.3)	(18.8)	(31.3)	16
15.3	14.6	5.6	18.1	24.3	144
16.7	7.1	7.1	15.4	20.5	156
12.0	4.8	6.0	12.0	19.3	83
13.9	13.9	3.7	16.7	18.5	108
23.1	10.7	9.1	20.7	28.9	121
(6.3)	(6.3)	(18.8)	(31.3)	(25.0)	16
19.4	4.9	3.9	6.8	19.4	103
16.8	13.2	6.6	20.8	24.4	197

4.7: Awareness on domestic violence (DV) act and sense of safety

The survey also aimed to find out how many FSWs were aware of domestic violence act and

how many had a safety plan to prevent violence from intimate partner. The answers were further analysed based on the selected background characteristics of the FSWs.

Table 4.5 Awareness on Domestic Violence (DV) Act and sense of safety

Percentage of FSWs aware of the Domestic Violence Act and those who ever developed safety plans to prevent violence from IPs by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs		No. of FSWs
	Aware of DV Act	Ever developed safety plan	
Total	56.0	8.7	620
<i>Age in Years</i>			
<= 25	47.3	8.1	74
26-35	62.4	10.4	298
36+	50.8	6.9	248
<i>Literacy status</i>			
Non-literate	55.1	7.4	557
Literate	63.5	20.6	63
<i>Has children</i>			
No	57.6	7.1	85
Yes	55.7	9.0	535
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>			
No	61.8	4.5	110
Yes	54.7	9.6	510
<i>Place of solicitation</i>			
Home	57.3	7.9	471
Public Spaces	59.6	14.6	89
Phone/ others	40.0	6.7	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>			
< 10 years	55.7	8.2	61
10-19 years	65.0	11.0	254
20+ years	48.5	6.9	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>			
1 client	43.9	7.0	214
2 clients	64.5	5.5	183
3+ clients	62.4	13.6	213
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>			
Occasional clients only	57.6	6.1	33
Regular clients only	37.3	7.8	255
Occasional & regular clients	70.2	9.6	332

Table 4.5 shows that, more than half of the FSWs were aware of the DV Act. FSWs who were less than 25 years of age (47.3%), who solicited sex work by phone (40%), and who had just

one client a week (44%) were significantly less likely to know about the DV act than others. FSWs who were literate (63.5%), who were in sex work for 10-19 years (65%), who had two

clients a week (64.5%) and who had both occasional and regular clients (70.2%) reported being more aware of the DV Act than others.

Only 9% FSWs had any safety plan for use in times of violence. FSWs who were literate (20.6%) were nearly thrice more likely than non-literates to have a plan. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (14.6%) were twice as likely as those who solicited it through the phone (6.7%) and who had more than three clients per week (13.6%) were more than twice more likely to have a plan than those who had just two clients per week. FSWs who relied exclusively on sex work (4.5%) were half as likely compared to those who had other source of income.

4.8: FSWs' awareness on support structures available with regard to violence

Results shown in Table 4.6 suggest that nearly 60% of the FSWs were aware of some form of support structure. FSWs who had no other source of income (70%) and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (70%) were more aware of support systems than the others. However, of FSWs who solicited sex in public places (50%) and who had regular clients, (52.5%) were less aware of the same.

Awareness of Santwana Kendra: Santwana Kendra is a free counselling centre for the victims of domestic violence. Started by the Department of Women and Child Welfare, the helpline is run through voluntary organisations in many taluks of Karnataka. The helpline deals with family strife, atrocities, and dowry harassment faced by women. When the FSWs were asked if they knew about the Santwana Kendra, nearly one in four (23.4%) said that they were aware of Santwana Kendra. FSWs who had only one client per week (16.8%), who had occasional clients only (15%), and who had regular clients only (15%) were half as likely to know of it as others.

Awareness about crisis management committees (CMTs): These committees were set up for women who need help in the time of

crisis. A typical CMT has a point person for every twenty women, who is provided with a phone so that she can be contacted 24x7. When an incident is reported she rushes to the spot and decides if the case has to be reported to the police or one that can be solved internally. If she feels the crisis is beyond her control she contacts other experienced members in a CBO who in turn, contact lawyers. Findings suggest that one in two FSWs (50.6%) knew about them. FSWs who were above 36 years of age (44%) and who solicited sex from public places (29%) were significantly less likely to know about the committee than others. On the other hand, FSWs who were literate (57%), who relied on sex work alone (56.4%), and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (59%) were more likely to know about it than others.

Awareness about shelter or a short stay home:

Only 7% of the FSWs were aware of shelter or a short stay home. FSWs who had more than three clients per week (11.7%) were nearly four times more likely to know about it compared to those with just one client per week (2.3%). FSWs who had only occasional client were not aware of it at all. FSWs who were literate (11%) were twice more likely to know of it than non-literates. Similarly, FSWs who relied on sex work alone (11%) and who solicited by phone (13.3%) were more likely to know of it than others.

Police Stations: Nearly 30% of the respondents were aware of police stations. FSWs who solicited sex work by phone (20%) and who had only occasional clients (21%) were significantly less likely to know about police stations compared to those who relied exclusively on sex work (43.6%) and those with three or more clients (36%) who were more likely to know.

CDPOs: Only 19% were aware of the child development protection officers (CDPO). FSWs with only two clients were least likely to know (14%) compared to those who relied on sex work alone (26.4%), who were most likely to know of CDPO.

Legal Aid Cells: Only 23% of the FSWs were aware of the legal aid cells. FSWs with just two clients (17.5%) were least likely to know about it compared to other groups such as those who were literate (30%), who relied solely on sex work (33.6%), and who solicited sex in

public places (31.5%). It is important to note that, although one in two FSWs were aware of the support system, just four percent of the FSWs, or 15 out of 310 (who were aware of the services) availed these services.

Table 4.6 Awareness about support structures available related to violence

Percentage of FSWs aware of support structure available related to violence by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs aware of any support structure	Aware of the type of support structures available (spontaneous or prompted):	
		Santwana Kendra	Crisis management committee
Total	59.5	23.4	50.6
<i>Age in Years</i>			
<= 25	66.2	18.9	55.4
26-35	62.4	25.5	55.0
36+	54.0	22.2	44.0
<i>Literacy status</i>			
Non-literate	59.4	23.0	49.9
Literate	60.3	27.0	57.1
<i>Has children</i>			
No	60.0	20.0	49.4
Yes	59.4	23.9	50.8
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>			
No	70.0	28.2	56.4
Yes	57.3	22.4	49.4
<i>Place of solicitation</i>			
Home	62.2	24.0	55.6
Public Spaces	49.4	18.0	29.2
Phone/ others	53.3	26.7	43.3
<i>Duration in sex work</i>			
< 10 years	70.5	14.8	59.0
10-19 years	65.0	28.0	57.5
20+ years	52.8	21.3	43.3
<i>Client volume per week</i>			
1 client	56.1	16.8	49.5
2 clients	57.9	24.0	50.3
3+ clients	65.7	30.5	53.1
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>			
Occasional clients only	54.5	15.2	54.5
Regular clients only	52.5	15.3	46.3
Occasional & regular clients	65.4	30.4	53.6

Aware of the type of support structures available (spontaneous or prompted):

Shelter/ short stay home	Local police beat and/ or police station	Protection officers (CDPO)	Legal aid cells	Number of FSWs
6.6	29.7	19.0	23.4	620
6.8	33.8	16.2	21.6	74
6.7	31.5	21.8	26.2	298
6.5	26.2	16.5	20.6	248
6.1	29.3	18.7	22.6	557
11.1	33.3	22.2	30.2	63
5.9	24.7	17.6	18.8	85
6.7	30.5	19.3	24.1	535
10.9	43.6	26.4	33.6	110
5.7	26.7	17.5	21.2	510
5.7	30.6	18.5	21.9	471
6.7	31.5	22.5	31.5	89
13.3	20.0	18.3	23.3	60
4.9	34.4	16.4	21.3	61
7.9	34.3	22.8	27.6	254
5.9	24.9	16.4	20.3	305
2.3	29.4	19.6	24.3	214
6.0	24.0	13.7	17.5	183
11.7	35.7	23.0	28.2	213
0.0	21.2	21.2	18.2	33
4.7	26.3	16.1	21.6	255
8.7	33.1	21.1	25.3	332

4.9: Individual and collective actions to challenge intimate partner violence

Table 4.7 shows the findings related to the aspects that help understand the support and sense of community level solidarity among FSWs as they relate to selected background characteristics.

Confidence in other sex workers: With regard to the sense of confidence in FSWs, when they needed to talk to other sex workers about their problems with IPs, nearly one in three (34.4%) said that they never had confidence in other sex workers. FSWs who were less than 25 years of age (26%), who were literate (24%), who relied on sex work alone (25.5%), and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (25%) were significantly more likely than others to feel confident. FSWs who had occasional clients only (18%) were half as likely as those who had regular clients only (36.9%) in feeling that way.

Nearly 46% of the FSWs said that they sometimes trusted other sex workers when it came to talking about the IP problems. FSWs who had only regular clients (38.4%) and who solicited sex at home (42.9%) were significantly less likely to trust “some of the times”. However, FSWs who solicited sex in public places (61%) and who had occasional clients only (61%) were more likely to confide in other FSWs some of the times.

Nearly one in five FSWs (19.4%) had confidence in other FSWs “most of the times” to share their IP problems. FSWs who were above 36 years of age (13.3%) were nearly half as likely as those who were younger than 25 years of age (30%) to confide in other FSWs. Similarly, FSWs who were in sex work for more than 20 years (13%) were less than half as likely as those who have been in it for less than ten years (33%) to do the same. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (11%), and who had two clients (11%) were significantly less likely to confide in other sex workers “most of the times” when compared to FSWs who were literate (30%).

Confidence in going to their fellow sex workers for help: About 36% of the FSWs reported that they never had confidence to go to their fellow FSWs for help at times of IP violence. This changed significantly if the FSWs solicited sex work on phone (26.7%) or had occasional clients only (21%) as they reported less confidence in seeking help. FSWs who had two clients (10.9%) were half as likely as those with less/more clients to seek help from fellow FSWs.

Nearly 45% of the FSWs said that they sometimes found confidence in going to other sex workers. FSWs who sought sex in public places (58.4%) and who had only occasional clients (60.6%) were more likely to feel confident when compared to other FSWs. FSWs who were in sex work for less than 10 years were least likely (34.4%) to feel that way.

Nearly 20% of the FSWs said that they were confident to go to FSWs for help. FSWs who were below 25 years of age (31%) were more than twice as likely as those above 36 years of age (13%) to feel confident to seek help from other FSWs most of the times. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (10%) were half as likely as others to do the same. Similarly, FSWs who were in sex work for more than 20 years (13%) were also half as likely to do it as those who were in sex work for less than ten years (36.1%). FSWs with two clients (12.6%) were less likely, whereas those who were literate (32%) were more likely, to find confidence in seeking help from other FSWs most of the times.

Competition with co-sex workers to get an IP: Only 10% of the FSWs felt there was competition for IPs in the community. FSWs who had no children (16.5%) were nearly half as likely as those who had children (9.7%) to feel that way. FSWs who solicited sex in public places (16%) were more likely than others, whereas FSWs who were with occasional clients (6%) were least likely than others, to feel the same. Slightly lesser number of FSWs (8%) said that they felt there was competition “some of the times” when compared to the above group.

FSWs who had one client (4%) were least likely to feel that way. FSWs who were literate (14.3%) were twice as likely as those who were non-literate (7.5%) to feel the competition. FSWs who relied on sex work alone (15.5%) and those who were in sex work for less than 10 years (15%) were more likely than others to report lack of competition. Most of the FSWs (81%) said there was no competition among co sex workers for IPs “most of the times”.

FSWs who relied on sex work alone (73%), solicited sex in public places and phone (73% each) were less likely than others to feel that way whereas those with one client per week (88%) and who had only occasional client (88%) were more likely to feel there was no competition most of the times when it came to IPs.

4.10: Self-worth among female sex workers

An attempt was also made to assess the extent of self-worth among the FSWs who participated in the survey. Three questions were posed to the FSWs related to the self-worth. These questions included, whether the FSW had ever thought of ending her life, whether such thoughts had come in the past 30 days preceding the survey and whether the respondent ever attempted to end her life. Findings presented in Figure 2 show that nine percent of FSWs thought of ending their life at some point in their life. Out of these, 30% said they thought of it in the last 30 days and 16% said that they even attempted to end their life.

Figure 4.2 Percentage of FSWs by mental health condition

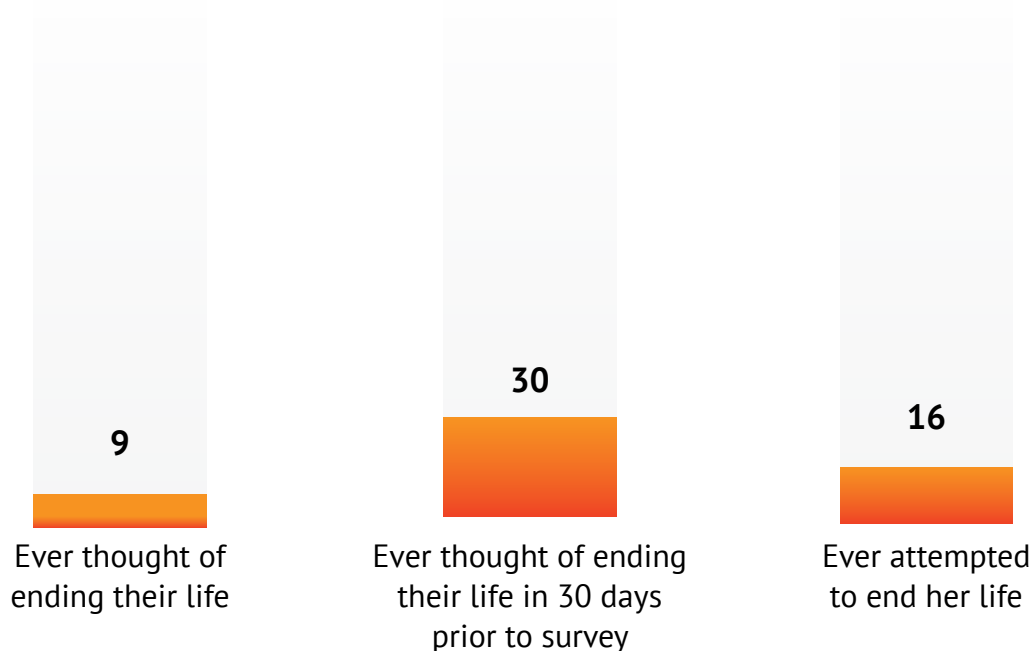


Table 4.7 Individual and collective actions to challenge intimate partner violence

Percentage of FSWs reported support and sense of community level solidarity by their selected background characteristics

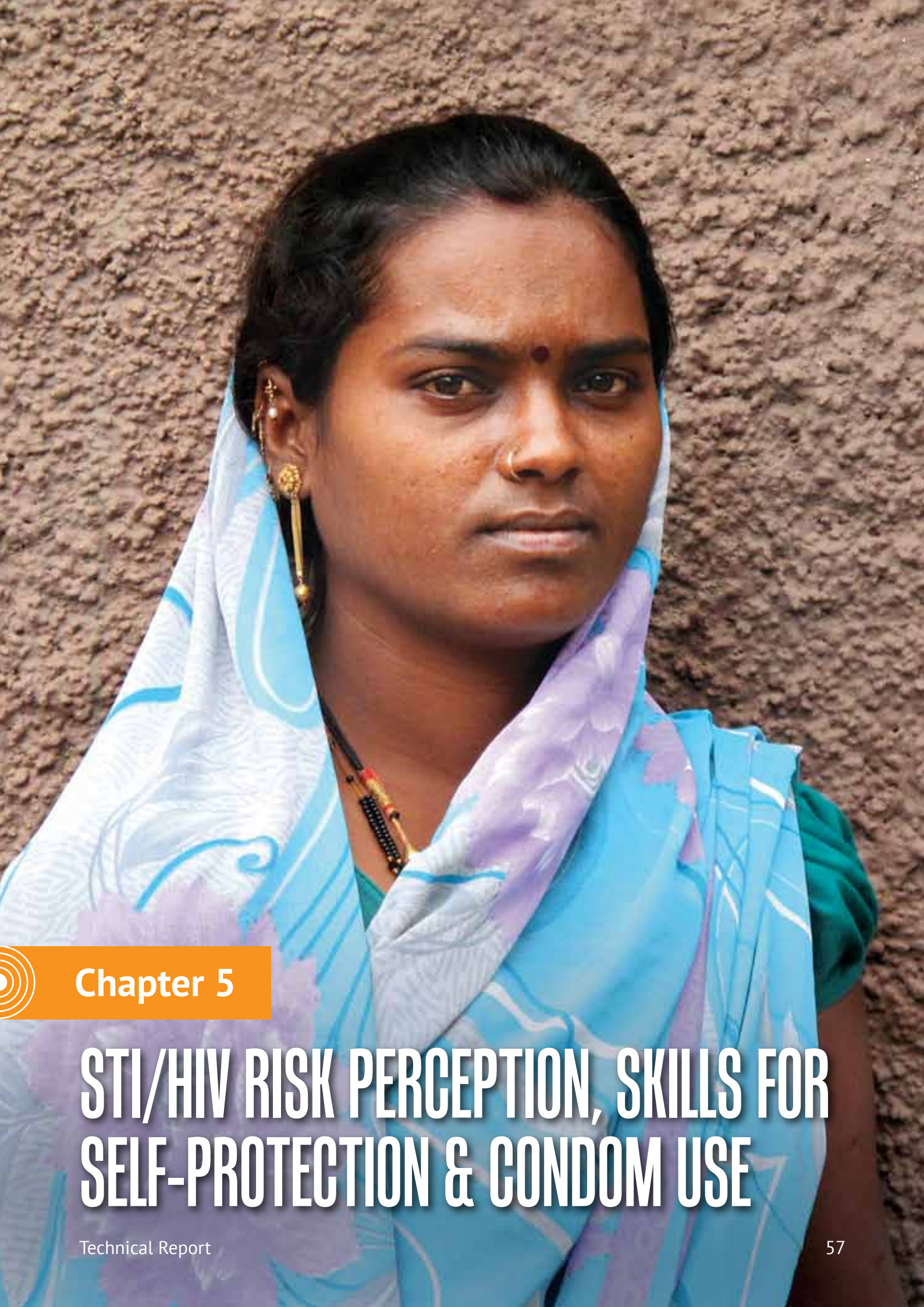
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs who reported sense of:		
	Never	Sometimes	Most of the times/ always
Total	34.4	46.3	19.4
<i>Age in Years</i>			
<= 25	25.7	44.6	29.7
26-35	31.5	46.6	21.8
36+	40.3	46.4	13.3
<i>Literacy status</i>			
Non-literate	35.5	46.3	18.1
Literate	23.8	46.0	30.2
<i>Has children</i>			
No	30.6	51.8	17.6
Yes	35.0	45.4	19.6
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>			
No	25.5	50.9	23.6
Yes	36.3	45.3	18.4
<i>Place of solicitation</i>			
Home	36.5	42.9	20.6
Public Spaces	28.1	60.7	11.2
Phone/ others	26.7	51.7	21.7
<i>Duration in sex work</i>			
< 10 years	24.6	42.6	32.8
10-19 years	29.9	46.5	23.6
20+ years	40.0	46.9	13.1
<i>Client volume per week</i>			
1 client	33.6	42.1	24.3
2 clients	42.1	47.0	10.9
3+ clients	28.6	49.3	22.1
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>			
Occasional clients only	18.2	60.6	21.2
Regular clients only	36.9	38.4	24.7
Occasional & regular clients	34.0	50.9	15.1

Percentage of FSWs who reported sense of:

Confidence in going to their fellow sex workers for help at times of IPV

No competition with co-sex workers in the community to get an IP

Never	Sometimes	Most of the times/ always	Never	Sometimes	Most of the times/ always	Number of FSWs
36.0	44.7	19.4	10.6	8.2	81.1	620
31.1	37.8	31.1	12.2	10.8	77.0	74
33.2	45.0	21.8	10.7	7.7	81.5	298
40.7	46.4	12.9	10.1	8.1	81.9	248
36.8	45.2	18.0	10.8	7.5	81.7	557
28.6	39.7	31.7	9.5	14.3	76.2	63
34.1	47.1	18.8	16.5	7.1	76.5	85
36.3	44.3	19.4	9.7	8.4	81.9	535
30.0	47.3	22.7	11.8	15.5	72.7	110
37.3	44.1	18.6	10.4	6.7	82.9	510
38.0	41.6	20.4	9.3	7.0	83.7	471
31.5	58.4	10.1	15.7	11.2	73.0	89
26.7	48.3	25.0	13.3	13.3	73.3	60
29.5	34.4	36.1	9.8	14.8	75.4	61
33.1	44.1	22.8	10.2	8.3	81.5	254
39.7	47.2	13.1	11.1	6.9	82.0	305
32.2	43.5	24.3	7.9	4.2	87.9	214
43.2	44.3	12.6	14.2	7.1	78.7	183
33.8	45.5	20.7	10.8	13.1	76.1	213
21.2	60.6	18.2	6.1	6.1	87.9	33
37.3	38.0	24.7	9.8	8.2	82.0	255
36.4	48.2	15.4	11.7	8.4	79.8	332



Chapter 5

STI/HIV RISK PERCEPTION, SKILLS FOR SELF-PROTECTION & CONDOM USE

Prevention of STI/HIV is important to a sex worker's well-being. In this regard, information was gathered about the STI/HIV risk perception, skills for self-protection, and a sense of safety to challenge unsafe sex by FSWs. Considering the importance of the use of condoms while reducing the risk of STI/HIV transmission, aspects related to perceived reactions of IPs if FSWs insist on using condom, and social norms around condom use in intimate relationships, were explored. Sexual behaviour and condom use by FSWs with IPs, by selected characteristics of partners and intimate relationships were included as well. Lastly, information was gathered on condom use with clients and on issues that generally prevent FSWs from using condoms with their IPs.

5.1: STI/HIV risk perception among FSWs

Information was gathered on risk perception of FSWs on STI/HIV, whether they had tested for HIV and collected the results, visited an STI clinic, and knew someone currently on ART. The findings were further analysed based on the selected background characteristics of FSWs.

Table 5.1 shows that a total of 15% of the FSWs felt they were at risk of acquiring HIV. FSWs between the ages of 26-35 years (19.1%) were twice as likely as those above 36 years (9.3%) to feel at risk, and those who solicited sex through phone (30%) were thrice as likely to feel that way as compared to those who solicited sex at public places (9%). Similarly, FSWs who had more than three clients a week (20.2%) were thrice as likely to feel the risk as compared to those who had just two clients a week (7.1%). Nearly nine percent of the FSWs felt they faced high or medium levels of risk of acquiring HIV from their IPs. FSWs who solicited sex through the phone were nearly thrice as likely as others to feel that way. FSWs who had more than three clients per week (12.2%) were twice as likely as those who had just one client per week to feel at risk. FSWs whose IPs had alcohol frequently (14.3%) were twice as likely to state it as compared to those who never had alcohol.

Of the total FSWs surveyed, 83% got tested for HIV in the six months that preceded the survey. No significant difference was found in the responses based on the background characteristics. However, FSWs who were literate (92.1%) were more likely, and who solicited by phone (75%) were less likely to get tested. Nearly 88% of FSWs who got tested collected their HIV test results, and here also, there was no significant difference in responses based on the background characteristics, except for FSWs in sex work for less than 10 years (95.1%), who were most likely to do so.

When asked whether they visited an STI clinic in the last six months, nearly 52% of the FSWs said that they had visited. FSWs who depended solely on sex work (59%) and who were in sex work for between 10-19 years (60%) were more likely than others to do so. On the other hand, FSWs who were in sex work for less than 10 years (41%) and who had just one client per week (43.5%) were less like to visit a clinic.

About 38% of the FSWs knew someone who was currently on ART. FSWs who solicited in public places (58.4%) were nearly twice as likely to know someone as compared to those who solicited by phone (30%). Similarly, FSWs who had more than three clients per week (53.1%) were more than twice as likely to know someone as compared to those who had just one client (22.9%). Overall, FSWs between 26-35 years (43%), who were literate (44.4%), and who were in sex work for 10-19 years (46%) were more likely than others to know someone on ART.

Table 5.1 STI/HIV risk perception among FSWs

Percentage of FSWs by perceived risk of STI/HIV, tested for HIV and collected the results, visited STI clinic and aware of someone currently on ART by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs who:						
	Feel at risk of acquiring HIV	Feel risk of acquiring HIV from their IP*	Tested for HIV in past 6 months	Collected their last HIV test result	Visited STI clinic in past 6 months	Aware of anyone currently on ART	No. of FSWs
Total	15.0	8.9	83.1	88.2	52.3	37.7	620
<i>Age in Years</i>							
<= 25	17.6	12.2	85.1	91.9	50.0	31.1	74
26-35	19.1	8.4	85.2	89.9	56.4	43.0	298
36+	9.3	8.5	79.8	85.1	48.0	33.5	248
<i>Literacy status</i>							
Non-literate	14.7	8.3	82.0	87.4	52.1	37.0	557
Literate	17.5	14.3	92.1	95.2	54.0	44.4	63
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>							
No	17.3	10.9	86.4	93.6	59.1	40.0	110
Yes	14.5	8.4	82.4	87.1	50.8	37.3	510
<i>Place of solicitation</i>							
Home	14.2	7.6	83.2	88.3	53.1	34.8	471
Public Spaces	9.0	6.7	87.6	86.5	49.4	58.4	89
Phone/ others	30.0	21.7	75.0	90.0	50.0	30.0	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>							
< 10 years	18.0	11.5	86.9	95.1	41.0	31.1	61
10-19 years	18.1	9.1	85.0	88.2	60.6	46.1	254
20+ years	11.8	8.2	80.7	86.9	47.5	32.1	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>							
1 client	16.8	6.5	79.4	86.0	43.5	22.9	214
2 clients	7.1	8.2	88.5	91.8	57.9	39.3	183
3+ clients	20.2	12.2	84.0	87.8	57.3	53.1	213
<i>Frequency of alcohol use by IP</i>							
Never	13.6	7.5	84.1	87.6	52.9	37.0	427
Occasionally	17.9	11.3	79.5	89.4	50.3	38.4	151
Frequently	19.0	14.3	85.7	90.5	52.4	42.9	42
<i>IP under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>							
IP consumed alcohol most of times	13.8	13.8	89.7	89.7	51.7	37.9	29
IP consumed alcohol some of the times	20.8	10.0	85.0	91.7	52.5	45.0	120
IP never consumed alcohol	13.6	8.3	82.2	87.3	52.2	35.9	471

* FSWs who feel high or medium risk of acquiring HIV from their IPs

5.2: Skills for self-protection among FSWs

This section deals with the information on FSWs who were confident of convincing their IPs to use condoms, go for STI/HIV testing and treatment. Findings have been analysed by selected background characteristics of FSWs.

Table 5.2 shows that about 54% of the FSWs were confident of convincing their IPs to use condoms. FSWs whose IPs never consumed alcohol (58.3%) and whose IPs never consumed alcohol during sex (56.7%) were nearly twice as likely to feel confident about convincing IPs compared to FSWs with IPs who frequently consumed alcohol (33.3%) and who consumed alcohol most of the times during sex (20.7%). FSWs between 26-35 years of age (60.4%), who solicited sex at home (57%) and who were in sex work for 10-19 years (60.6%) were more likely than others and FSWs under the age of 25 years (46%) and who solicited sex in public places (44%) were least likely to feel that way.

When asked if the FSWs could convince their IPs to go for STI testing and treatment, nearly 53% of the FSWs were confident that could. FSWs who solicited sex at home (60%) were more than twice as likely to feel confident about it as those who solicited in public places (19%). FSWs who had just one client per week (61.2%) were most likely of all to feel confident. Similarly, 51% of FSWs were confident that they could convince their IPs to go for HIV testing. FSWs who had just one client per week (57.9%) were more confident than others, in general. FSWs who solicited sex at home (58.6%) were four times more likely to feel confident about it than those who solicited sex at public places (14.6%). However, FSWs who had more than three clients per week (42.3%) and whose IPs consumed alcohol most of the times during sex (41.4%) were less confident than others.

Overall, about 35% of FSWs were confident of convincing their IPs for all the three activities. FSWs who solicited at home (40%) were four times more likely to be confident about it as compared to those who solicited sex in public

places (10%). FSWs whose IPs never consumed alcohol during sex (37.4%) were twice as likely as those who consumed alcohol most of the times (17.2%) feel confident about convincing their IP for all three.

5.3: Sense of safety among FSWs to challenge unsafe sex

Information was collected on the sense of safety that FSWs felt while challenging unsafe sex. The FSWs were specifically asked whether, in the six months that preceded the survey, whether they asked their current IPs to use a condom, or whether they used condoms on their own, or whether their current IPs ever objected to the use of condoms. FSWs were also asked if they ever refused to have sex with their IPs without using a condom.

Table 5.3 shows that about 55% of FSWs reported that they asked their current IP to use a condom. FSWs who were between 26-35 years of age (62.8%), who were in sex work between 10-19 years (66%) and whose IPs consumed alcohol frequently (62%) were significantly more likely to ask their IPs to use a condom compared to those above 36 years of age (47.8%), who solicited sex by phone (44%), and whose IPs consumed alcohol occasionally (45%).

About 41% of the FSWs said that their current IPs used condoms on their own. FSWs who solicited sex at home (47%) and whose IPs never consumed alcohol during sex (43%) were nearly twice as likely to have IPs who used condoms on their own than those who solicited sex at public places (18%) and whose IPs consumed alcohol most of the times (24%). FSWs in sex work for less than 10 years (49.2%) were significantly more likely to report this than those in sex work for more than 20 years (35%).

Table 5.2 Skills for self-protection among FSWs

Percentage of FSWs who are confident of convincing their IPs to use condoms, go for STI/HIV testing and treatment by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs shown confidence* in convincing their IPs to:			Percentage of FSWs who are confident of convincing their IPs for all the three	No. of FSWs
	Use condoms	Go for STI testing and treatment	Go for HIV testing		
Total	54.4	52.6	51.0	35.2	620
<i>Age in Years</i>					
<= 25	45.9	58.1	54.1	36.5	74
26-35	60.4	57.4	55.4	38.9	298
36+	49.6	45.2	44.8	30.2	248
<i>Literacy status</i>					
Non-literate	54.2	52.1	50.3	34.6	557
Literate	55.6	57.1	57.1	39.7	63
<i>Place of solicitation</i>					
Home	57.1	59.9	58.6	40.1	471
Public Spaces	43.8	19.1	14.6	10.1	89
Phone/ others	48.3	45.0	45.0	33.3	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>					
< 10 years	57.4	59.0	54.1	41.0	61
10-19 years	60.6	57.1	55.1	38.6	254
20+ years	48.5	47.5	46.9	31.1	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>					
1 client	49.5	61.2	57.9	36.4	214
2 clients	56.8	53.6	54.1	37.2	183
3+ clients	57.7	43.7	42.3	32.9	213
<i>Frequency of alcohol use by IP</i>					
Never	58.3	54.6	53.9	37.9	427
Occasionally	49.0	49.7	45.7	30.5	151
Frequently	33.3	42.9	40.5	23.8	42
<i>IP under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>					
IP consumed alcohol most of times	20.7	44.8	41.4	17.2	29
IP consumed alcohol some of the times	53.3	50.0	45.8	30.8	120
IP never consumed alcohol	56.7	53.7	52.9	37.4	471

* FSWs with more or full confidence

Table 5.3 Sense of safety among FSWs to challenge unsafe sex

Percentage of FSWs with sense of safety by their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Percentage of FSWs in the last 6 months:				No. of FSWs
	Asked their current IP to use a condom	Whose IP used condom on his own	Whose IP ever objected to use condom	Ever refused to have sex with any IP without using condom	
Total	55.4	41.3	19.2	10.8	620
<i>Age in Years</i>					
<= 25	51.4	37.8	27.0	8.1	74
26-35	62.8	45.6	20.8	12.4	298
36+	47.8	37.1	14.9	9.8	247
<i>Literacy status</i>					
Non-literate	55.2	40.8	19.0	9.9	556
Literate	57.1	46.0	20.6	19.0	63
<i>FSWs with any other source of income than sex work</i>					
No	57.3	52.1	21.8	10.0	110
Yes	55.0	57.1	18.6	11.0	509
<i>Place of solicitation</i>					
Home	57.7	47.1	18.5	9.6	471
Public Spaces	50.6	18.0	16.9	16.9	89
Phone/ others	44.1	30.0	28.3	11.7	59
<i>Duration in sex work</i>					
< 10 years	57.4	49.2	26.2	9.8	61
10-19 years	66.1	46.9	22.0	13.0	254
20+ years	46.1	35.1	15.4	9.2	304
<i>Frequency of alcohol use by IP</i>					
Never	58.5	44.7	16.9	10.8	426
Occasionally	45.0	33.8	19.9	8.7	151
Frequently	61.9	33.3	40.5	19.0	42
<i>IP under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>					
IP consumed alcohol most of times	58.6	24.1	41.4	10.3	29
IP consumed alcohol some of the times	51.7	39.2	20.0	13.6	120
IP never consumed alcohol	56.2	42.9	17.6	10.2	470

With regard to objections to the use of condoms, about 19% of FSWs said that their current IPs ever objected to its use. FSWs younger than 25 years (27%), and who had IPs who consumed alcohol frequently (40.5%) and most of the times during sex (41.4%) were nearly twice as likely to object compared to those who were above 36 years (15%), those IPs who never consumed alcohol (16.9%), and never consumed it during sex (17.6%). FSWs who solicited sex at home (17%) and who were in sex work for more than 20 years (15.4%) were significantly less likely to have IPs who objected, compared to IPs of FSWs who solicited by phone (28.3%) and who were in sex work for less than 10 years (26.2%).

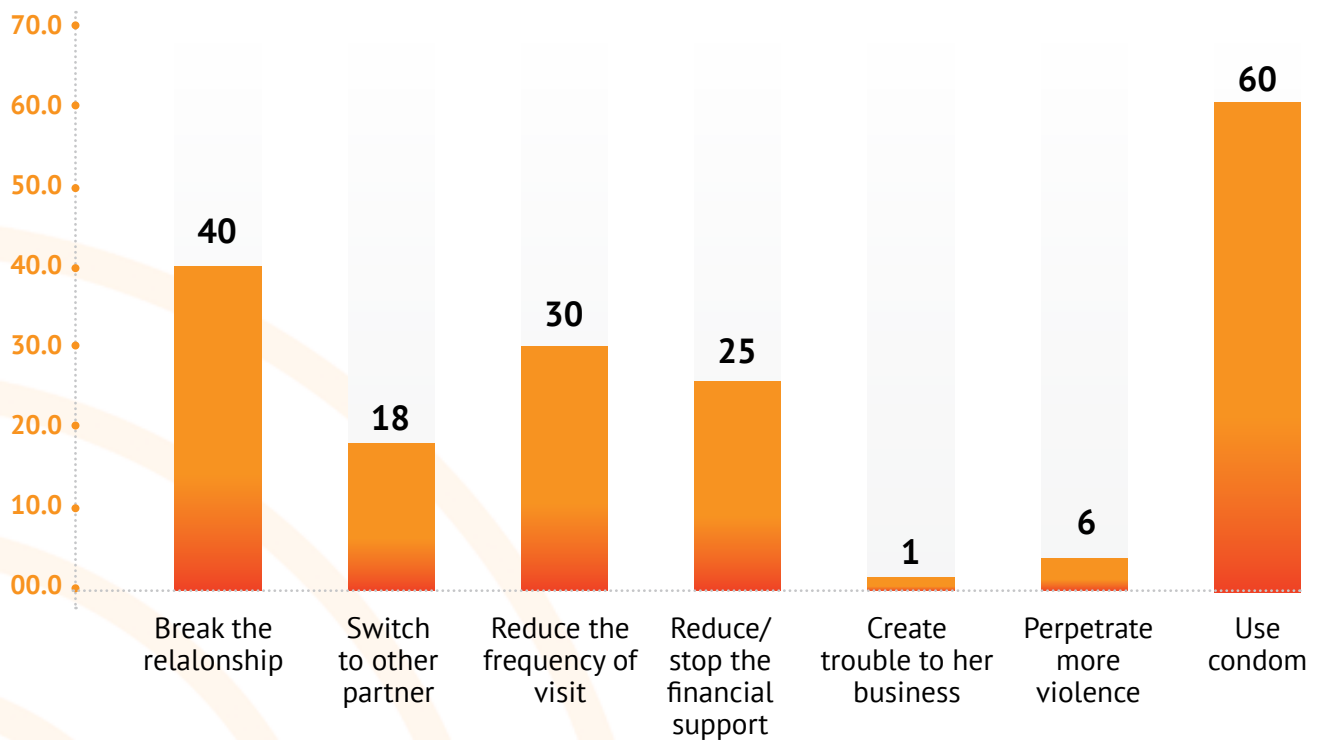
One in ten FSWs (10.8%) ever refused to have sex with any of their IPs without using condoms. FSWs who were literate (19%) and whose IPs never consumed alcohol (19%) were about twice as likely to refuse as FSWs who were non-literate (10%) and whose IPs consumed alcohol occasionally (8.7%).

It is important to note that only 20 FSWs (3%) out of the 620 surveyed ever objected to the use of condoms with any of their IPs.

5.4: Perceived reactions of intimate partners if FSW insist on the use of condom

Figure 5.1 shows what the FSWs perceived the IP would do if the FSW insisted on using a condom. The findings show that the majority of FSWs (60%) felt that the IPs will use a condom. This was followed by 40% FSWs who felt that their IPs will break the relationship and nearly 30% FSWs felt that their IPs will reduce the frequency of visits. About 25% felt that their IPs will stop financially supporting them and 18% felt that their IPs will switch to other partners. About 6% felt that their IPs will perpetrate violence and less than 1% felt they would create trouble for business.

Figure 5.1 Perceived reactions of IPs if FSWs insist on the use of condoms

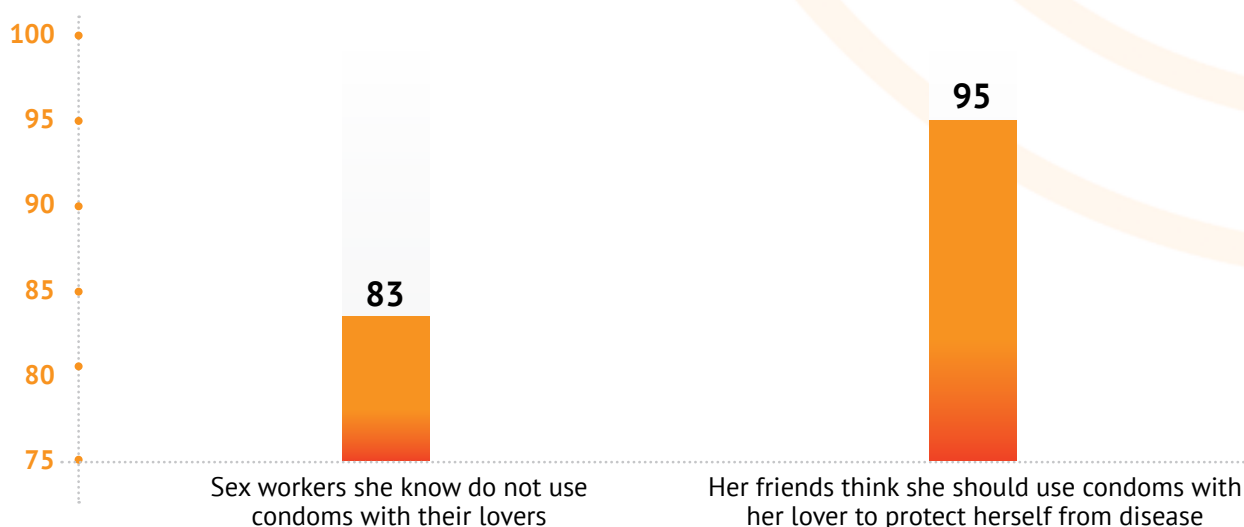


5.5: Social norms around condom use in intimate relationships

To understand the social norms around the use of condoms in intimate relationships, FSWs were asked about use of condoms by other FSWs. As figure 5.2 shows, nearly 83% of FSWs

said that the majority of the FSWs they know, do not use condoms with their lovers. Nearly 95% of them reported that their friends thought they should use condoms with their lovers as protection from disease.

Figure 5.2 Social norms around condom use in intimate relationships



5.6: Sexual behaviour and condom use

Information was collected on the sexual behaviour and condom use by FSWs with intimate partners, by selected characteristics of intimate partners, and by selected characteristics of intimate relationship. The findings are discussed below.

5.6.1: Sexual behaviour and condom use with intimate partners

This section deals with the sexual behaviour and condom use of FSWs with their IPs in relation to their background characteristics. This includes the number of sexual intercourses with the IPs, anal sex with IPs, condom use with IPs, and if the FSWs ever used female condoms. All the questions were related to the six months that preceded the survey.

Table 5.4a shows that about 42% of the FSWs had sexual intercourse with the IP for less than three times in the one month that preceded the survey. FSWs who were above 36 years of age (52.4%), those who were nonliterate (44.2%),

those who were in sex work for more than 20 years (50.2%), with one client per week (51.4%), and FSWs who saw regular clients only (50%) were more likely than others to have intercourse less than three times a week. FSWs who were literate (25.4%), who relied solely on sex work (32%), and who had more than three clients per week (29.6%) were less likely to do the same.

Findings indicate that about 22% of the FSWs had sex three to four times with their IPs in the last month. Those who were above 36 years (17%) were less likely than those who were between ages 26-35 to do so. Also, those who solicited sex in public places (13.5%) were less likely to have had sex three to four times in the last month than those who sought it at home (24.4%).

About 30% of the FSWs had sex with the IP more than five times in the last month. FSWs who were above 36 years (22%) were less likely than those younger than 25 years (35%) to do that; similarly, those who were non literate

(28%) were less likely than the literate FSWs (43%) to do so. FSWs who had one client per week (24%) were less likely to have intercourse more than five times those who had more than three clients a week (38%).

With regard to anal sex with their IPs in the last six months, about one in ten FSWs said that they had anal sex. FSWs who were younger than 25 years (6.8%) were half as likely as those who were between 26-39 years to do so. FSWs who solicited sex at home (14.4%) were nearly thirteen times more likely than those who solicited at public places (1.1%) and nearly five times more likely than those who solicited on phone (3.3%). FSWs who were in sex work for the duration between of 10-19 years (15.4%) were three times more likely to have done it than those who were in sex work for less than 10 years (5%). FSWs who had two clients per week (17%) and who saw both occasional and regular clients (14.2%) were twice as likely as those who had more than three clients per week (8%) and who saw regular clients only (7.8%) to have anal sex with an IP.

When asked if they used a condom at last sex with the IP, about 56% of the FSWs said that they did. FSWs who depended solely on sex work (62%), were in sex work for 10-19 years (62%), who had two clients (62.3%), three or more clients (60.4%), and had both occasional and regular clients (67%) were more likely than others to do so. On the other hand, FSWs who were less than 25 years of age (46%), who solicited sex through phone (36.7%), and had regular clients only (39.2%) were less likely than others to use a condom at last sex.

Consistent condom use is essential for preventing STI/HIV. Around 43% of the FSWs reported using condoms consistently with their IPs. FSWs who solicited sex at home (48.3%) were nearly twice as likely as those who solicited at public places (27%) to do so. FSWs who were between 26-39 years (50.7%), who were in sex work for 10-19 years (51.4%), and who had both occasional and regular clients

(52.4%) were more likely than others to be consistent in this regard. FSWs who were younger than 25 years (30%) and who had regular clients only (32.7%) were less likely than others to do the same.

Nearly 14% of the FSWs used female condoms. FSWs who solicited sex by phone (20%) were nearly five times more likely than those who solicited in public places (4.5%) to use them. FSWs who had just one client per week (8.4%) were twice as likely as those who had more than three clients per week (19.2%), and who had both regular and occasional clients (20%) were six times more like than those who had just regular clients (3%), to do so.

5.6.2: Sexual behaviour and condom use by selected characteristics of intimate partners

This section covers the same aspects as the previous section but looks at sexual behaviour and condom use with IPs in relation to selected characteristics in them.

Results in Table 5.4b shows that around 42% of the FSWs had sexual intercourse with their IPs for less than three times in the month that preceded the survey. IPs who were above 40 years of age (52.4%) and who were non-literate (46.7%) were more likely than those who were below 40 (around 35%) and those who were literate (33.2%) to have had sex three times in a month. About 22% of the FSWs had sex three to four times with their IPs in the last month. IPs who were between 30-40 years of age (28%) and those who consumed alcohol frequently (28%) were more likely than others to do so. About 30% of the FSWs had sex with their IPs more than five times in the last month. IPs who were below 30 years of age (44.2%) were twice as likely as those who were above 40 years of age (23.4%), and IPs who never had alcohol (31%) were twice as likely as those who had it frequently (14.3%), to have had sex five times in the last month.

Table 5.4a Sexual behaviour and condom use with intimate partners by background characteristics of FSWs

Percentage of FSWs by their sexual behaviour and condom use with intimate partners according to their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Number of sexual intercourses with their IPs in the last one month			Anal sex with IP in past 6 months	Condom use with IP		Ever used female condom	No. of FSWs
	<3 times	3-4 times	5+ times		Last sex	Consistent		
Total	42.3	22.4	29.5	11.5	54.8	43.5	13.9	620
<i>Age in Years</i>								
<= 25	43.2	18.9	35.1	6.8	45.9	30.1	16.2	74
26-35	33.6	27.5	34.2	14.4	60.3	50.7	15.8	298
36+	52.4	17.3	22.2	9.3	50.8	38.7	10.9	248
<i>Literacy status</i>								
Non-literate	44.2	21.9	28.0	11.3	54.5	43.2	13.5	557
Literate	25.4	27.0	42.9	12.7	57.1	46.0	17.5	63
<i>FSWs with any other source of income than sex work</i>								
No	31.8	25.5	37.3	10.9	61.8	43.6	17.3	110
Yes	44.5	21.8	27.8	11.6	53.2	43.4	13.1	510
<i>Place of solicitation</i>								
Home	42.0	24.4	28.5	14.4	58.2	48.3	14.9	471
Public Spaces	40.4	13.5	32.6	1.1	48.9	27.0	4.5	89
Phone/ others	46.7	20.0	33.3	3.3	36.7	30.0	20.0	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>								
< 10 years	47.5	19.7	29.5	4.9	57.4	42.6	14.8	61
10-19 years	31.5	26.4	37.0	15.4	62.1	51.4	17.7	254
20+ years	50.2	19.7	23.3	9.5	48.2	37.0	10.5	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>								
1 client	51.4	23.8	23.8	23.8	44.4	37.9	8.4	214
2 clients	44.3	19.7	26.8	26.8	62.3	49.7	14.8	183
3+ clients	29.6	24.4	38.0	38.0	60.4	44.8	19.2	213
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>								
Occasional clients only	45.5	24.2	27.3	12.1	51.5	36.4	3.0	33
Regular clients only	49.8	23.5	25.9	7.8	39.2	32.7	7.5	255
Occasional & regular clients	36.1	21.4	32.5	14.2	67.1	52.4	19.9	332

* Excludes don't know responses (6%)

Table 5.4b Sexual behaviour and condom use with intimate partners by selected characteristics of intimate partners of FSWs

Percentage of FSWs by their sexual behaviour and condom use with IPs according to selected characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Number of sexual intercourse with their IPs in last one month*			Anal sex with IP in past 6 months	Condom use with IP		Ever used female condom	No. of FSWs
	<3 times	3-4 times	5+ times		Last sex	Consistent		
Total	42.3	22.4	29.5	11.5	54.8	43.5	13.9	620
<i>Age in Years</i>								
< 30	34.6	17.3	44.2	0.0	55.8	32.7	15.4	52
30-40	35.0	28.0	31.8	13.2	60.0	50.0	17.0	311
> 40	52.4	17.1	23.4	11.9	48.4	37.7	9.9	252
<i>Literacy status</i>								
Non-literate	46.7	22.2	25.8	12.0	56.4	46.5	12.8	415
Literate	33.2	22.9	37.1	10.2	51.5	37.3	16.1	205
<i>Marital status</i>								
Never married	44.8	17.2	32.8	6.9	65.5	43.1	20.7	58
Ever married	41.8	23.0	29.3	11.8	53.5	43.3	13.2	560
<i>Has a child with FSW</i>								
No	40.1	22.4	33.6	9.9	59.2	49.0	15.8	152
Yes	43.2	22.6	27.7	12.0	53.2	41.7	13.3	465
<i>Frequency of alcohol use</i>								
Never	41.2	21.5	31.1	11.7	59.7	46.9	13.8	427
Occasionally	43.0	23.2	29.1	11.3	44.7	35.8	14.6	151
Frequently	50.0	28.6	14.3	9.5	40.5	35.7	11.9	42

* Excludes don't know responses (6%)

With reference to anal sex with their IPs in the last six months, around 11% of FSWs said that they had anal sex with their IPs. IPs who were below 30 years of age never had anal sex but IPs who were married (11.8%) were nearly twice as likely as those who were never married (6.9%) to indulge in it.

Nearly 56% of the FSWs reported that they used condoms at last sex with their IPs. Those IPs who were never married (65.5%) and those who never had alcohol (59.7%) were more likely than others to use a condom. IPs who had alcohol frequently (40%) were least likely of all to use it. Around 43% of the FSWs reported using condoms consistently with their IPs. IPs who were below 30 years of age (32.7%) were

least likely to be consistent with condom use as compared to those who were between 30-40 years (50%) and never had alcohol (47%).

As stated earlier, nearly 14% of the FSWs used female condoms. FSWs with IPs who were below 40 years of age (10%) and IPs who were married (13%) were less likely than others to use female condoms.

5.6.3: Sexual behaviour and condom use with IP by selected characteristics of intimate relationship

This section deals with the sexual behaviour and condom use of FSWs with intimate partners but relates them to selected characteristics of the intimate relationship.

Results in Table 5.4c shows that around 42% of the FSWs had sexual intercourse with their IPs for less than three times in the one month that preceded the survey. IPs who visited monthly or less often (around 85% in both the groups) were four times more likely than those who visited frequently (19.2%) to do so. FSWs who received financial support from their IPs (61.5%) and those who have tension in the relationship (58%) were more likely than others to meet less than three times in the last month. About 22% of the FSWs had sex three to four times with their IPs in the last month. IPs who visited monthly (9.6%) were three times more likely than those who visited daily/weekly (29.2%) to meet three to four times. IPs who consumed alcohol frequently during sex (41.4%) were twice as likely as those who never consumed alcohol (20.8%) to meet this frequently. About 30% of the FSWs had sex with their IPs more than five times in the last month. IPs who visited FSWs less often were less likely than others to do so whereas those who came daily/weekly (43.4%) were nearly eight times more likely than those who came monthly (5.4%) to visit this often.

Findings show that around 11% FSWs had anal sex in the last six months preceding the survey. Those IPs who were clients before they became IPs (21%) were three times more likely than others (6%) to have had anal sex. Similarly, IPs who visited monthly (17%) were nearly three times more likely than those who visited less often (6.3%) to do so. IPs who got financial support from FSWs (29%) were seven times more likely to have anal sex than those who did not get the support (4%). Similarly, IPs who supported the FSWs financially (13.7%) were nearly five times more likely to have anal sex than the IPs who did not extend the support (2.5%). FSWs who were afraid of their IPs (7.3%) were half as likely as those who were not afraid of them to do the same.

With regard to condom use with the IP, nearly 56% of the FSWs reported that they used condoms at last sex with them. IPs who were in relationship for less than five years (63.2%), 'who were not aware of the sex workers' profession (57%), who never consumed alcohol (57.4%), who were financially supported by the FSW (79.7%), and did not have tension in the relationship (58.7%) were significantly more likely than other IPs to use a condom in the last sex. IPs who consumed alcohol most of the times during sex (31%) and those who had tension in their relationship (37%) were less likely than the others to do so.

Around 43% of the FSWs reported using condoms consistently with their IPs. FSWs who supported their IPs financially (68.4%) were more than twice as likely as those who did not provide the support (32.6%), to use condoms consistently. Similarly, IPs who were not aware of the sex worker's profession (46.4%) were nearly twice as likely to do so as those who were aware of her work (27.3%). IPs who consumed alcohol most of the times (31%), FSWs who were afraid of their IPs (32.7%), afraid that their IPs would leave them (30.6%), and had tension in their relationships (32.5%), were more likely than others to report less consistent use of condoms.

Female condom usage among FSWs was low, with about 14% of the FSWs using female condoms. FSWs who supported their IPs financially (26.7%) were three times as likely as those who did not support their IPs (8.3%) to use them. FSWs who received financial support from their IPs (15.3%) and who were not afraid of their IP (20%) were more than twice as likely as those who did not get support (8.2%) and those who were afraid (8%) to use female condoms.

Table 5.4c Sexual behaviour and condom use with intimate partners by selected characteristics of intimate relationship

Percentage of FSWs by their sexual behaviour and condom use with intimate partners according to selected relationship level characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Number of sexual intercourse with their IPs in last one month*			Anal sex with IP in past 6 months	Condom use with IP		Ever used female condom	No. of FSWs
	<3 times	3-4 times	5+ times		Last sex	Consistent		
Total	42.3	22.4	29.5	11.5	54.8	43.5	13.9	620
<i>Duration of intimate relationship</i>								
<5 years	39.1	24.1	33.3	8.0	63.2	51.7	13.8	87
5-9 years	38.1	25.9	30.6	12.9	61.9	47.9	15.6	147
10+ years	44.6	20.7	28.2	11.7	50.1	39.9	13.2	386
<i>Was the IP a client before he became an IP</i>								
No	47.3	20.1	27.2	21.0	55.4	45.3	16.5	224
Yes	39.6	23.4	31.0	6.1	54.7	42.6	12.4	394
<i>Frequency of visit by IP</i>								
Most frequent (daily/weekly)	19.2	29.2	43.4	10.0	55.1	42.6	13.5	401
Monthly	83.7	9.6	5.4	16.9	53.6	44.8	14.5	166
Less often	85.4	12.5	0.0	6.3	60.4	50.0	16.7	48
<i>IPs aware of FSW's sex work profession</i>								
No	41.9	21.0	30.3	12.2	57.1	46.4	13.7	518
Yes	44.4	30.3	24.2	8.1	42.4	27.3	15.2	99
<i>IP under influence of alcohol during sex in past one month</i>								
IP consumed alcohol most of times	34.5	41.4	20.7	13.8	31.0	31.0	10.3	29
IP consumed alcohol some of the times	36.7	24.2	31.7	11.7	50.0	40.8	14.2	120
IP never consumed alcohol	44.2	20.8	29.5	11.3	57.4	44.9	14.0	471
<i>FSWs supports IP financially</i>								
No	43.6	21.9	30.3	3.9	44.0	32.6	8.3	433
Yes	39.0	23.5	27.8	28.9	79.7	68.4	26.7	187
<i>FSWs receive social support by IP</i>								
No	61.5	17.2	20.5	2.5	49.2	38.8	8.2	122
Yes	37.6	23.7	31.7	13.7	56.1	44.6	15.3	498

Table 5.4c Contd.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Number of sexual intercourse with their IPs in last one month*			Anal sex with IP in past 6 months	Condom use with IP		Ever used female condom	No. of FSWs
	<3 times	3-4 times	5+ times		Last sex	Consistent		
<i>FSWs feel afraid of their IP</i>								
No	44.3	25.7	25.1	15.6	63.8	54.4	19.9	307
Yes	40.3	19.2	33.9	7.3	45.8	32.7	8.0	313
<i>FSWs think their IP will leave them</i>								
No	39.1	23.3	30.4	12.0	59.9	48.3	14.2	450
Yes	50.6	20.0	27.1	10.0	41.2	30.6	12.9	170
<i>FSWs who have tension in their relationship with IP</i>								
No	38.7	23.7	30.8	10.9	58.7	45.9	14.8	506
Yes	57.9	16.7	23.7	14.0	37.2	32.5	9.6	114

* Excludes don't know responses (6%)

5.7: Condom use with clients by background characteristics of FSWs

While the previous sections dealt with the IPs, this section deals with the clients of the FSWs and discusses the condom use behaviour and anal sex in relation to the selected background characteristics. Table 5.5 shows that condom use with the clients was high (94.5%) at last sex. FSWs who had more than three clients per week (98.6%) and those who had occasional clients only (100%) were most likely of all to use them. Those who solicited through phone (85%) were least likely to do the same. When it came to consistent condom use, nearly 92% of the FSWs reported using them consistently with the clients. FSWs who had just one client per week (94.4%) and those who had occasional clients only (97%) were more like than others to do so. Literate FSWs (84%) and those solicited sex work in public places (84.3%) were less likely use condoms consistently.

Only 7% of the FSWs reported ever having anal sex with occasional/regular clients in six months that preceded the survey. FSWs older than 25 years (around 8%) were six times more like than those younger than 25 (1.4%) to do it.

FSWs who solicited sex in public places never had anal sex, whereas those who solicited at home (9%) were more than twice as likely as those who solicited through phone (3.8%) to have anal sex. FSWs who were in sex work for less than ten years never had anal sex. However, FSWs who had just two clients per week (11%) were more than twice as likely as those who had just one client per week (4.7%) to have had anal sex. Similarly, FSWs how had occasional clients only (9.1%) and who had both occasional and regular clients (10.2%) were three time more likely than those who had just regular clients (3.2%) to do so.

Table 5.5 Condom use with clients by background characteristics of FSWs

Percentage of FSWs by their condom use behaviour and anal sex with clients according to their selected background characteristics

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	Condom use with occasional/regular clients		Ever had anal sex with occasional/regular clients in past 6 months	No. of FSWs
	At last sex	Consistent		
Total	94.5	91.8	7.2	620
<i>Age in Years</i>				
<= 25	94.6	90.4	1.4	74
26-35	96.3	91.3	8.1	298
36+	92.3	92.9	8.0	248
<i>Literacy status</i>				
Non-literate	94.6	92.7	7.0	557
Literate	93.7	84.1	9.5	63
<i>FSWs with any other source of income other than sex work</i>				
No	95.5	89.9	5.6	110
Yes	94.3	92.2	7.6	510
<i>Place of solicitation</i>				
Home	96.0	93.6	9.0	471
Public Spaces	93.3	84.3	0.0	89
Phone/ others	85.0	88.7	3.8	60
<i>Duration in sex work</i>				
< 10 years	95.1	93.4	0.0	61
10-19 years	95.3	89.3	7.6	254
20+ years	93.8	93.6	8.5	305
<i>Client volume per week</i>				
1 client	94.4	94.4	4.7	214
2 clients	95.1	92.3	11.0	183
3+ clients	98.6	88.7	6.6	213
<i>Type of clients FSWs have</i>				
Occasional clients only	100.0	97.0	9.1	33
Regular clients only	91.8	90.6	3.2	255
Occasional & regular clients	96.1	92.2	10.2	332

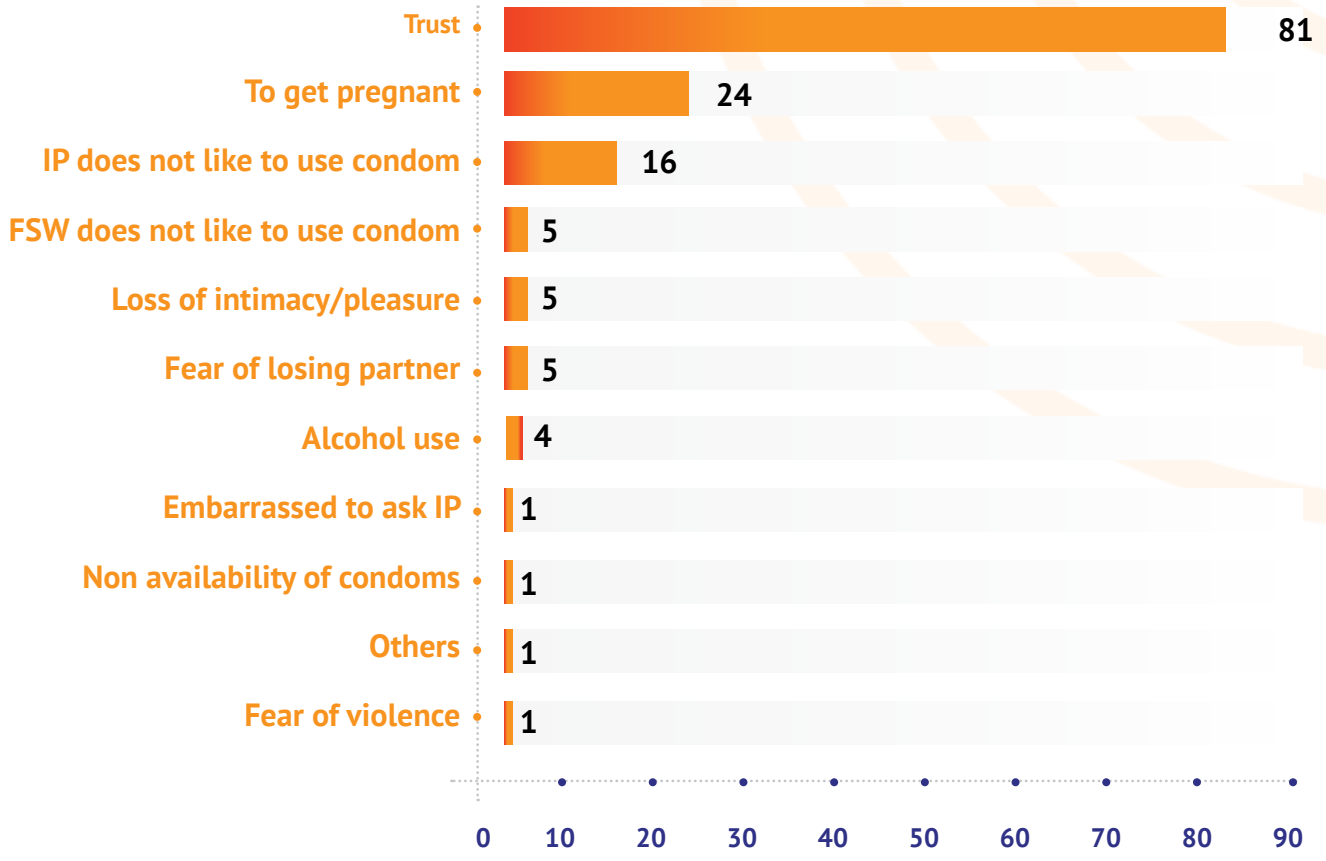
5.8: Issues that generally prevent FSWs from using condom with their intimate partners

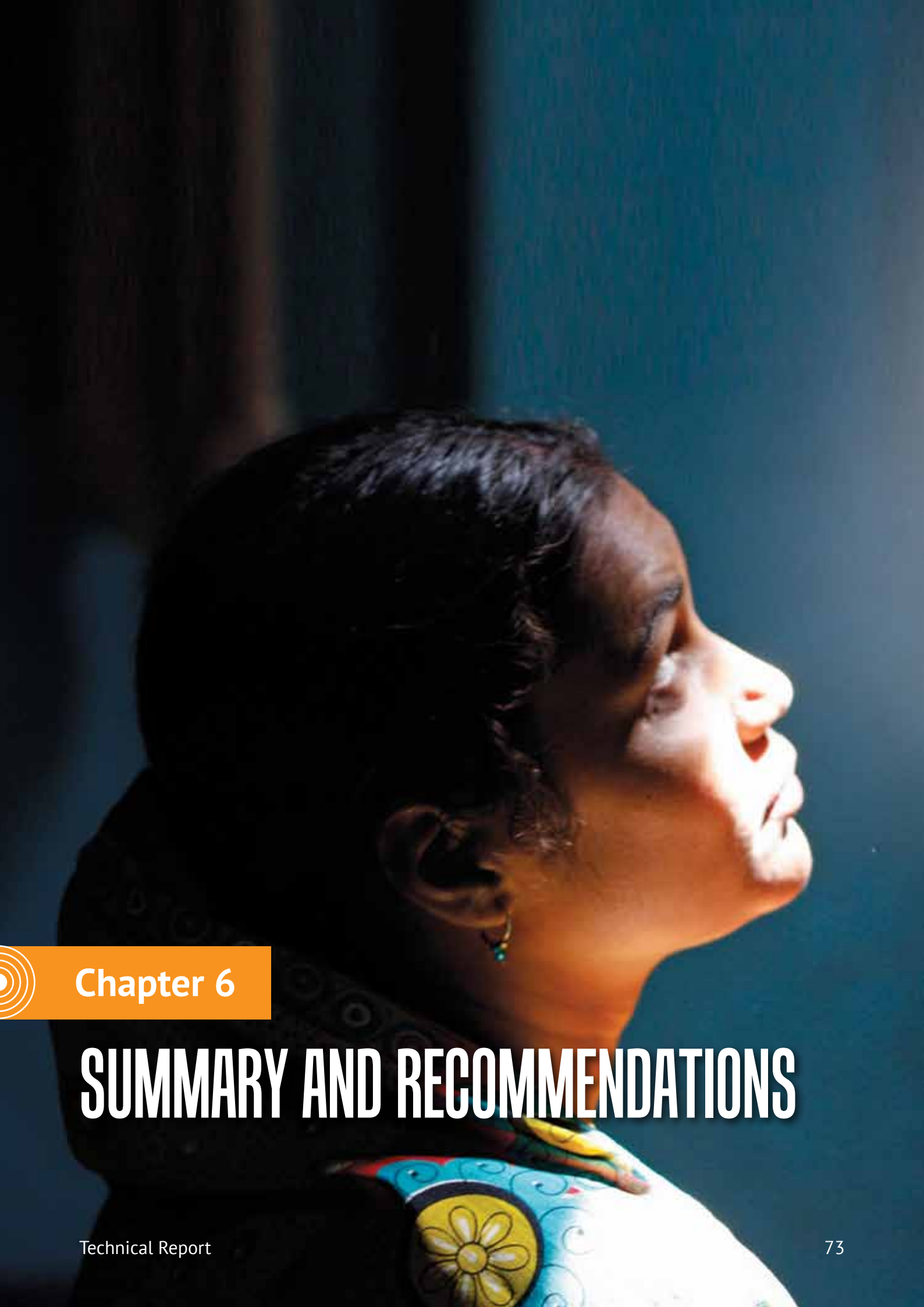
When asked about the causes that prevent the FSWs from using a condom with their IPs, a majority of the FSWs (81.3%) said that it was an issue of trust. As figure 5.3 shows, this reason was cited three times more than the issue of getting pregnant (24.4%) and around five times more than IPs not liking to use condoms

(16.5%). The other reasons cited were significantly less important (less than 10% of FSWs reported these reasons). In the order of decreasing importance, the issues cited are as follows: FSWs do not like to use condoms (5.5%), loss of intimacy/pleasure (5.2%), fear of losing partners (5%), alcohol use (3.5%), embarrassed to ask IPs (1.1%), nonavailability of condoms (1.1%) and fear of violence (0.6%).

Figure 5.3

Percentage of FSWs by types of issues that generally prevented them to use condom with their IPs





Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarises the major findings of the study with regard to the social norms, acceptance and prevalence of violence among the FSWs in an intimate partner relationship belonging to the selected taluks of Bagalkot district, north Karnataka. This chapter also highlights the key areas that need programmatic attention.

A. Relationships characteristics within the intimate relationships

The intimate relationship between the sex workers and partner is characterised by longer duration of relationship, frequent meets, and a strong financial, emotional and social support

The findings presented in this report highlight that the relationship between FSWs and their intimate partners are largely being characterised by longer duration of relationship, very frequent interactions and a multidimensional support by the male partners. Results clearly depicted that more than three-fifth of FSWs reported being in intimate relationships since last 10 years. The mean duration of relationship was found to be around 12 years. More than 40% partners of sex workers meet them once in a week. Support systems play an important role in the life of a sex worker, especially when they are susceptible to multiple vulnerabilities, such as financial, social, and emotional. Almost all of them agreed that their partners provide financial and emotional support to them.

B. Social and empirical norms around violence

Wider acceptance of violence among FSWs especially when it comes to maintaining the familial harmony

The findings of this suggest that social norms around violence are commonly accepted among FSWs. Though there were instances when FSWs did not approve the act of violence, such instances were very minimal. Findings of this study suggest that around three-fifths of the

of the FSWs who participated in the survey disagreed to the statements which disapproved the acceptance of violence for the sake of their children and to keep their family unite. These statements were “a woman should not tolerate violence for the sake of her children” and “a woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep her family together”, respectively.

The social norms around violence were found to be much stronger than the individuals own perceived norms. As found in the study, around 85% FSWs participants agreed to the statements that “the majority of women I know believe that men have a right to beat them if they have done something wrong” and “the majority of women I know would rather accept violence than lose their relationship”. Moreover, results also suggest that community expect that the FSWs should tolerate violence from lover and obey whatever he says. Around 80% FSWs reported that majority of their friends and family members think that “I (FSW) should tolerate violence from my lover” and around similar proportion of FSWs also reported that their friends and family members do expect that she should obey her lover and do whatever he says.

Findings around intimate relationship build on principles of equity and respect were mixed

Baseline findings on the relationship characteristics suggest that there have been mixed responses on the principles of equity and respect within the intimate relationships and it been largely the situation specific. Results indicate that while about more than half of the FSWs disagreed with the statement that “a woman should not tolerate violence for the sake of her children”, about one-third of them agreed to the fact that “a woman is not seen as more respectable if she has a man with her”. Similar contradicting expectations were observed for rest of the statements too. For instance, while more than half of the women agreed with the idea that “her role is to serve

her partner”, about 80% or more FSWs agreed to the statements “forcing a woman to have sex when she does not want to is not a sign of disrespect” and “neighbours should not intervene if they hear a woman being beaten by her lover”.

The results show that a majority of the FSWs said that beating her is not justified if she did nothing wrong. Only one in three FSWs (34.4%) agreed that violence is not acceptable/justified in all the situations that may arise in their relationships.

The social norms on violence and perceived consequences have more acceptance among FSWs

Findings of this study suggest that more than 4/5th of the FSWs agreed to the statement that “the majority of women I know believe that men have a right to beat them if they have done something wrong” and indicate that there is a wider acceptance of violence in the FSW community. Although, a large pool of FSWs agreed to the fact that “beating her is not justified if she did nothing wrong”, surprisingly only onethird FSWs protested violence in all the situations that have arisen in their relationships. The reason being the violence is justified in the wider community if it protesting against the same has severe implications like fear of breaking the relationship. As evident, a large proportion of FSWs reported that “the majority of women I know would rather accept violence than lose their relationship”.

C. Experience of violence within intimate relationships and related characteristics

A significant proportion of FSWs experience one or other forms of intimate partner violence

The findings show that more than 50% of the FSWs (51%) have experienced one or the other form of violence in the 6 months’ period preceding the survey. Among them, nearly half of them experienced emotional violence;

1/3rd faced physical violence and less than 10% experienced sexual violence. Results also depicted that about 24% FSWs reported experience of ongoing severe physical and/or sexual violence. The FSWs who solicited sex at public places and who had both occasional and regular clients reported more emotional and physical violence than others. More than 2/3rd IPs who used alcohol frequently were most likely to indulge in violence than others.

Many violence cases remain unreported and unaddressed

Nearly half of the FSWs who participated in the survey did not disclose to anybody that they had faced violence. Among the remaining 50% FSWs who disclosed this act with someone, they disclosed with their friends (23%), co-workers (21.5%), and the family members (17%). Only one in ten FSWs also reported that they share their experience of IPV with their neighbours. Disclosure of violence did not differ much by individual level of characteristics such as age, literacy status, and duration of sex work. Findings also show that while 1/4th (23%) FSWs managed violence on their own, a significantly large proportion of the sex workers (61.7%) did not do anything about IPV and hence it remained unaddressed.

More than half of the FSWs were aware of the legal provisions that address violence against women

The findings show that more than half of the women are aware about DV Act. Nearly three out of five (60%) of the FSWs were aware of some form of support structure-Santwana Centres, crisis management committees (CMTs), short stay homes, police stations, etc. Young FSWs (below 25 years of age), those FSWs who had spent less than 10 years in sex work, and had more clients either in terms of weekly client volume (3+) or types of clients they had (both occasional and regular) were more likely to be aware of any support structure. It is important

to note that, although one in two FSWs were aware of support systems, just 4% of the FSWs, or 15 out of 310 (who were aware of the services) availed these services.

Moderate solidarity among FSWs to address partner violence at individual or collective level

Analysis on the sense of solidarity and collective action suggests that FSWs usually discuss and talk about the IP related issues and try to help each other. However, a group of respondents to the baseline study also reported lack of confidence or less social cohesion among themselves. For instance, nearly one in three FSWs (34%) said that they were not confident talking to other sex workers about their problems with IPs, and about a similar proportion of them never went to their fellow FSWs for help during times of IP violence. Moreover, just 10% FSWs felt that some competition exists among the FSWs to find an IP in their community. Young FSWs (aged below 25 years), literate, who relied on sex work alone, and who were in sex work for less than 10 years were more likely than others to feel confident in discussing and talking about the IP related issues to their fellow sex workers and try to help each other as required.

D. STI/HIV risk perception, skills for self-protection, and condom use

Perceived risk about vulnerability to STI/HIV was low

Findings underscore the low perceived risk of STI/HIV and a better health seeking behaviour. Of the total FSWs who participated in the survey, about 15% felt that they were at risk of acquiring HIV and about 9% felt high or medium risk of acquiring HIV from their IP. At the same time, more than 80% FSWs got tested for HIV in the six months and 88% collected their last HIV test result. In addition, more than half (52%) of the FSWs visited STI clinics for the medical check-up in 6-months period preceding the survey.

One in two FSWs showed skills of self-protection from HIV and used condoms consistently

One in two FSWs were confident of convincing their IPs to use condoms and could convince their IPs to go for STI testing and HIV treatment. Overall, more than one-third (35%) FSWs were confident of convincing their IPs for all the three activities. Consistent condom use is essential for preventing STI/HIV. More than 2/5th of the FSWs (43%) reported using condoms consistently with their IPs. Nearly 14% of the FSWs used female condoms too.

Conclusion and programme implication

Findings of this study revealed several important results that have programmatic implications. It is clear from the results that the FSW community has social norms that justify partner violence in many ways. As observed in the results, around 2/3rd FSWs (66%) agreed that violence can be justified in all the situations that may arise in their relationships. This suggests the need for creating awareness among FSWs on different issues that would help women realise their

self-worth, understand the limitations of the relationships, and understand IPV with a gender perspective. Findings also suggest that in many cases, incidents of violence are neither reported nor addressed. Despite the fact that the attitude towards acceptance of violence is so common, just 33% FSWs reported physical and 6% sexual violence in a 6-month period preceding the survey. High level of acceptance of violence and lesser reporting of actual acts

of violence clearly indicates that women are not reporting incidents of violence due to one or other reasons. The programme has to build confidence and trust so that women report violence without fear. This can be done through frequent interaction with FSWs and informing them about the possible consequences of unreported and unaddressed violence cases. The other modes of imparting information on the consequence of violence can be group sessions or community activities around domestic violence and women's rights. It is also important to make the programme implementers and the CBOs understand their roles in reducing IPV in the community. CBOs should be proactive in identifying violence cases and initiating proper action to address the crisis. Formation of CMTs and building their capacity on addressing the violence cases in a timely manner would be the key to success of the programme. Building a strong network with the other women's organisations would bring strength to the movement of addressing IPV among FSWs.

Another important finding that emerged from the study was on awareness of the support structures available to address violence related cases and the utilisation of services from such known structures. Results from this study shows that more than 50% respondents were aware of the support structures; however, less than 10% of them utilised any services from the support structures. One of the strategies to improve the uptake of services from the support structures could be to focus on strengthening women's abilities to develop safety plans. Unless women realise the need to have safety plans to address crises, they will not utilise the services. At the same time, it is important to have proper violence redressal mechanisms. Until they are in place, women would not have the courage to resist violence. Interaction with the different department officers would surely help women

to understand the support structures. A push from the programme is required to enable women to access these support structures. Moreover, findings also call for community mobilisation activities in the intervention areas to build a sense of solidarity and collective action in the community.

Last but not the least; it is evident from the above findings that there is a need for structural interventions that focus on an essential component of HIV prevention strategies - condom use to reduce HIV risk and vulnerability among FSWs. Despite various efforts, condom use in an intimate relationship remains limited. Addressing some of the structural barriers like social and gender norms, alcohol use and violence should be important components of the intervention. As has emerged in the above discussion, some of the important strategies under such structural intervention can be empowering the FSWs through community mobilisation activities, creating an enabling environment with advocacy, and promoting equitable gender attitudes through community level programmes.

A multi-layered intervention, like Samvedana Plus, should pay attention to building self-worth and collective efficacy among FSWs, develop their skills to change norms of violence and negotiate safer sex, inform them about laws, help them to understand violence and act against it, create awareness of support structures and how to use them. At the same time definite efforts are required at the levels of IPs and the implementing agencies. These activities should be focused on helping the collectives to prioritise and address IPV, encourage members' critical thinking on partner violence, and strengthen the crisis management systems to support sex workers experiencing partner violence.

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