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# Whoredom and its Patronage Class in Nineteenth Century Bengal: AN Entertaining Profession Underpinned by Market Economy and Sexual Passion

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Abstract: After taking over the rule of Bengal by the British, along with the change of new commercial and administrative relations, the courtesies of Bengal changed like the pre- Colonial socio- economic structure. The colonial administration made special arrangements to employ Indian courtesans for European and Indian soldiers. On the other hand, in this socio- economic and administrative system, courtesans also collect new types of clients or customers. In the practical aspects of the market economy, prostitution deviates from sexual impulses and transforms into a different positional status, where people rent themselves or their bodies, or even sell their skills on the market as day Laborers. But in the case of harlots, he rents out his genitalia and its appendage, Indicating a sexual relationship between a man and a woman. Procreation has a moral value in society and women's fertility is recognized as sacred, which is the exclusive domain of husbands in patriarchal societies. Women who sell their bodies and children forever as slaves and becomes an instrument of production (Colloquially called Putrarthe Kriyate Varyya), unlike those who rent out their bodies without the obligation to produce children, what she produces over time in return for her labor is a purchasable grotesque fantasy to her male buyer. Traditional artisans or factory workers sell their skills and produce according to market demand. As a result, the labourer does not own the object of his labour. Prostitutes are forced to sell their spontaneous sexual impulses to meet market demand and he cannot face his laborious product, which remains mysterious to him. In this article, how the courtesan house's of colonial Bengal become a means of developing the caste identity of the so- called elites and means of mental peace and entertainment.

Keywords: Courtesans, Courtesan House, Organization, Religion, Caste and Class, Babu Culture.

# Introduction:

Although sociologists have traced the origins of prostitution to the ancient institution of "Hetaerism" in Greece or the Baranganas of the Buddhist era in India, or to the later concubines or dancers, there are also large differences. The "Hetaerism" of Greece was never considered a "Sin" in contemporary society. It was a state effort. Dancers or Concubines in Hindu palaces or mughal Harems were imprisoned in Feudal society and unable to sell themselves in the open market. The existence of Barangays, concubines or temple dancers in the Greek royal court is an existence of Barangays, concubines or temple dancers in the Greek Royal court is an expression of male dominance over women. In comparison, Greek Barangays enjoyed some freedom but had to practice their Skills mainly for the entertainment of men. This practice was not limited to sexual pleasure. Art, music, dance, painting etc. were also included in their practice. With this environment, the

Barangays, dancers or concubines of the Raj Sabha have evolved from ancient professions into modern "prostitutes" in capitalist society. In another system where the division of labor, Specialization of skill, has been established, as in wage labor, prostitutes have been relegated to a narrow Niche. She has been denounced as a Specialist in purely sexual entertainment role playing. Stripped of all emotions, qualities, intelligence, she becomes a female body used as a part of the production process in capitalist society. Only out of utilitarian need does he produce regular sexually imaginative impulses in his body, which fill the empty hearts of isolated working class men who come as buyers. He represents himself as the ultimate capitalist society in the Marxist Separatist concept. The Isolation of one oppressed class protects another class.

Objectives :- The present article has been undertaken with following objectives:-

- i) To develop a proper understanding of what Barangana or prostitution was like in the ancient Indian traditions and how it stands in the present times.
- ii) Prostitution is a parallel social system. There can be no more foolishness or harmful tendency to deny it and close our eyes. Manipulate the mind of the people with a conscious perspective on this prevailing neglectful perspective.
- iii) To try to explain that system like prostitution cannot be stopped through hatred alone.

# Methodology:-

The present study is descriptive in nature and is based on the secondary sources of information.

**Discussion:** With the introduction of new commercial and administrative relations after the British took over the rule Bengal, Courtship also changed like the pre- colonial socio- economic structure. State of colonial society among peasants, tribal communities, housewives or working women in Bengal become Visible to Marxists and lower class historians. But the deprived and humiliated courtesans of the society of that time did not attract the attention of historians even though they were established in similar socio- economic conditions.

#### Independent women:

On the eve of British colonization of Bengal, Courtesans were in their in their infancy as wage Laborers from a modern perspective. Outside of the institution of marriage, traditional male dominance over the female body took many forms. With the fall of the Mughal empire and the anarchy of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Changing social conditions led to female to male prostitution taking place at night in secluded places. Rajya Sabha Baranganaswere seen in the olden days as shadow designs painted in black color among independent on the fringes of aristocracy. Some of them were low- caste Singers, Hindu Widows, women who joined the Vaishnav Akra Sangha and who independently sought their male partners. or the so- called women who have been abandoned by their husbands or rejected by their lovers, who are forced to choose this life to fulfill their needs by being rejected by the society. The colony consisting of these independent women become a distinct part of the village society with tolerant patronage. Not all of them can be called "prostitutes",. Because many of them did other jobs like selling flowers or tailoring. But the self- reliance program gave them freedom of action and freedom of movement, through which they could easily engage in premarital or extramarital Sex with village men. By maintaining the standard of living, they established the right to like or dislike customers or Clients and did not have to depend on those customers for their livelihood.

All these women, despite being Marginal, were made to participate in various social, cultural or religious events. Due to the abundance of "Thirteen Parvans" in twelve months or festivals in Bengali society, Jhumur Dancers or vaishnaba women's kirtaniyas were assigned a separate place in various festivals. Prostitutes were not segregated. It was a common rule in the Rural Society of Bengal that unless the Durga Pratima was built without soil collected from the doorsteps of brothers, the idol would not take its proper form. The

rationale behind this was that the ground at the entrance to the brothel was the most sacred because it was here that man left all his moral excellence outside and entered. By turning prostitutes into an accessory to religious behavior, rural society skillfully creates a social necessity, excellence.

An Intermediary class of women known as "Kutni" is observed. They used to arrange illicit lovers with the wife or daughter of a wealthy householder. They were not prostitutes by profession. They were self-employed workers such as florists, hairdressers, etc. They had free access to the interior of the household. Tempted out of their homes, they are often rejected by their lovers and forced to fend for themselves.

#### **Dancer or Mistress:**

Apart from the independent women on the fringes of Bengal's rural society, there is another class of women who are later described differently as concubines. Eighteenth century Muslim Nawabs maintained large "Harems", but the number of concubines among wealthy men dwindled. Concubines are accorded the status of sole protectors of men. New European traders, pirates and employees of the East India Company were attracted to the local way of life and customs. Along with local customs, Rituals like smoking, smoking tobacco, wearing Indian clothes etc, they continue to take Indian women as wives. Some of their fortunate women's husbands would leave some of their luck or ill- gotten wealth before returning to England, on which they depended for the rest of their lives. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries expressed concern about the growing number of children to European men, as their employment become an important issue. Another class of concubines came who were the displaced musicians and dancers of North India. With the decline of the Mughal empire and the decline of patronage to the old elite, these women were forced to migrate from Delhi, Lucknow, Agra, Benares. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the newly born Bengali landowning class, Banyans, Dewans etc. Who had accumulated money by establishing relations with British merchants and administrative officials, the women artists came to Calcutta city with their patronage. For the Europeans living in the city, the dances of these starry women were the main attraction on stage organized by the Bengali Bhuiphond. In contemporary pamphlets and newspapers we often find the name of a dancer named Nikki, whose voice was comparable to that of the famous Italian soprano Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), who held audiences of the time in a sort of servitude. A newspaper report in 1819 also revealed that a rich Bengali fostered Nikki for an allowance of 1000 Rupees.

A poor example of concubinage systems in which women were kept as slaves or captives in wealthy Muslim households, in fact the slave trade carried out by the Arab colonies of Africa and Portuguese pirates in southwest Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resulted in large numbers of women (Known as "Habsi or Kafri" in the national Bengali Language). Known as encouraged imports for use in the homes of elite households in the cities of Dhaka, Murshidabad and later Calcutta. Sometimes these women ran away to escape. But she was recaptured and bound into a form of slavery, that of being a courtesan in the open market.

#### **Rural Women:**

In the mid- eighteenth century, the anarchic conditions arising from the looting of Bargi raids threw Rural Bengali women into a cycle of insecurity, including women abductions, rape etc. Due to the conservatism of the Hindu Family, these stigmatized women were rarely rehomed. Again in 1770AD Famine pushed many people of Bengal to death. Those who survive are forced to sell their children. Contemporary historical accounts describe that children were brought by boat to riverside of Calcutta for sale. A handful in the misery of this terrible Famine most children had to steal or buy food from their parents. Sold by starving parents, these destitute girls are victims of poverty. Daughters and widows of aristocratic Brahmin families were abandoned as a liability in the colonial market- based financial conditions of nineteenth century Bengal. As a result of their settlement, the new city of Mafhaswal was built which become a canter of trade and commerce and the East India company made the city place of commercialexchange. The company employed Bengal

brokers (Banyans) to collect exportable goods from the villages. Who established office courts in those cities with the help of their subordinates, peons, Pike(Armed Guards). Cotton, Raw Silk, Sora, and even the female body become purchasable meterial as accessories with the daily exchange of all these people. Women were sent to brothels in Calcutta for consumption or sometimes as exchange. Thus a vast hinterland developed in the Indian subcontinent for the economic development of England by the British.

# **Organized Subdivisions:**

Along with the expansion of trade, the colonial administration expanded the network of office court functions in the city of Mufaswal. A contemporary Bengali observer gives an interesting account of how favorable conditions helped the establishment of Ganikalaya in places in the town of Mafhaswal in the early nineteenth century. A place called Gowari in krishnanagar town was once home to some "Gopas" (Cowherd), "Malos" (Fishermen and sailors) and other lower class people. Later the British Government realized that the place was a river port. Then they started trying to build courts and other institutions in the area. The British started building houses in the western part of Gowari for their residence and in the eastern part for the residence of their subordinate Bengali officers, Lawyers etc. Most of the Bengali employees, lawyers, etc.felt the need for concubines. Due to this necessity, Ganikalaya developed in the surrounding area of their residence. Just as learned men an ancient Greece used to gather in the Gymnasium for intellectual discussion, the same custom prevailed here. Not only for sense pleasure, many people come here to have fun or meet friends. Ganikalayas were full of people from dusk till night. There was no place to stand here during puja Parban. During Durga puja, people used to travel from one place to another throughout the night to see the idol. During the idol worship on Vijayadashami, they used to wander around to see the courtesans. Courtesans in the city acquired a utilitarian status with their customers. A nineteenth century writer mentions a social custom in Jessore that Bengali officers and lawyers, when introducing their colleagues to new gentleman, would say that the gentleman had built a thatched house for his wife. Building a house for a wife was a Symbol honor and dignity. I'm the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the capital city of Calcutta, the Centre of colonial rule, rose up as a patron of prostitution. It is pertinent to note that Courtship was not dependent on the needs of British residents. This is the result of the indirect impact of the British colonial system on the way of life of the Bengali Citizens.

# Ganikapalli:

The 1960s saw the proliferation of courtesan organizations and the diversification of clientele. Outside of Calcutta, the wealthy towns of Bengal saw enough of the colonial upheaval. In 1853, Calcutta's four hundred thousand people were serving 12,429 countries. A decade later in 1867, this number reached thirty thousand. In 1862 AD, the famous Satirist Kaliprasanna Singh while describing the lifestyle and habits of Idle rich men of his time wrote that Calcutta has become a court of prostitution for all these rich men. Every locality had at least ten Ganikalayas. Every year the number of courtesans increased. A few years later, a Bengali newspaper in Dhaka complained that the number of prostitutes in Dhaka was increasing. It is no exaggeration that the number of courtesans has Quadrupled from what it was ten years ago. All the paved houses on either side of the main thoroughfare are a occupied by courtesans.

As the number of courtesans increased in Calcutta and other regions, their organization also changed. As mentioned earlier,

i) the first generation of courtesans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were various displaced women, widows, rejected daughters of middle class aristocratic Brahmin families who were accidentally seduced and abandoned by their beloved men. Finally their place was in Ganikalaya. The above factors contributed to the increase in the number of courtesans in the nineteenth century. This tome saw the rise of a ne gene of courtesans who were the daughters of previous courtesans. In the British administration they were called "Hereditary prostitute" and in current Bengal they were called "double Khanki". It means those who have re- adopted mother's old vocation.

ii) Many poor women of lower descent who had been separated from the villages and came to Calcutta or Mafhaswal Cities as workers in Bengali middle- class households or in newly established factories took up prostitution in the evenings to make up for the meager earnings. In the official report of 1860AD they are divided into seven divisions.

The First category was retired high caste Hindu women who were the patrons of countrymen living in Chitpur Road, Cornwallis Street, North Bagbazar and Maniktala Street. The second class consisted of Hindu women of good birth who lived alone and invited a small number of relatives or high- born guests. The third category included Hindu women who lived under male or female landlords and the landlords paid financial grants for their accommodation. They entertained Hindu guests irrespective of caste. These latter two classes had no fixed locality. They lived in different parts of the city. A fourth class was formed with Hindu and Muslim dancers. They used to live in alleys on Chitpur Road and would entertain guests regardless of caste. The fifth, sixth and seventh classes are ordinary Muslims, low- caste Hindus, low- caste Christians and European courtesans respectively. Since their number was very large, it was difficult to keep them under control. The reporter's hatred towards them is clearly shown in the reply report. According to him, "They were a moral scourge, Brazenly flaunting their bodies on public thoroughfares. They used to congregate in European and country Liquor stores, especially the latter.

An official report of 1870 AD on the composition of courtesans in the presidency Division.i,e. Calcutta and adjoing districts, started that the number of poor Hindu and Christian court of low descent was increasing. They mainly belonged to Tanti, Mali, Yugi,( weaver community of East Bengal), Potter, Blacksmith, Chamar,Sonar Bene, Teli, Fishermen, kaivarta, Moira, Goala, Barber Community. Bengali writer Durgacharan Roy's Travelogue of the late nineteenth century describes the resistances of different classes of courtesans in Calcutta, their purchases and different working methods.

# Religion, Caste and Class:-

Contemporary Bengali accounts strongly support class distinctions among courtesans. British Government reports have enumerated them, adding a new dimension to the matter and which was not visible to the Bengali observer of the nineteenth century. According to British administrative records, although half of the country's population was Muslim at that time, still Hindus were more influential. The religious of Calcutta courtesans with British official examples explains the reasons for the organization. According to him, widow marriage is common among Muslims was not among the Hindus. Abandoned Muslim are often unpaid in the homes of wealthy Muslim gentlemen, they were supported as **workingmen**and there they lived as concubines. An echo of the condition can be heard in the account of the then British commissioner of Dhaka. According to him, prostitution is mainly practiced by Hindus in his administrative area due to Superstition against Remarriage, strictness of Hindu law, caste system etc.

Muslim courtesans tended to keep their religious identity a secret. Chittagong official reports show that many muslim courtesans assumed Hindu names for dual reasons. i). Hindus will come to them more often if they have Hindu names. Hindu will be not come if they take muslim names. Again the possibility of marriage with his own caste will be lost. ii). Hindus were popular. Their behavior was sweet. These factors were behind the proliferation Hindu courtesans in muslim dominated districts.

A slightly different picture of Muslim courtesans in North Bengal's coach Bihar is found in government reports. Muslim courtesans generally converted from the Koch tribe and adopted Hindu customs ,calling themselves Hindu or Rajvanshis. This category of poor community often sold their children into prostitution. Courtesansto nurture them. The explanation for the paucity of muslim courtesans in the region reiterates this argument. Because Remarriage is easy among Muslims, the number of muslim women is less. Recently the deputy police commissioner of Calcutta has made an interesting analysis about another organization of prostitutes. In Calcutta and its surrounding areas the classified courtesans came from all castes and classes and were mostly Hindu widows. After being lured by someone in their own Village, they came to Calcutta to

become prostitutes. Courtesans of the second class were bred for this profession from childhood. The third consisted of Hindu and Muslim women who left home because of their husbands misbehavior or against their husbands polygamy. The fourth class the sailor's wives who carried on this lucrative business interview absence of their husbands with their consent. The fifth class is those who were bought by their owners as young women during the Famine.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the sale of children for Famine and their subsequent placement in prostitution become a common phenomenon. There were 6(six) families from 1851 to 1857 and from 1876 to 1900 AD. Poor parents sold their daughters to prostitutes as legal transactions. A document signed on stamp paper was hung up by the buyer to strike fear into the daughters mind. If he ran away from here, the buyer used to scare him by invoking serve punishment. According to the contemporary officials of the district, every girl child who was Unmarried or rejected, Ganikalaya was the only place for them. There was no escape from here. If he escaped from here ,a complaint of theft of ornaments would have been filed against him in the police station.

What happened to the boys during the dire Famine? I hear a strange account of him in contemporary official reports. A courtesans son was exchanged for a farmer's daughter. Because none of them will be of any use to their real parents. For the poor farmer, sons are more important than emotional ties with daughters. Because the son will help him in farming and look after him in his old age.

From all these events in the Bengali society of the latter half of the nineteenth century one can discover many examples of the changes brought about by the Bourgeoisie in social relations. As such, the Bourgeoisie has abandoned the emotional veil of the family. Family relationships have become financial relationships. The old perishable prejudices and dogmas associated with all stable concentrated relationships are washed away.

The commercialization of Bengal's social relations has been had an impact on the rural poor, stripping all the religious magnificence and drive to observed rules in a Feudal society. In earlier Feudal Bengali society, social ties like marriage were dictated and controlled by the dominant upper castes with utilitarian ideals. The demand for money and wealth as Dowry at the time of marriage, the right of polygamy by noble Brahmins, the custom of selling daughters at auction by Shrotriya Brahmins are all reflections of the Feudal society, where women were traded between two men as commodities. This exchange practice was supported by medieval Hindu Bengalis by Quoting the teachings of Manu. Manu's order was that women should always be under man, daughter under father, wife under husband and mother under child.

The advent of the British Bourgeoisie in Bengal meant the introduction of commercial and administrative relations with the values of the conventional capitalist system of Bengal whose critical and cynical analysis was presented by Kal Marx. In this new value system, women were no longer the private property of any individual, but were marketable to all and sundry. The development of courtesans as an industry in nineteenth century Bengal become a place of liberation for women, especially the deprived ,humiliated daughters of noble Brahmin families who had been imprisoned in the cycle of Courtship for seven hundred years. The impact of colonial economic changes loosened the dominance of traditional social norms and customs. Nineteenth Century official documents, contemporary newspaper reports, and Literature document the attraction of brides, daughters and accompanying Hindu widows and destitute women to prostitution establishment.

The dominance of upper caste women over courtly institutions did not last long. At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, the composition of the courtesan community began to change. As mentioned earlier, a new generation of poor rural women, working class women or courtesans who are the daughters of previous generations of courtesans, have grown up with different values and tastes-this change is triggered by exposure to this profession.

#### A New Generation of Courtesans:

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bengal's courtiers practiced new tricks and techniques to meet the demands of contemporary Customs. The six acquired Skills are modified by the Courtesan and a new skill is added as described in the book "Nababilas". Bholanath mentions a common saying in hisfarce which sheds light on the characteristics of the courtesans of his time. The word is "ঠাট, ঠমক, চটক, ছল, মিথ্যা, মান, কালা. গাল". The earlier "Chhenali" or pretense of love and deception (now colloquially 'night, lie, value, Cry) along with the practice of new tricks such a "Thamak" (showing clever gestures), Chatak (fooling Customers with Unsavory Charms), Chaal( false pretenses and talking big) and Gal (using bad Language). Obviously the intention was to present the merchandise to the customer in a bright, Shiny way, so as to attract the customers. However, deceitful tactics like "Maan" (acting as if ego is hurt) and kanna(Crying) were used to the touch the hearts of customers. But the real objective is to attract new babu'sby dressing up as glamorous and fulfill their limited desires by covering the Babu's pleasure desire in a beautiful felling. One may wonder how "Gal" (using bad Language) fits into the strategy of attracting Babu. Contemporary Literature Suggests that such taunts sometimes strike the hollow of the light- hearted and manage to hold Khriddar's Babu. Babu, hurt by sarcasm, takes pleasure in taunts. I'm Mir Mosharraf Hussain's play "এরউপায়কি" written in 1876 AD, it is written that a drunken Babu makes a courtesan talk to his wife in his house. When the wife Insults the courtesan, she kicks the Babuand says "Pazi man, be careful. If you do not leave this place immediately and come with me, I will beat your head with a shoe. Babu a pair of hands apologizes to her and vows never to approach his wife again. Relationships between courtesans and their clients often involve this type of humiliation, which anthropologists have termed a formal banter between acquaintances.

The use of abusive abuse( গালবামন্দ) or bad Language gives courtesans an opportunity to express protest or anger. A classic example of this can be seen in "Sachitra Guljarnagar" published in 1871 AD where the writer Kedarnath Dutta describes how a courtesan, annoyed by the buyer on busy road in Calcutta, throws out the expletives: wretched man, do you deserve a place to die. The gentleman was taken aback by her shout, as it caused a crowd to gather in the street. She then presented to be her husband and changed her voice saying "Darling, no anger"Bhulu, you son, Cries for you all night. How long will he suffer?". ( প্রিয়ে, রাগ করোনা। ভুলু, তোমার ছেলে, তোমার জন্য সারারাত কাঁদে। সে কতদিন কষ্ট পাবে বল?.

**Conventional Ideas:-** The popular perception of courtesans in Bengal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is reflected in many contemporary dramas or farces. A mixed feeling of fear and Jealousy is revealed in the speech and song of the common people of the time. Later it takes the form of hatred and ridicule. There works the ritual of establishing the influence of 'courtesans' on men. News of courtesans making large sums of money by displaying sexual prowess inspires envy. Attempts by courtesans to usurp the manners of ' polite' society are seen as a threat. It is said "*Khanki's*" caste Judgment again or "*Randi Beti's*" *love* for marriage, how many thumbs of other people. It is a common belief in the society that all courtesans are gold Seekers i.e only trying to extract money from men. But this only happens to a handful of lucky courtesans. Common courtesans are poor. Oral literature abounds in accusations against courtesans, claiming wealth from men and depriving nobles of their dues. A common saying is,"*Tanka, Tanka(rupees) at the where's Door, Nabadonka (nothing) at the Guru's*".

Eminent folk poet Dashu Roy(1805-1857) wrote in one of his Panchali, "sati's do not eat food, prostitutes Jewelry".( satider annya jote na, Beshayader jaroya Gahana). The attitude of an unwary passerby in a place adjacent to Ganikalaya in nineteenth century Calcutta is expressed in a song by an anonymous writer. It's like this, "The prostitutes of Calcutta are beautiful, and who can understand illusion? When you go to Nath's garden, you feel afraid, if you want, you take them by the hand and say sweet things when you go to the garden. At first he was innocent; at the end he was hanged. There are Sonagach is who are used like butchers. Fear is left seeing and hearing".

This dialogue or music was mainly Loved by the lower class people. They do not seem to have had any Sympathy for courtesans. But most of them were in favor of courtesans. These and Subsequent poor workers came from the same backgrounds of poverty and social oppression. They fail to realize that Courtship is another form of profession where courtesans sell their Skills as wage Laborers or artisans. Lower class people, especially men, believed that courtesans were more privileged than other workers. The common belief was that Laborers made a living by laboring, but the courtesans made money by giving pleasure in easy ways. The moral stigma imposed by society on the labor of courtesans made courtesans an inferior class in the upper working class of Bengal in the nineteenth century. Poor Laborers do not recognize courtesans as Sympathizers. Wealthy courtesans are deprived of respect and honor as they belong to the upper class in the gentry society. Regardless of the social status of courtesans, they are always outcasts.

# **Conclusion:**

If the social bonds of prostitution were possible in the dominant era of Hinduism, why is it not possible in Today's modern times? In fact, positive action on prostitution and looking at prostitutes from a social and psychological perspective should be brought in to consideration. Not only society but gradually religion also recognized prostitutes. Devadasi is the proof of that. Even Today prostitutes are needed during Durga Puja. However, the educated society is still hesitant to think and discuss about them openly.

# **Recommendation:-**

- i) All the name of Sex workers must be registered by the government and must be issued a card to validated their profession. So that they can escape from the hands of police or brokers. Health Checkup should be mandatory at the time of renewal of this card every year. Also it is necessary to assure whether she was forced to take this profession against her well. Along with that, it is necessary to confirm. Whether she is an adult or not.
- ii) Sex workers should be treated as citizens with voting right and with all the same government privileges. Government should ensure the protection of the constitutional rights and dignity of Sex workers.
- iii) The government should take necessary steps regarding education and health of the sex workers.
- iv) Above all, there must be a change in social standpoint about this profession.

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