

Sex Workers' Rights are Human Rights

Psychosocial and Economic Cost of
Brothel Eviction in Bangladesh



মানুষের জন্ম
manusher jonno

promoting human rights and good governance

Sex Workers' Rights are Human Rights

Psychosocial and Economic Cost of
Brothel Eviction in Bangladesh

Professor ASM Amanullah, PhD

Md. Salim Ahmed Purvez

Mohuya Leya Falia

মানুষের জন্য
manusher jonno

promoting human rights and good governance

First Edition: October 2016

© Manusher Jonno Foundation (MJF)

All rights are reserved. No part of this publication may be reprinted, reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, recording or otherwise) without prior permission in writing form the publishers. Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claim for damages.

Views expressed in this publication are of the authors alone and do not necessarily reflect those of MJF

Managing Publication
Shahana Huda
Coordinator, Media & Communication

ISBN : 978-984-34-1547-9

Design & Printing : Transparent

Manusher Jonno Foundation (MJF)

House 47, Road 35/A, Gulshan 2, Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh

Telephone: (+88 02) 9850291-4, Fax: (+88 02) 9850295

Website: www.manusherjonno.org

*Recommended citation: Amanullah, A.S.M., Purvez, S.A., Mohuya, L.F., (2016)
Sex Workers' Rights are Human Rights: Psychosocial and Economic Cost of
Brothel Eviction in Bangladesh, Dhaka: MJF*

FOREWORD

Sex workers in Bangladesh face multiple human rights violations and are denied the minimum dignity that is the right of every human being. They are subject various forms of exclusion, abuse and exploitation. Society treats them negatively leading to the denial of their basic needs. They cannot access basic healthcare services, education or decent living conditions. Their children face harassment in schools and other social and cultural places. Persisting negative social norms and stigma undermine their ability to live a decent lives plus a number of adverse socio-cultural, political and economic factors compel forces them into marginalization. Their profession is perceived as anti-social and dirty undermining their ability to negotiate a better situation for themselves.

An added dimension of their sufferings has been the continuous threat of evictions particularly during 1999 which saw the closure of the oldest and largest Tanbazar brothel of Narayangang. Dhaka's Kandupatti, home to several thousand sex workers, was evicted next. Then it was Magura in 2002 and then Madaripur brothel in 2013. Lastly, it was Tangail brothel in 2014 when the homes of several hundred sex workers were demolished and looted. These evictions caused thousands of sex workers to abandon their homes, loss of incomes, valuables, businesses and other hard earned physical and social capital. Adding up, these further caused serious social, economic and psychological trauma to them. It has been observed that in most cases brothel evictions were sudden and inhumane even violating High Court ruling of any rehabilitative measures. The attackers carried arms and indiscriminately vandalized and looted valuables from brothels.

At present, that thousands of sex workers evicted from different parts of Bangladesh are now living in dire situation without family, livelihood security, basic services and permanent settlement. Anecdotal evidences suggest that most of them are engaged in sex selling on the streets as

A national consultation meeting on the eviction of three century-old brothels in Bangladesh was held at Manusher Jonno Foundation office. The representatives of several international and national organizations participated in the dialogue. Professor Dr. ASM Amanullah of Dhaka University moderated the meeting.

Table 6: Participants of National Level Consultation Meeting

SL.	Name	Designation	Organisation	Contact
01	Akhlima Akhi	Executive Director	Nari Mukti Shongho	01711220721
02	Asif Iqbal Khan	Coordinator	Nari Mukti Shongho	01718191915
03	Md. Shafiqul Islam	Program Officer	PIACT Bangladesh	01716187818
04	Safia Arifin	Coordinator	SWN	01714413337
05	Chumki Begum	Secretary	SWN	01724060186
06	Shahanaz Begum	Former Secretary	SWN	01819404850
07	Shah Alam	Program Coordinator	PIACT Bangladesh	01818645365
08	Nazmun Nahar	Training Officer	BNWLA	01917560323
09	Rowshon Ara	Project Director	Naripikkho	01711487898
10	Aleya Akter Lily	Executive Director	Shonirvor Mohila Shongstha	01816657732
11	Enamul Haque	Program Coordinator	HASAB	enamul@hasab.org
12	Md. Yamin	Reporter	Radio Today	eyamin49@gmail.com
13	Kashfia Feroz		Action Aid	kashfia.feroz@actionaid.org
14	Rina Roy	Director	MJF	rina@manusher.org
15	Mohuya Leya Falia	Program Coordinator	MJF	
16	Md. Salim Ahmed Purvez	Senior Program Manager	MJF	salim@manusher.org
17	Rabeya	Research Assistant	DU	rabeya.du@gmail.com
18	Maria Akter	Research Associate	DU	mariajahan222@gmail.com
19	Naim Ahamed	Research Coordinator	DU	naimahamed.du@gmail.com
20	Prof. Dr. ASM Amanullah	Team Leader	DU	dramanullah@hotmail.com

The participants discussed various important issues such as the causes and consequences of brothel eviction, rights of SWs, their current problems, possible solutions etc. Major findings of this discussion are as follows:

Akhi: Almost 2000-2500 SWs lived at Kandapara brothel and within two hours, it was evicted. They set fire and demolished all buildings of this brothel. We had to fly away in a very short time. SWs were evicted by force. Through disconnecting electricity and water supply, SWs were

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The work presented here is the contribution of many people. It is gratifying to note the relentless efforts of the colleagues of Manusher Jonno Foundation, PIACT Bangladesh, SWN, HASAB, KMSS, PSTC, and NMS to complete the study. We appreciate the input made by the following colleagues in designing the study and finalizing the report.

Manusher Jonno Foundation

Shaheen Anam, Executive Director, MJF

Rina Roy, Director, MJF

Shazzad Khan, Senior Program Coordinator, MJF

Md. Manirul Islam, Program Manager, Research & Advocacy, MJF

Study Team

Maria Akter, Research Associate, Dhaka University

Md Naim Ahmed, Research Associate, Dhaka University

ASM Anam Ullah, Academic, Sydney University

Alavi Aman, Research Associate, Macquarie University, Sydney

Other Stakeholders

Shahanaz Begum, Sex Workers' Network

Enamul Haque, Program Coordinator, HASAB

Shah Alam, Program Coordinator, PIACT Bangladesh

Rowshon Ara, Project Director, Naripikkho

Kashfia Feroz, ActionAid

Nazmun Nahar, Training Officer, BNWLA
Akhlima, Executive Director, Nari Mukti Shongho
Safia Arifin, Coordinator, Sex Workers' Network
Md. Shafiqul Islam, Program Officer, PIACT Bangladesh
Aleya Akter Lily, Executive Director, Shonirvor Mohila Shongstha
Md. Eyamin, Reporter, Bonik Bartha
Binoy Krishna, Project Coordinator, Khulna Mukti Seba Songstha (KMSS)
Hirok Chowdhury, Program Officer, HASAB, Tangail
Kamonashish Shekhor, The Daily Prothom Alo, Tangail
Shelly Mahmud, Executive Director, Progoti, Tangail

Finally, special thanks are due to SWs, Local Businessmen, Journalists, NGO Workers, Bariwalis/Madams, Dalals/ Pimps, Police, Brothel Operators, Shopkeepers, and to all local stakeholders who gave their valuable time and information for the study.

Professor ASM Amanullah, PhD
Md. Salim Ahmed Purvez
Mohuya Leya Falia

October 2016

Contents

Page

List of Tables and Figures □	1
Abbreviations and Acronyms □	3
Executive Summary □	5
Chapter 1	
Introduction □	11
1.1 □ Introduction □	12
1.2 □ Sex working and brothel eviction in practice □ the case of Bangladesh □	12
Chapter 2	
Methodology and Implementation of the Study □	21
2.1 □ Introduction □	22
2.2 □ Objectives and research questions □	23
2.3 □ Study design, approach and process □	26
2.4 □ Ethical considerations and possible constraints □	28
Chapter 3	
Quantitative Findings □	29
3.1 □ Socio-demographic background of the respondents □	30
3.2 □ Previous and currently monthly income □	31
3.3 □ Previous and current place of living □	31
3.4 □ SWs' access to civic rights □	33
3.5 □ Age of starting selling sex □	34
3.6 □ Reasons behind the eviction and types of people involved □	35
3.7 □ Conflicts and violence □	36
3.8 □ Social impact of brothel eviction □	37
3.9 □ Psychological impact of brothel eviction □	39
3.10 □ Cultural impact of brothel eviction □	40
3.11 □ Financial impact of brothel eviction □	40
3.12 □ Torture and oppression □	42
3.13 □ Role of Police during eviction □	43
3.14 □ Role of local political leaders during and after the eviction □	44
3.15 □ Government initiatives during and after the eviction □	45
3.16 □ Whether received NGOs' help before, during and after eviction □	46
3.17 □ Settlement/rehabilitation program by the local NGOs □	48
3.18 □ Stigma, discrimination and integration □	49
3.19 □ Stigma and access to services □	50
3.20 □ Violence and abuse □	50

Chapter 4		
Economic Impact of Brothel Eviction		51
4.1	Economic Impact of Fultola (Khulna) Brothel Eviction	52
4.2	Economic Impact of Madaripur Brothel Eviction	54
4.3	Economic Impact of Kandapara (Tangail) Brothel Eviction	56
4.4	Personal financial loss of a SW	57
Chapter 5		
Qualitative Findings		59
5.1	Key Findings of Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	60
5.2	Key Findings of KII	68
5.3	Key Findings of Lifestyle/Story	96
Chapter 6		
Key Findings of National Consultation Meeting on Brothel Eviction		101
Chapter 7		
Discussions and Policy Recommendations		109
7.1	Discussions	110
7.2	Lessons Learned	117
7.3	Policy Recommendations	120
Annexure 1	Tables	121
Annexure 2	FGD Participants	125
Annexure 3	Case Study Findings	127
References		151

List of Tables:

Table 2	Study method and sample size □	28
Table 3.1	Socio-demographic background of the respondents □	30
Table 3.2	Previous and currently monthly income □	31
Table 3.3	Previous and current place of living □	32
Table 3.3.1	SWs' access to civic rights□	33
Table 3.4	Age of starting selling sex □	34
Table 3.5	Reasons behind the eviction and types of people involved □	35
Table 3.6	Conflicts and violence □	36
Table 3.7	Social impact of brothel eviction□	38
Table 3.7.1	Whether facing any family or societal problem □	39
Table 3.8	Psychological impact of brothel eviction □	40
Table 3.9	Cultural impact of brothel eviction □	40
Table 3.10	Financial impact of brothel eviction □	41
Table 3.11	Criminalizing sex work and police abuse □	42
Table 3.11.1	Whether received any help from Police during eviction □	43
Table 3.12	Local political leaders' behavior during and after the eviction □	44
Table 3.13	Whether received government help before, during and □ □ after the eviction □	45
Table 3.13.1	Settlement/rehabilitation program by the government agencies □	46
Table 3.14	Whether received NGOs' help before, during and after eviction □	47
Table 3.14.1	Settlement/rehabilitation program by the local NGOs□	48
Table 3.15	Stigma, discrimination and integration □	49
Table 3.15.1	Stigma, discrimination, and integration □	122
Table 3.16	Gender-Based violence and abuse □	122
Table 3.16.1	The perpetrators of gender-based violence □	123
Table 4.1	Economic Activities of Fultola (Khulna) Brothel Areas □	53
Table 4.2	Economic Activities of Madaripur Brothel Areas □	55
Table 4.3	Economic Activities of Kandapara (Tangail) Brothel Area □	58
Table 5.1	FGD Participants Demographic Profile (Fultola Brothel) □	125
Table 5.2	FGD Participants Demographic Profile (Madaripur Brothel) □	126
Table 5.3	FGD Participants Demographic Profile (Kandapara Brothel) □	126
Table 6	Participants of National Level Consultation Meeting □	102

List of Figures:

Figure 01:	Currently living partner/relative □	32
Figure 02:	Whether SWs had voter/National ID card □	33
Figure 03:	Age of starting selling sex □	34
Figure 04:	Causes of brothel eviction □	36
Figure 05:	Presence of violent activities during brothel eviction □	37
Figure 06:	Whether left sex working after the eviction □	38
Figure 07:	Whether suffered from any psychological trauma after eviction □	39
Figure 08:	Current financial crisis □	41
Figure 09:	Police raids during normal operation hours of their brothels □	42
Figure 10:	Whether received help from Police during eviction □	43
Figure 11:	Role of local political leaders during the eviction □	44
Figure 12:	Whether government helped during eviction □	46
Figure 13:	Whether NGOs helped during eviction □	47
Figure 14:	Whether local NGOs help resettling/rehabilitating evicted SWs □	48
Figure 15:	Perceived stigmatization of sex working and sex workers □	50

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIDS	□	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APNSW	□	Asia Pacific Networks of Sex Workers
BDT	□	Bangladeshi Taka
BNWLA	□	Bangladesh Network for Women Lawyers Association
CARE	□	Cooperative American Relief Agency
CBO	□	Community Based Organization
DC	□	Deputy Commissioner
FSW	□	Female Sex Workers
CSS	□	Christian Service Society
CSW		Commercial Sex Worker
FHI	□	Family Health International
GFATM	□	Global Fight to AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria
GO	□	Government Organization
HASAB	□	HIV/AIDS and STDs Alliance, Bangladesh
HIV		Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICDDR,B	□	International Center for Diarrheal Disease and Research
IEC	□	Information, Education and Communication
KKS	□	Karmajibi Kalyan Sangstha
MH&FW	□	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
MMS	□	Mukti Mohila Samity
NAC	□	National AIDS Committee
NASP	□	National AIDS and STD Program
NGO		Non-governmental Organization
NGU	□	Non-gonococcal Urethritis
NMS	□	Nari Mukti Shongho
OC	□	Officer in Charge
PSTC	□	Population Services Training Center
PIACT	□	Program for the Introduction and Adaptation of Contraceptive Technology
RTI	□	Reproductive Tract Infection

Abbreviations and Acronyms

SC	Save the Children
SMS	Shonirvor Mohila Shongstha
SP	□ Superintendent of Police
STD/I	□ Sexually Transmitted Disease/Infection
SWN □	Sex Workers' Network
SW	Sex Worker
UNAIDS	□ Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS
UNFPA	United Nation Fund for Population
UNICEF	United Nation International Children Emergency Fund
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
WHO	□ World Health Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Bangladeshi Sex Workers (SWs) are subservient, marginalized, mostly hidden, their livelihoods are seriously fragile and social identity/status is the lowest. The service providers, policy-makers and politicians are idiosyncratic about SW's needs and rights. Society does not perceive sex workers positively rather treat them as outcasts and with hatred and disdain often using crude language when referring to them. In this regard, the big question arises about their existence as human beings in society. Such is the negative attitude towards them the sex workers are facing regular threats, evictions and other rights violations on a regular basis. In fuelling this situation, three centuries-old brothels have been demolished and sex workers evicted in Bangladesh in the recent past. In this backdrop, MJF has decided to generate concrete evidences on the violation of human rights of evicted sex workers and their current risks and threats, traumas, and social, economic and psychological damages for future policy formulation. The present study has designed to explore the overall situation of these evicted sex workers current state of affairs. The report ends with a set of recommendations to improve their situation in terms of security and livelihood.

Study Objectives

The broad objective of this study is to explore how forced eviction of brothel impacts the psycho-social and economic contexts of displaced sex workers and assess how they manage different risks, vulnerabilities and displacement.

Methodology

In conducting this assessment the study team followed WHO/UNAIDS and MJF's Policies on Social Research. The present study employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods/techniques in order to explore the most accurate and realistic picture of existing situation of the discourse in and around the evicted brothels. The study was conducted primarily on three evicted Bangladesh brothels involving SWs and representatives of Local Communities, Media, Business Houses and Partner NGOs. Following snowball/network sampling techniques, 180 face-to-face interviews with the evicted SWs, 3 FGDs (involving about 40 participants), 12 KIIs, 5 Case Studies/Life Stories, and 1 Consultative Meeting (30 participants) with the SWs, Bariwalis/Madams, brothel operators, opinion leaders, and partner staff of different NGOs were conducted.

Major Findings

Most of the study SWs (90%) started their sex business as child sex workers. After the eviction, about 33% SWs have lost their total income and they (63.3%) were found living either in other neighboring brothels or adjacent to brothel areas. Major reason of brothel eviction was local political pressure (53%) for grabbing land. Only 1% SWs believed that administration was responsible for their eviction. About 90% SWs faced violence such as plundering (49%), physical torture (22%), demolishing households (19% to 100%) and rape (6%) during the time of eviction. Almost 90% evicted SWs are currently doing their business either in neighboring brothels or in the parks, streets, stations, rented houses and hotels. However, of those SWs who left their profession are currently facing family or societal problems such as abusive slangs (56%) and physical torture (37%), and around 50% of them do not get any access to public services/facilities. More than 91% evicted SWs suffered from severe psychological trauma and 90% of them faced severe financial crisis since the closer of their brothels. About 90% evicted SWs said they did not get any help from police during the time of eviction. More than 77% evicted sex workers throughout the study brothels said that the role of local political leaders during the time of brothel eviction was very frustrating. Despite several attempts, protests and demonstrations,

themselves with the mainstream society even. They prefer selling sex rather than working in a factory or NGO.

7. Because of evection, the state lost thousands of jobs, business houses and huge financial transactions. Daily average transaction of all businesses during the functioning of Kandapara brothel was 7.3 million BD Tk., the amount is reduced into only 2.3 lac BD Tk. after the eviction.

8. Eviction of these century-old sex establishments also had wider socio-cultural and law enforcement concerns. The study findings show serious consequences and lethal effects of brothel eviction at individual, society and state at large. The greater society is witnessing the rise of the incidents of rape, sexual abuses, eve teasing, and attack on women and children in the evicted brothel regions.

9. There are some quasi-legal instruments in Bangladesh to protect the rights of the sex workers and brothels. However, these are not discrete and the local administration, lawmakers, and NGOs are not properly sensitized on the practical application of these policies. They do not know the relevant high court directions in dealing with SWs and brothels. There is a clear lack of coordination in this regard among the local stakeholders and national NGOs. SWs are found sensitized but not self-efficacious in establishing their rights. As a result, their constitutional and fundamental human rights have been violated by their own lawmakers. Violating High Court's rulings and directions, local MPs and Ministers organized serious crimes against these marginalized womenfolk of the country.

10. Because of displacement and shortage of supply, the evicted SWs are not currently using condoms consistently. They are now seriously susceptible to RTIs, HIV, and STDs/STIs. Local NGOs stopped HIV/STIs prevention activities and SWs' access to reproductive health facilities, condoms, contraception, and primary health care services are almost dysfunctional in the study brothels. Because of this dilapidated situation, the SWs are suffering from various health complexities namely trauma, diarrhea, wasting/stunting, respiratory disease and STIs. There are

about 70% sex workers did not get any help from the local government officials before the eviction of their brothels. About 66% SWs believe that local NGOs raised their voices before the eviction though they are not helping them enough now to relocate. SWs face serious stigmas and discriminations (91%) from the mainstream society and all local authorities.

Lessons Learned

1. A vicious cycle of local political leaders, extortionists, and land grabbers were responsible to stage the orchestra of brothel eviction. Religious fundamentalism, local administration and police worked as auxiliary forces. Political goons, police and madams/pimps are controlling the underworld dynasty of drugs and recruitment of child SWs. This vicious cycle regularly raid and abuse SWs and their clients even during the normal operation hours of the brothels.
2. Just to survive, almost all evicted SWs are continuing their business in neighboring brothels/areas or streets. Government, NGOs and donors have no programs to resettle these SWs.
3. The evicted SWs do not get access to the mainstream services including shelter, health, and legal opinions because of fear and organizational support. Around half of the study SWs did not have any National ID Card or any other identity card.
4. Despite their several demonstrations, SWs did not receive any fruitful help either from the local government agencies or from the NGOs before, during, and after the eviction of their brothels.
5. SWs faced physical, sexual, and psychological violence during the time of eviction. They have been facing severe financial crisis, shortage of foods and shelter since the closer of their brothels.
6. Leaving sex working as a profession did not work. Of those who left their professions are currently facing family or cultural problems and they cannot attend any public or social events. Majority of SWs still fear of disclosing their identities when they seek services from the society. Because of their physical limitations and lack of identities, evicted SWs do not like to integrate

no doctors, nurses and medicine in the NGO clinics located in and around the evicted brothels.

11. The major bottleneck to ensure SWs' rights is the absence of a national legal framework. The civil society and service providers could not do much to ensure the rights and justice issues of sex workers, unless there is national consensus and strict law/policy framework in this regard.

12. Similar to the situation of other mid-income countries, due to rapid industrialization, development, and increasing middle class with high income and conspicuous consumption, the demand for prostitution may have increased in Bangladesh. Moral objections or campaigns against prostitution would make no difference to its growth.

Policy Recommendations

1. There are serious gaps between laws, policies and practices to ensure the rights of the sex workers and brothel eviction. In this regard, an informed national-level legal framework should be developed and passed in the parliament.

2. NGOs, GO and donors (as noted by the SWs) should create employment opportunities/alternative livelihoods for the unemployed SWs within and outside the brothel.

3. Local level community leaders, journalists, human rights activists are found enthusiastic in protecting the SWs who are living outside and inside the brothels. These stakeholders may be approached for rehabilitation programs.

4. Local NGOs may initiate a close dialogue involving the key stakeholders inside and outside the evicted brothels immediately. A strong networking mechanism should be in place among the local and national NGOs to face the threat of possible future brothel eviction.

5. Instead of numerous NGOs working in the same brothel, there should be a coordination mechanism among themselves. A

strong network of NGOs should be formed to provide integrated services to the evicted SWs.

6. The present existing situations of the displaced sex workers in the targeted study areas should be assessed by the government agencies or local NGOs.

7. Government should manage alternative livelihood for all SWs. Government and NGOs should come forward to creating new employment opportunities by networking local industries in Dhaka for the evicted SWs.

8. Law-enforcing agencies are not sensitized well on the mechanism of establishing SWs' rights. Police forces should be sensitized regularly and existing policies relating to sex work must be implemented properly.

9. Satellite primary health care facilities and referral system for the SWs should be established in and around evicted brothel. The concerned NGOs should take initiative for establishing temporary safe home for the evicted SWs and their children.

10. A National SWs Protection Committee (NSPC) should be formed and it should play more proactive role in establishing the rights of SWs.

11. An independent Brothel Monitoring Committee (BMC) should be formed at national and local levels involving influential local stakeholders.

12. To avoid any counterproductive reaction, it is also necessary to undertake some small-scale operation researches in order to understand the sex cultures, sex business, and power dynamics of the evicted brothel areas.



CHAPTER 1
Background

1.1 Introduction

Bangladeshi Sex Workers (SWs) do not enjoy their basic human rights due to some adverse socio-cultural, political and economic factors, which ultimately compel this vulnerable population to be trapped as sex worker and lead an inhuman life. Most importantly, abject poverty, gender violence, illiteracy, lack of employment, traditional education, patriarchy, negative social norms and stigmas surrounding sex work may undermine their ability to effectuate their basic human, sexual, as well as reproductive rights (Dowsett, 2003; Amanullah and Huda, 2012a; TDH, 2005).

1.2 Sex Working and Brothel Eviction in Practice: The Case of Bangladesh

It is estimated that between 150,000 to 200,000 SWs are involved in sex work in Bangladesh (Amanullah, 2002; Amanullah and Daniel, 1998; Amanullah and Huda, 2012b; NASP, 2014). Social and structural alienation make them vulnerable and they mostly work under extreme pressure to survive and so are willing to have sex with customers without a condom (Hossin, 2012; Amanullah, 2002). In this country, about two million men buy sex from both male and female SWs. An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 children work in the street as floating SWs and most of them joined this profession at their early age. Child sex working is widely practiced in the sex establishments and the law enforcing agencies are idiosyncratic to catch the pedophiles mostly because of economic benefits (Amanullah and Huda, 2012a; 2012b; Nazreen, 2010).

A Bangladeshi brothel-based SWs usually entertain 7 to 15 clients a day and earn about 2000 to 4,500 Taka daily. According to a 2012 Reuter's report, Bangladeshi malnourished sex workers were forced to take Oradexon - a drug used by farmers to fatten livestock - to alter their appearance and look healthier. The Oradexon discourse is widely practiced in sex establishments and the government agencies are involved with this dangerous game.

Bangladesh society is also idiosyncratic towards sex working profession and the government never officially banned sex working be it male, female or transgender-centric sex acts. Sex working had been the part of the history of Bengal since the mediaeval period, sometimes in the veil of religious customs or cultural practices of the Hindu or Muslim rulers. Sex working to cater commoners, also as an organized profession, had its roots in the British colonial regime. People did not think much about this profession's legal recognition earlier. It is only in 2000, sex working was formally acknowledged in the country, which set the ground for Bangladesh to be one of the few Islamic countries that do not "officially" ban sex working. In response to a writ petition filed by some local organizations (as a class action), in its ruling, the High Court concluded: *"The right to livelihood of sex workers is enforceable as a fundamental right"* (High Court Oder against Writ Petition 2871/1999) (Nazreen, 2010).

In Bangladesh, currently there are 10 registered brothels (Amanullah and Huda, 2012a). Sex- workers in Bangladesh's registered brothels are officially regulated through a system of "licensing" involving magistrates or notary publics and registration with the local police. Even though sex working is acknowledged, the Bangladesh constitution holds that the "State shall endeavor to prevent gambling and prostitution." Various provisions of different laws prohibit child sex working and forced sex working, such as Section 366A: *"Whoever, by any means whatsoever, induces any minor girl under the age of eighteen years to go from any place or to do any act with the intent that such a girl may be or knowing that it is likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to 10 years and shall also be liable to fine."*

Female sex working is somewhat quasi-legal in Bangladesh, only if they practice in the brothel settings. Male prostitution is illegal, although local NGOs claim it is common in the major cities.

The authorities generally ignore the minimum age of 18, often circumvent by false statements of age, for legal female prostitution. The government rarely prosecutes procurers of minors, and large numbers of underage girls in prostitution work in brothels. The UN Children's Fund

(UNICEF) estimated in 2004 that there were 10,000 underage girls used in commercial sexual exploitation in the country, but other estimates placed the figure as high as 29,000. According to human rights monitors, child abandonment, kidnapping, and trafficking continued to be serious and widespread problems. Despite advances, including the creation of a monitoring cell in the home ministry, trafficking of children continued to be a problem.

The 300-year-old Kandapara brothel in Tangail, one of the oldest brothels in Bangladesh, was shuttered on July 14, 2014. Tremendous pressure from local Muslim clerics and politicians supposedly led to the brothel's closure, but the national platform of sex workers of Bangladesh has accused local authorities of land grabbing under the guise of religious piety. More than 700 SWs were evicted as a result. Residents were only given a few hours' notice, human rights organizations have protested. The evicted sex workers are now facing uncertainties and living in unsafe environments. District police Chief Saleh Mohammad Tanvir said the owners made the decision after Muslim clerics and civil activists staged a march last week demanding the eviction of the sex workers. The house owners of the brothel issued a notice ordering all the sex workers to leave the brothel. They left without any protest. Islamists and other activists, bolstered by a conservative upsurge, have shut down about a dozen brothels across the country in recent years including the largest at Tanbazar, outside the capital of Dhaka.

Bangladesh government has historically tolerated some brothels operating in the country. Monowara Begum, who heads a sex-workers group at Kandapara, accused the local mayor, a ruling party official, of ordering the closure and threatening the women with violence. "He (the mayor) sent dozens of young men to the brothel. Armed with sticks, they told us that we have only one hour to leave the place or they would burn down the brothel with kerosene. After that owners started dismantling their houses." "The brothel's more than 700 girls were panicked. As they were leaving, their belongings such as televisions, fridges and furniture, which were loaded on seven trucks, were looted by local people," she said.

The Kandapara brothels sprung up from 1860 to 1880 as traders arrived on commercial vessels. They had both time and money and were sex

workers' main clients. The total population was until recently about 2,000, including sex workers, their children, some parents, babus (fixed lovers/ permanent clients), pimps, and property owners.

It is not the first brothel to be shut down and its workers evicted in the Muslim-majority country, where conservatism is on the rise. On July 23, 1999, the Tanbazar brothels, one of the oldest and largest, were closed down and about 2,600 sex workers were evicted from their homes. Dhaka's Kandupatti, home to several thousand sex workers, was next. Then it was Magura. In August 2013, attacks were carried out on the Madaripur brothel and homes of approximately 500 sex workers were vandalized and looted.

The general understanding is that religious and social pressures were behind the eviction in Tangail's Kandapara. However, Sex Workers Network, the national platform of sex workers of Bangladesh, said in a press conference on July 17, 2014 that the local mayor harnessed religious sentiments to grab the 302-decimal land of the Kandapara brothel. Similar accusations were made after the eviction of the Tanbazar and Madaripur brothels. The people behind the eviction denied the allegations. They claimed that the brothels are source of criminal activity.

Following the evictions, Kandapara was dismantled over a number of days; its homes, brothels, community services and shops were alleged to have been destroyed by hired staff of the Municipality Mayor Shahidur Rahman Khan Mukti, a man from a powerful local Khan family who many believe to have worked in collaboration with Maulana Ashrafuzzaman Kashemi, Imam of the Tangail Kabarsthan Jaame Masjid, to have Kandapara destroyed under the guise of expelling vice and promoting virtuous behavior. However, local sex worker believe that the real reason for the destruction of Kandapara had less to do with religious beliefs and more to do with the property value of the land which the brothel complex occupied, and that the eviction was due to Mukti's plan to develop the land to build a western style shopping mall upon.

When speaking to APNSW about the eviction, sex workers stated that they received notice from a local fundamentalist religious group, the Osamajik Karjokolap Protirodh Committee (the Anti- social Activities

Resistance Committee), which stated that they were being evicted from Kandapara and had 3 days to vacate the area, or that Kandapara would be set alight, irrelevant of whether the district's residents had moved or not. However, evicted sex workers stated that they had been deceived by the head of the Tangail district, who reassured them that the eviction and subsequent threat of Kandapara's demolition was simply a rumor and would not actually take place. Sex workers allege that due to the promise of the district's head that the threat of eviction was merely a bluff, they did not begin to pack their possessions or organize to move until the actual demolition process began. Approximately 39 sex workers owned property within Kandapara, yet they have not been reimbursed for the value of their properties, nor were they consulted or had opportunity to negotiate anything involving the eviction process. Several sex workers, whose properties were inherited or purchased outright, state that they did not have time to gather their ownership and custodian documents; hence, it has been extremely difficult to assert proof of the ownership of their properties and to seek any form of subsequent redress.

The eviction and subsequent destruction of Kandapara has had a number of disastrous consequences for sex workers and their families - for many Tangail has been an intergenerational home - being born, raised and residing in Kandapara throughout their lives. Nari Mukti Sangho, the Tangail sex worker organization, are currently without an office, which has made organizing advocacy actions extremely difficult; however, in July, sex workers evicted from Kandapara and Madaripur (a brothel compound which was closed over 12 months ago in similar circumstances) subsequently organized a human chain outside Dhaka's National Press Club to draw attention to the issue. The Society for Social Services (SSS), which was established to take care of sex workers' children, was temporarily closed, which impacted on many women's ability to work. Similarly, many women who had migrated to Tangail from other regions of Bangladesh, leaving their children in the care of extended families and friends, reported that following the closure of Tangail they have found it extremely difficult to regularly send money to their children's cares, which has impacted on their children's ability to access educational institutes, due to the high price of school fees and related living costs. The health clinic within the Tangail brothel complex

has closed down and sex workers are now without access to sexual health services, including no access to ARV treatment - a significant issue for HIV positive SWs who must take ARV medication daily or risk developing opportunistic infections, viral mutation or immunity to ARVs.

Whilst some SWs have remained in Tangail to work from public spaces and residential hotels, others have relocated to Jamalpur and Mymensing brothel districts. Many SWs have relocated to Doulathdia, a rural brothel district of Bangladesh. Some of the SWs identified the Doulathdia brothel compound as their only option for continuing to work and described their arrival in the rural brothel village as being less than welcoming from Doulathdia's SWs.

Due to these illegal evictions of aged-old commercial sex establishments, SWs in Bangladesh are at risk of many significant threats to their socio-psychological, cultural, health, and overall wellbeing. Recent studies suggest that these evicted SWs are engaged in having unsafe sex in different places, deprived of their basic human rights, and being socially marginalized by the major stakeholders of the society, and their needs are rarely addressed (Amanullah and Huda, 2012a, 2012b; Amanullah, 2002). These evicted FSWs also experience a range of problems due to deep-rooted social stigmas, structural barriers, conundrums of laws and policies related to the sex industry of Bangladesh as well as threats associated with the possibility of further eviction and the resulting discrimination. The combination of underlying poverty, violence and the negative attitudes and conditions surrounding sex work contribute to their inability to attain basic rights.

Most of these evicted SWs of Tangail, Fultola (Khulna) and Madaripur sex establishments already lost their family or their families and relative hide their relationship and on the other hand state mechanisms are not responsive towards their rights and protection. Moreover, this group is highly vulnerable to threat of eviction from their workplace/brothel in everyday life. Brothel is a state recognized commercial institution creates scope of making a living for women who are engaged in sex selling in different places of Bangladesh. They are victims of power structures that leave them exposed to inhumane conditions like the obligation of using steroids, lack of access to water and sanitation, property rights, legal

protection, extortion, trafficking and violence. This trade sector is totally controlled by the local influential and they eat up the lion's share of earning money. Over the past recent years, good number of brothels evicted where numbers sex workers were forced to displaced led to lose their residence, business and even relations. Such eviction generally held without giving prior notice. In this circumstance, they had to leave their houses with bag and baggage, looking for shelter in different areas. Such evictions are caused for extensive social, economic and psychological impacts.

Whatever, different sources acknowledge that socio-culturally this working groups are marginalized, their livelihoods are fragile and social identity or status is the lowest. Their demands are always ignored by the service providers, policy-makers and politicians. Society does not receive sex workers positively rather treat them negatively by using crude languages. They are facing multiple discriminations and exploitation through their conformity to the repressive norms and values justified by the social, cultural and political institutions. In this regards, the big question arise about their existence as a human being in the society. MJF management has decided to generate concrete evidences about the rights of sex workers and their various risks and threat, trauma, social and economic loses so that something can be done better for them.

The study is conducted primarily with the evicted SWs of Tangail, Fultola (Khulna) and Madaripur brothels in Bangladesh because of several important reasons. Firstly, Tangail, Khulna and Madaripur brothels had huge number of FSWs and the huge client turnovers. Secondly, the patriarchal socio-cultural context that objectifies the female body and equates a woman's worth with her body's appearance and sexual functions is still alive in these evicted FSW communities (Amanullah and Daniel, 1998). Thirdly, socioeconomic inequality, structural barriers, and traditional education may reinforce these evicted women to be dependent, subordinated, marginalized, and obedient (Sultana, 2011). Fourthly, research on the evicted FSWs' current state of affairs and the barriers to mainstreaming is one of the seriously neglected issues in Bangladesh. The findings in this study will help contribute to the research literature on how these evicted FSWs negotiate their daily lives. Thus, it may assist other researchers, policy

makers and those involved in implementing promotion interventions with these ill-fated womenfolk of Bangladesh. Suggestions are sought by the stakeholders for the improvement of these FSWs' condition and mainstreaming in the society.

In the above situation, this study aimed to explore the overall situation of evicted sex workers' current state of affairs. The study has primarily collect information on i) gross violations of human rights of evicted SWs, ii) causes and consequences of brothel eviction (social, cultural, political & psychological factors), iii) everyday sufferings and miseries of displaced women (dimensions of insecurity & vulnerabilities), iv) institutional response and obligation, and v) ways of coping with the odds.

The results of the study will contribute to policy makers and planners of Bangladesh, with information and set of strategic recommendations useful for improving the lives of these forgotten women, scaling up existing programs and or developing policies that are more effective. Being a professor and international expert, the present researcher has been working with the Sex Workers community of Bangladesh for the last 25 years and had easy access to the vicinity.



CHAPTER 2

Methodology and
Implementation of the Study

Detailed design of this assessment including sample size, respondents, study tools, quality control mechanism and implementation of the study are stated below:

2.1 Introduction

In conducting this assessment the study team followed *Bangladesh Government, WHO/UNAIDS, and MJF's Policies on Social research and the Framework of the National Harm Reduction and HIV/AIDS Strategies*. The present study employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods and techniques in order to explore the most accurate and realistic picture of existing situation of the discourse in and around the evicted brothels.

The study also reviewed some previous data, which ultimately helped in triangulating methodological approaches and guided the study team to go deeper into the understanding of the risks and vulnerabilities of the sex workers. Some of the important characteristics of this study were as follows:

- The study was conducted primarily on three evicted brothels involving SWs, local communities, media, businesspersons, and partner NGOs.
- Following snowball/network sampling techniques, 180 direct interviews with the evicted SWs, 3 FGDs (about 40 participants), 12 KIIs, 5 case studies/life stories, and 1 consultative meeting (involving more than 30 participants) with the SWs, Bariwalis/Madams, brothel operators, opinion leaders, and partner staff of different NGOs were conducted.
- The present study instruments were designed and developed in such a way that would best illustrate and fit with the study objectives.
- The study instruments were shared with MJF for examining their fitness and approval.

- The recruitment of field researchers was done based on their qualification and experiences.
- A rigorous training of field researchers was done involving the Principal Investigator.
- Quality field data were obtained from the appropriate respondents by employing suitable quantitative and qualitative techniques and analyzing those information using appropriate vocabularies.
- These data collection techniques are in compatible with the objectives and research questions of the study and we strongly believe that the semiotics and the hermeneutics of the whole discourse and vicinity have been identified through these study samples.

2.2 Objectives and Research Questions

Broad objective

The broad objective of this study is to explore how do forced eviction of brothel impacts the psycho-social and economic contexts of displaced sex workers and assess how they manages different risks, vulnerabilities and displacement.

Specific objectives:

The specific objectives are:

1. Conceptualizing the perspectives of brothel eviction;
2. To examine the overall contributing factors (socio-cultural, political, economic and other structural causes) of brothel evictions and its consequences of displacement;
3. To explore experience of evicted and displaced women with a particular focus on the dynamics that underpin their risk, discrimination, exclusion and resilience; and
4. Making strategic recommendations for policy inform and remedial measures against brutality, injustice and insecurity of brothel based sex workers.

Key Research Questions:

The key research questions of the study (but not limited) are:

- Sketch out basic profile of targeted brothels (including how it operated, environment, local power structure etc.);
- What are the present existing situations (including living, professions and overall livelihoods) of the displaced sex workers in the targeted study areas?
- How and in what process their rights have been violated as sex workers due to brothel eviction;
- What are the existing legal instruments (national legal framework) to protect rights of the sex workers and brothel eviction?
- What are the gaps between laws, policies and practices to ensure rights of the sex workers and brothel eviction?
- What are the contributing factors (social, cultural, political and economic factors) leads to brothel eviction in the context of Bangladesh?
- What are the possible consequences and effects of brothel eviction at individual (psycho- social and economic), society (how eviction affected overall society) and state at a large?
- What were the instant threat and risk during attack to evict brothel?
- To what extent they get access to the mainstreaming services including shelter in safe home, health service, legal service and others;
- Existing roles of the government (including law enforcement agencies, court and other departments) and non-government institutions to protect and prompted the rights and justice of the displaced/evicted sex workers (resettlement, inclusion to the mainstreaming services etc.);
- Coping mechanism - how they tackle risks and challenges?
- Does social capital work to helping each other?

- What they perceive and want regarding their rights, professions, citizenships, security, service etc. What would be the process of social integration process and alternative livelihood options?
- What are the major bottlenecks to ensure their rights and justice? How do civil society and service providers think about the rights and justice issue of sex workers and brothel eviction? and
- What would be further policy and legal decision on brothel eviction and protect sex workers rights.

Theoretical Approach:

In this study, an examination of the influence of socioeconomic, political, psychological, and cultural factors on the evicted SWs' structural vulnerabilities and their daily risks have been investigated to gain insights into the current state of affairs of these ill-fated womenfolk of Bangladesh. Following network/snowball sampling procedures, a sizeable number of evicted FSWs are sampled from Tangail, Khulna and Madaripur brothels as well as from the nearby brothels and streets of the vicinities. These subjects are interviewed through a predesigned structured questionnaire following international protocol (specially UNAIDS/WHO) and format of social sciences and KAP studies. For triangulation of the quantitative findings, the study employed FGD, KII, Story Telling/Life Style Interviews and consultative meetings to collect qualitative data from the respondents. Quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed by employing SPSS/STATA software and using thematic discourse analysis respectively. Two theoretical frameworks- Social Conflict Perspective and Rational Decision Making Paradigms (specifically, Bandura's The Theory of Self Efficacy (TSE) and Martin Fishbein's The Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) have guide this study. It is expected that the results of the study would attract national audiences and contribute directly to future programmatic development and policy formulation targeting any socially marginalized high-risk practicing group of Bangladesh.

2.3 Study Design, Approach and Process:

The study approach was participatory in nature that ensured meaningful participation of a range of stakeholders in the entire process of the study. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative techniques and tools to ensure the study realistic, viable and reliable leading to ensuring validity of the findings. The study also employed tools for data validation during collecting from field. The study took cultural, social, economic and political issues seriously to captures the dynamics of study themes.

Individual Interviews with structured questionnaires, narrative and individual storytelling, Key Informant Interview (KII), and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with sex workers and other stakeholders were employed. The consultant team organized fruitful consultation with MJF to finalize methodology and analytical framework of the study. Principally, the consultant and his team developed methodologies and submitted to the MJF-study's focal person including detail field plan. The final methodology of this study was finalized with intensive consultation with MJF management. Review of all relevant documents including secondary documents, laws and policies and others was done by the consultant.

Individual Interview:

Individual interview were carried out through structured questionnaires to capture the responses from sex workers about their existing situation, rights, injustice, threat and risk due to brothel eviction, access to the supports and services, factors influencing to brothel eviction etc. A structured and mostly pre-coded questionnaire was developed through a rigorous and systematic process. The survey tried to cover a representative sample and a group of young enumerators were deployed to undertake the field investigation.

Narrative Analysis of Individual Storytelling:

The study employed narrative inquiry analysis by using individual storytelling technique about personal experiences of SWs about brothel eviction and their misery. Five Narrative Analysis were conducted to reflect the study objectives and to document spontaneous reactions of the participants.

Focus Group Discussion:

Focus Group Discussion (FGDs), comprising approximately ten to twelve local stakeholders in each group, were conducted to examine a number of study issues. The FGDs were moderated by the team leader himself including the study coordinator from the MJF, which took place in and around the study sites. Three FGDs were conducted to reflect the study objectives and to document spontaneous reactions of the participants. The FGD participants included - madams, clients, pimps, health workers/NGO workers, police personnel and local administrators to order to get in-depth views of them on a wide range of issues. The purpose of FGD was to go deep into the matters related to structural vulnerabilities, negative social stigma surrounding sex work, coercive sexual risk, gender inequality, experiences of violence, and psychosocial, political, economic, cultural and other structural factors imposed by the government and local stakeholders.

Consultation Meeting:

A national level consultation meeting was organized with media, relevant government departments, lawyers and development organization to gather information on institutional support mechanism for displaced sex workers, existing law, policy, strategy and practices, to identify gaps, loopholes and way forwards protect sex workers from threat and risk.

Key Informant Interviews:

Key Informant Interviews (KII) were conducted to gather expert views and information from key- informants of the evicted SWs' vulnerabilities. Key informants were selected purposively to deduct case specific information. These experts, with their particular knowledge and understanding provided insight on the nature of the overall vulnerabilities of evicted SWs' problems and gave us recommendations for solutions. A total of 12 KIIs were conducted with brothel owners/pimps, local administration, journalists, law enforcement agencies, NGO workers and local stakeholders.

Data Collection Tools and Data Analysis:

Data for the study were primarily collected through administrating of several checklists and a structured questionnaire. Quantitative data were

analysed by using SPSS software. Logical checks and frequency runs were performed across the study variables. The analysis was done at two stages: descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses. Qualitative data were analysed by using thematic discourse analysis, which was used to refer to a wide range of pattern-type analysis of data, ranging from thematic analysis within a social conflict epistemology (Patton, 1990).

Table 2: Study method and sample size

Study Method	Participants	Sample size/number
Individual Interview	Displaced Sex workers	All identified and available FSWs
Narrative Analysis of individual storytelling	Displaced Sex workers	5 participants
FGD	Madams/Pimps, Police, Local administration, NGO/Health worker, Political Leader etc.	Total FGD= 3 (18 to 24 participants)
KII	Madams/Pimps, Police, Local administration, NGO/ Health worker, Political Leader etc.	Total KII=12
Consultation Meeting	Media, Relevant GO/NGOs partners and Lawyers	30 participants

2.4 Ethical Considerations and Possible Constraints:

Following UNAIDS/WHO policy guidelines and ethical principles, all participants were ensured to provide informed consent before collecting data. The researcher supervised data collection procedures personally by visiting and staying in the study locations. Primary data were collected by the study team under direct supervision of MJF and four research assistants were hired to assist the principal researcher. Measures were taken to protect the rights of concerned SWs, other study participants, and staff participating in the study. Participants were explained the purpose of the study and their rights to refusal.



CHAPTER 3
Quantitative Findings

3.1 Socio-demographic background of the respondents

Table 3.1 presents socio-demographic characteristics of the study population by locations. The age distribution of the study respondents indicated that the maximum numbers of SWs (about 70%) were below 32 years of age. As expected, about 15% of them were child SWs (below 18 years of age). Results presented in Table 3.1 also revealed that 42% of respondents were unmarried, followed by divorced (31%) and married (21%). The study SWs were mostly Muslims (97%), followed by Hindus (7%). A substantial number (64%) of them had no formal education, followed by primary completed (21%) and up to grade eight (10%). About 53% SWs had no children and around 21% said that they had one child.

Table 3.1: Socio-demographic background of the respondents

Variables	Area			Total (n)
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Age				
Less than 18	12.5% (5)	23.3% (7)	12.7% (14)	14.5% (26)
18-22	30.0% (12)	40.0% (12)	38.2% (42)	36.7% (66)
23-27	12.5% (5)	13.3% (4)	22.7% (25)	18.9% (34)
28-32	15.0% (6)	10.0% (3)	15.5% (17)	14.4% (26)
33-37	7.5% (3)	3.3% (1)	6.4% (7)	6.1% (11)
38-42	5.0% (2)	.0% (0)	2.7% (3)	2.8% (5)
43+	17.5% (7)	10.0% (3)	1.8% (2)	6.6% (12)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Education				
No education	37.5% (15)	56.7% (17)	75.5% (83)	63.9% (115)
Up to class 05	17.5% (7)	26.7% (8)	20.0% (22)	20.6% (37)
Up to class 08	27.5% (11)	10.0% (3)	3.6% (4)	10.0% (18)
SSC+	17.5% (7)	6.7% (2)	.9% (1)	5.6% (10)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Religion				
Islam	92.5% (37)	100.0% (30)	90.9% (100)	92.8% (167)
Hindu	7.5% (3)	.0% (0)	9.1% (10)	7.2% (13)
N	40 (100.0%)	30 (100.0%)	110 (100.0%)	180 (100.0%)
Marital status				
Single	35.0% (14)	33.3% (10)	46.4% (51)	41.7% (75)
Living together	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	3.6% (4)	2.8% (5)
Married	40.0% (16)	26.7% (8)	12.7% (14)	21.1% (38)
Divorced/Separated	17.5% (5)	33.3% (10)	34.5% (38)	30.6% (55)
Widowed/Deserted	5.0% (2)	.0% (0)	.9% (1)	1.7% (3)
No response	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	2.2% (2)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Number of children				
0	50.0% (20)	73.3% (22)	48.2% (53)	52.8% (95)
1	12.5% (5)	16.7% (5)	42.7% (47)	31.7% (57)
2	32.5% (13)	6.7% (2)	6.4% (7)	12.2% (22)
3+	5.0% (1)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

3.2 Previous and currently monthly income

In the study, about 45% SWs acknowledged that they earned in between 20,000 to 70,000 BD Taka monthly before their brothels were evicted. Currently, after the eviction, about 33% SWs either have lost their total income (17%) or they just earn in between 500 to 5000 BD Taka per month and this amount is far below than their subsistence. In terms of monthly income, the situation of evicted SWs of Fultala is remarkably low than those of their counterparts in Madaripur and Tangail. Surprisingly, about 22% relocated SWs, mostly from Tangail and Doulathdia, have acknowledged that they still earn in between 20,000 to 70,000 BD Taka monthly (Table 3.2). A considerable number of SWs from Fultala and Madaripur were relocated in Doulathdia and Tangail.

Table 3.2: Previous and currently monthly income

Variables	Area			Total (n)
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Previous monthly income				
500-5000	15.0% (6)	33.3% (10)	41.9% (46)	34.5% (62)
5001-10000	32.5% (13)	10.0% (3)	6.4% (7)	12.8% (23)
10001-15000	17.5% (7)	.0% (0)	1.8% (2)	5.0% (9)
15001-20000	12.5% (5)	10.0% (3)	.0% (0)	4.4% (8)
20001-30000	7.5% (3)	6.7% (2)	11.8% (13)	10.0% (18)
30001-50000	5.0% (2)	10.0% (3)	15.5% (17)	12.2% (22)
50001-70000	7.5% (3)	10.0% (3)	11.8% (13)	10.6% (19)
70001+	2.5% (1)	20.0% (6)	10.9% (12)	10.6% (19)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Current monthly income				
No income	35.0% (14)	16.7% (5)	10.9% (12)	17.2% (31)
500-5000	22.5% (9)	16.7% (5)	12.7% (14)	15.6% (28)
5001-10000	35.0% (14)	13.3% (4)	22.7% (25)	23.9% (43)
10001-15000	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	11.8% (13)	8.3% (15)
15001-20000	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	14.5% (16)	10.6% (19)
20001-30000	.0% (0)	16.7% (5)	12.7% (14)	10.6% (19)
30001-50000	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	10.9% (12)	8.3% (15)
50001-70000	.0% (0)	10.0% (3)	1.8% (2)	2.8% (5)
70001+	.0% (0)	10.0% (3)	1.8% (2)	2.8% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)

3.3 Previous and current place of living

The number of brothel-based SWs who stayed in a rented house earlier (1.4%) had been increased nine times (9.4%) after the eviction of their brothels. However, in this study, still an overwhelming majority of

evicted SWs (63.3%) were found living either in other neighboring brothels or adjacent to brothel areas. As observed, some evicted SWs were found living in the streets, parks, railway stations, and hotels too. About 58% SWs stated that they live independently, while about 27% of them acknowledged that they live with their lovers, commonly known as Babu. There were fewer respondents, a little more than 3%, who live with their children. Respondents who often stayed with their parents represented 4% of the total sample (Table 3.3) (Figure 01).

Table 3.3: Previous and current place of living

Variables	Area			Total (n)
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Current place of living				
Brothel/Adjacent areas	52.5% (21)	63.3% (19)	67.3% (74)	63.3% (114)
Rented house	25.0% (10)	3.3% (1)	5.5% (6)	9.4% (17)
Hotel	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	.0% (0)	1.1% (2)
Street	12.5% (5)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	2.7% (5)
Park	7.5% (3)	26.7% (8)	.9% (1)	6.7% (12)
Parent's home	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	14.5% (16)	8.9% (16)
Other	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	10.0% (11)	6.7% (12)
No response	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	1.8% (2)	1.1% (2)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Previous place of living				
Brothel	7.5% (3)	86.7% (26)	97.3% (107)	75.6% (136)
Parent's home	72.5% (29)	10.0% (3)	1.8% (2)	18.9% (34)
Rented house	5.0% (2)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	1.1% (2)
Other	12.5% (5)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	2.8% (5)
No response	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	.9% (1)	1.7% (3)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

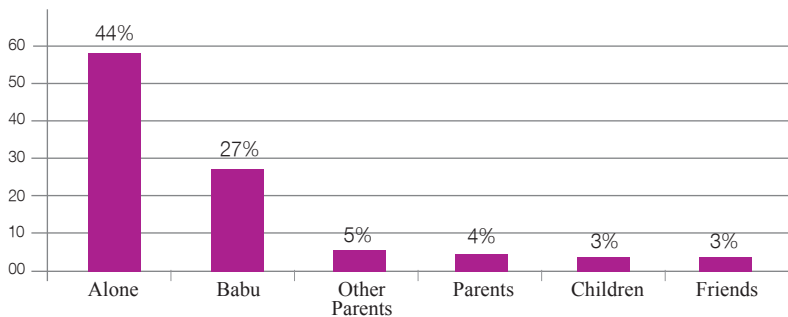


Figure 01: Currently living partner/relative (N=180)

3.4 SWs' access to civic rights

In the study, about 61% SWs had national identity cards, 45% had bank account, and another 65% had birth certificates. A considerable number of them still do not have their access to these national data base, mostly because of lack of knowledge and one-stop service centers and administrative hassles (Table 3.3.1) (Figure 02).

Table 3.3.1: SWs' access to civic rights

Whether SWs had voter/National ID card				
Yes	72.5% (29)	36.7% (11)	63.6% (70)	61.1% (110)
No	27.5% (11)	60.0% (18)	33.6% (37)	36.7% (66)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Whether SWs had Bank account				
Yes	50.0% (20)	40.0% (12)	44.5% (49)	45.0% (81)
No	47.5% (19)	56.7% (17)	50.9% (56)	51.1% (92)
No response	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	4.5% (5)	3.9% (7)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Whether SWs had Birth certificate				
Yes	75.0% (30)	66.7% (20)	60.9% (67)	65.0% (117)
No	25.0% (10)	26.7% (8)	35.5% (39)	31.7 (57)
No response	.0% (0)	6.7% (2)	35.5% (4)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

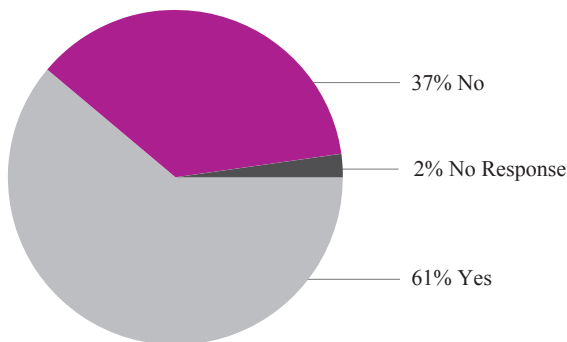


Figure 02: Whether SWs had Voter/National ID card

3.5 Age of starting selling sex

About 60% of these evicted SWs started selling sex at their age of 10 to 15. Some (7%) even started selling sex at their age of 10. Early initiation of selling sex was more prevalent in Tangail than Fultala and Madaripur. Data in this study clearly revealed that most of the study SWs (90%) started their sex business as a child sex worker (Figure 03). Around 60% of the study SWs are in this business for 6 to 20 years (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Age of starting selling sex

Variables	Area			Total (n)
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Age of starting selling sex				
Under 10	12.5% (5)	10.0% (3)	4.5% (5)	7.2% (13)
10-15	42.5% (17)	53.3% (16)	63.6% (70)	57.2% (103)
16-20	27.5% (11)	30.0% (9)	24.5% (27)	26.1% (47)
Above 20	17.5% (7)	3.3% (1)	5.5% (6)	7.8% (14)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	1.7% (3)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Duration of selling sex				
Less than 01 year	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	1.7% (3)
2-5	37.5% (15)	30.0% (9)	17.3% (19)	23.9% (43)
6-10	32.5% (13)	30.0% (9)	30.0% (33)	30.6% (55)
11-15	15.0% (6)	20.0% (6)	24.5% (27)	21.7% (39)
16-20	10.0% (4)	6.7% (2)	15.5% (17)	12.8% (23)
21-25	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	7.3% (8)	6.1% (11)
More than 25 years	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	1.7% (3)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	1.7% (3)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

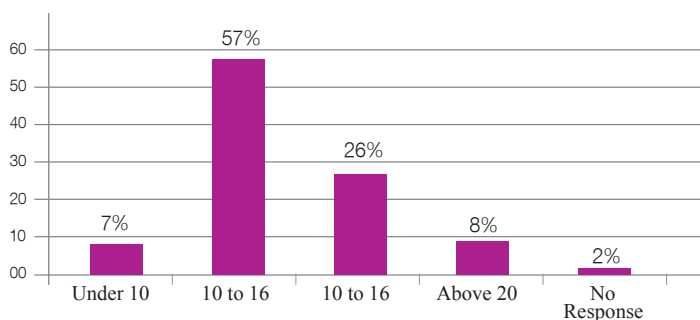


Figure 03: Age of starting selling sex

3.6 Reasons behind the eviction and types of people involved

More than 99% SWs said that they were evicted from their brothel premises. Major reasons, as perceived by the evicted SWs, of these evictions were local political pressure' (53%), followed by Economic Conflict' (20%), and Community's Orthodoxy' (12%). Only about 6% replied that Religious Fundamentalism was the cause of their eviction (Figure 04). Subsequently, about 60% respondents stated that the eviction activities were coordinated by the local political leaders, followed by community leaders (10%) and religious fanatics (7%). Surprisingly, and as a reality, local administration and police were not behind the scene-only 1% SWs believed that administration was responsible for their eviction (Table 3.5). However, the true reasons behind these evictions, as supported by the qualitative findings, were land grabbing.

Table 3.5: Reasons behind the eviction and types of people involved

Variables	Area			Total
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Evicted or not				
Yes	100.0% (40)	96.7% (29)	100.0% (110)	99.4% (179)
No response	0.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.6% (1)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Reason behind the eviction				
Religious fundamentalism	5.0% (2)	24.1% (7)	1.8% (2)	6.1% (11)
Community peoples' orthodoxy	25.0% (10)	13.8% (4)	7.3% (8)	12.3% (22)
Local political pressure	35.0% (14)	27.6% (8)	65.5% (72)	52.5% (94)
Legal enforcement	7.5% (3)	7.5% (3)	.9% (1)	2.8% (5)
Economic conflict	20.0% (8)	17.2% (5)	20.0% (22)	19.6% (35)
Do not know	5.0% (2)	13.8% (4)	4.5% (5)	6.1% (11)
No response	2.5% (1)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	0.6% (1)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (29)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (179)
Types of people involved in the eviction				
Community people	10.0% (4)	10.3% (3)	3.6% (4)	6.1% (11)
Community leaders	15.0% (6)	.0% (0)	10.0% (11)	9.5% (17)
Local Administration	2.5% (1)	3.4% (1)	.0% (0)	1.1% (2)
Police	5.0% (2)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	1.1% (2)
Religious fanatics	7.5% (3)	27.6% (8)	.9% (1)	6.7% (12)
Local political Leaders	52.5% (21)	34.5% (10)	66.4% (73)	58.1% (104)
Land owners	2.5% (1)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	0.6% (1)
Do not know	5.0% (2)	13.8% (4)	5.5% (6)	6.7% (12)
No response	.0% (0)	10.3% (3)	13.6% (29)	10.1% (18)
N*	100.0% (38)	100.0% (29)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (179)

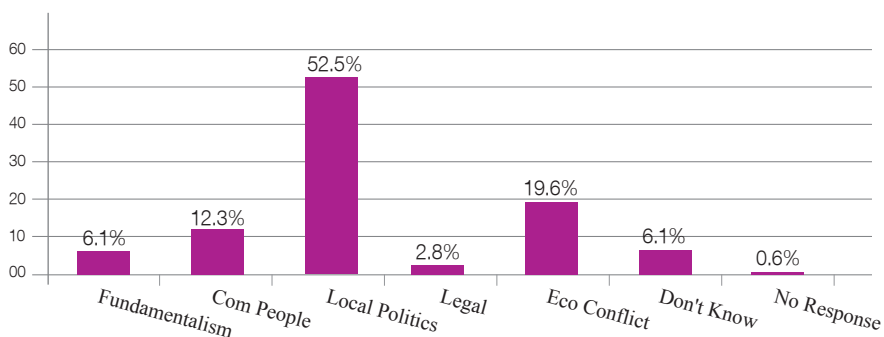


Figure 04: Causes of brothel eviction

3.7 Conflicts and violence

More than 37% study SWs believed that previous conflicts were responsible for their eviction and most of these conflicts were centered around the 'Ownership of Land' (46%) and 'Extortion/Chada' (37%). Only about 8% SWs replied that religious fundamentalism was the cause of these conflicts. About 90% SWs acknowledged that they faced violence such as plundering (49%), physical torture (22%), demolishing households (19%) and rape (6%) during the period of eviction (Table 3.6) (Figure 05). We should be careful in analyzing these data, as 100% households of Kandapara brothel of Tangail district were demolished during the eviction.

Table 3.6: Conflicts and violence

Variables	Area			Total (n)
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Existence of previous conflicts				
Yes	55.0% (22)	51.7% (15)	27.3% (30)	37.4% (67)
No	32.5% (13)	31.0% (9)	38.2% (42)	35.8% (64)
Do not know	12.5% (5)	17.2% (5)	33.6% (37)	26.3% (47)
No response	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.9% (1)	0.6% (1)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (29)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (179)
Types of previous conflicts				
Land related	0.0% (0)	46.7% (7)	80.0% (24)	46.3% (31)
Bribery	4.5% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	1.5% (1)
Extortion/Chada	81.8% (18)	13.3% (2)	16.7% (5)	37.3% (25)
Religious	4.5% (1)	20.0% (3)	3.3% (1)	7.5% (5)
Political related	9.1% (2)	6.7% (1)	0.0% (0)	4.5% (3)
No response	0.0% (0)	13.3% (2)	.0% (0)	3.0% (2)
Total	100% (22)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (67)

Types of violent activities

Abusive Slang	14.3% (3)	3.7% (1)	.0% (0)	2.6% (4)
Physical torture	66.7% (14)	33.3% (9)	11.1% (12)	22.4% (35)
Plundering	9.5% (2)	40.7% (11)	59.3% (64)	49.4% (77)
Demolishing households	9.5% (2)	22.2% (6)	20.4% (22)	19.2% (30)
Rape	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	8.3% (9)	5.8% (9)
Blood shed	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	.9% (1)	.6% (1)
N*	100.0% (21)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (108)	100.0% (156)

3.8 Social impact of brothel eviction

In response to a question, how is your life going?, 65% evicted SWs replied that their current life is going very bad, followed by average (33%). Except Fultala, about 80% evicted study SWs did not leave their profession. Even SWs from Fultala concealed the information to us. Our subsequent in-depth analysis clearly revealed that almost 90% evicted SWs are currently doing their business either in neighboring brothels or in the parks, streets, stations, rented houses and hotels. However, about 36% SWs stated that they left their profession (Figure 06). About 65% SWs, of those who left their profession (n=64), could not tell us anything about their current profession. Only 28% and 8% of these SWs stated that they are currently involved with small jobs and business respectively (Table 3.7).

Further, about 55% SWs (n=35), of those who left their profession (n=64), replied that they went to their paternal homes, 67% of them were accepted by the mainstream society and 85% of them were accepted by their families. Again, these data should be interpreted cautiously as only a nominal number of SWs were returned to their homes. If we compare with the total sample (N=180), the number of home-returning SWs will be only about 2 out of 10 (Table 3.7). More than 42% SWs, of those who left their profession (n=64), are currently facing family or societal problems such as abusive slangs (56%) and physical torture (37%), and around 50% of them don't get any access to public services/ facilities (Table 3.7.1).

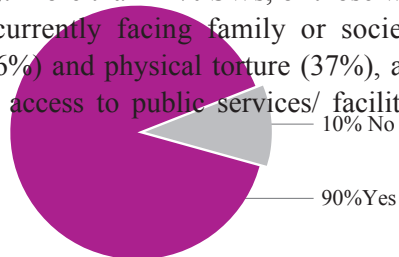


Figure 05: Presence of violent activities during brothel eviction

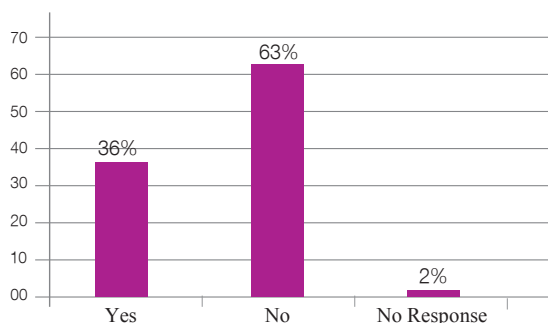


Figure 06: Whether left sex working after the eviction

Table 3.7: Social impact of brothel eviction

Social impacts				
Variables	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	Total
How is your life going?				
Average	15.0% (6)	40.0% (12)	37.3% (41)	32.8% (59)
Very Bad	85.0% (34)	56.7% (17)	60.0% (66)	65.0% (117)
No response	0.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Left sex working after the eviction				
Yes	90.0% (36)	26.7% (8)	18.2% (20)	35.6% (64)
No	7.5% (3)	73.3% (22)	80.0% (88)	62.8% (113)
No response	2.5% (1)	0.0% (0)	1.8% (0)	1.7% (3)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Current occupation of the SWs who left sex working				
Small Job	44.4% (16)	.0% (0)	10.0% (2)	28.1% (18)
Business	11.1% (4)	12.5% (1)	.0% (0)	7.8% (5)
Nothing	41.7% (15)	25.0% (2)	.0% (0)	26.6% (17)
No response	2.8% (1)	62.5% (5)	90.0% (18)	37.5% (24)
N	100.0% (36)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (64)
Whether returned home				
Yes	41.7% (15)	62.5% (5)	75.0% (15)	54.7% (35)
No	55.6% (20)	37.5% (3)	25.0% (5)	43.8% (28)
No response	2.8% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	1.6% (1)
N	100.0% (36)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (64)
Whether accepted by the family				
Yes	66.7% (10)	100.0% (5)	100.0% (15)	85.7% (30)
No	26.7% (4)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	11.4% (4)
No response	6.7% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	2.9% (1)
N	100.0% (15)	100.0% (5)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (35)
Current living conditions of the SWs who left sex working				
Mainstream society	61.1% (22)	75.0% (6)	75.0% (15)	67.2% (43)
Hidden	33.3% (12)	25.0% (2)	28.1% (4)	28.1% (18)
No response	5.6% (2)	.0% (0)	4.7% (1)	4.7% (3)
N	100.0% (36)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (64)

Table 3.7.1: Whether facing any family or societal problem

Variables	Area			Total (n)
	Fultala	Madaripur	Tangail	
Whether facing family or societal problem				
Yes	52.8% (19)	50.0% (4)	20.0% (4)	42.2% (27)
No	41.7% (15)	50.0% (4)	80.0% (16)	54.7% (35)
No response	5.6% (2)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	3.1% (2)
N	100.0% (36)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (64)
Types of problems facing				
Abusive Slang	57.9% (11)	75.0% (3)	25.0% (1)	55.6% (15)
Physical torture	31.6% (6)	25.0% (1)	75.0% (3)	37.0% (10)
No response	10.5% (2)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	7.4% (2)
N	100.0% (19)	100.0% (4)	100.0%(4)	100.0% (27)
Access to the public facilities				
Yes	38.9% (14)	62.5% (5)	55.0% (11)	46.9% (30)
No	55.6% (20)	25.0% (2)	40.0% (8)	46.9% (30)
No response	5.6% (2)	12.5% (1)	5.0% (1)	6.3% (4)
N	100.0% (36)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (64)

3.9 Psychological impact of brothel eviction

More than 91% evicted SWs acknowledged that they suffered from severe psychological trauma after the eviction of their brothel (Figure 07). Fifty percent of these SWs were suffered from depression, followed by frustration (37%) and anger (10%) (Table 3.8).

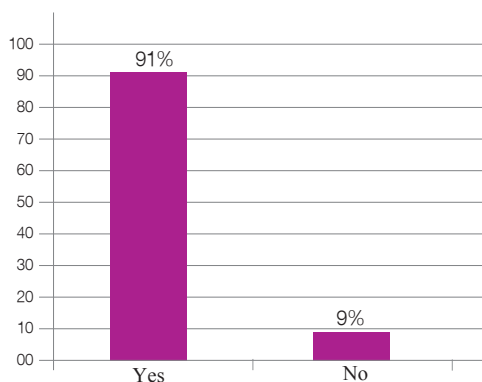


Figure 07: Whether suffered from any psychological trauma after eviction

Table 3.8: Psychological impact of brothel eviction

Psychological impacts				
Variables	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	Total (n)
Suffering from any psychological trauma after eviction				
Yes	92.5% (37)	90.0% (27)	91.4% (96)	91.4% (160)
No	7.5% (3)	10.0% (3)	8.6% (9)	8.6% (15)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (105)	100.0% (175)
Types of trauma				
Depression	54.1% (20)	8.1% (8)	54.2% (52)	50.0% (80)
Frustration	54.1% (10)	55.6% (15)	35.4% (34)	36.9% (59)
Anger	54.1% (4)	11.1% (3)	9.3% (9)	10.0% (16)
Suicidal tendency	8.1% (3)	3.7% (1)	1.0% (1)	3.1% (5)
N	100.0% (37)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (96)	100.0% (160)

3.10 Cultural impact of brothel eviction

More than 52% evicted SWs stated that they cannot attend any social events, while another 34.4% of them acknowledged that they had adverse reactions from their neighbors (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Cultural impact of brothel eviction

Cultural impacts :				
Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Participation in the social events				
Yes	44.4% (16)	62.5% (5)	30.0% (6)	42.2% (27)
No	47.2% (17)	37.5% (3)	65.0% (13)	51.6% (33)
No response	8.3% (3)	.0% (0)	5.0% (1)	6.3% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Nneighbor's attitude				
Moderate	47.2% (17)	62.5% (5)	75.0% (15)	57.8% (37)
Bad	41.7% (15)	37.5% (3)	20.0% (4)	34.4% (22)
No response	11.1% (4)	.0% (0)	5.0% (1)	7.9% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

3.11 Financial impact of brothel eviction

In the study, more than 90% evicted SWs have stated that they have been facing severe financial crisis since the closer of their brothels. About 70% of them had lack of cash, followed by lack of shelter (17%), and

lack of food and clothes (12%) (Figure 08). About 64% of them could not overcome these problems yet, and presently, more than 71% SWs earns less than their previous income. In reply to another question, more than 54% SWs mentioned that their daily expenses are unaffordable (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Financial impact of brothel eviction

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Financial crisis				
Yes	100.0% (40)	83.3% (25)	89.1% (98)	90.6% (163)
No	.0% (0)	16.7% (5)	9.1% (10)	8.3% (15)
No response	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	1.8% (2)	1.1% (2)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0%(180)
Types of financial/other crisis				
Lack of cash	80.0% (32)	64.0% (16)	66.3% (65)	69.3% (113)
Lack of food and clothes	15.0% (6)	12.0% (3)	12.3% (11)	12.3% (20)
Lack of health care	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	1.0% (1)	0.6% (1)
Lack of shelter	5.0% (2)	16.0% (6)	21.4% (21)	16.6% (27)
Lack of social access	0.0% (0)	4.0% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.6% (1)
No response	0.0% (0)	4.0% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.6% (1)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (25)	100.0%(98)	100.0%(163)
Whether overcome these problems				
Yes	55.0% (22)	32.0% (8)	21.4% (21)	31.3% (51)
No	45.0% (18)	64.0% (16)	71.4% (70)	63.8% (104)
No response	0.0% (0)	4.0% (1)	7.1% (7)	4.9% (8)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (25)	100.0%(98)	100.0%(163)
Present income				
Lower than previous income	40.0% (16)	56.7% (17)	86.4% (95)	71.1% (128)
Higher than previous income	40.0% (16)	26.7% (8)	10.9% (12)	20.0% (36)
No response	20.0% (8)	16.7% (5)	2.7% (3)	8.9% (16)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Whether present daily expenses are affordable				
Yes	37.5% (15)	50.0% (15)	16.7% (36)	36.7% (66)
No	52.5% (21)	33.3% (10)	60.9% (67)	54.4% (98)
No response	10.0% (4)	16.7% (5)	6.4% (7)	8.9% (16)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

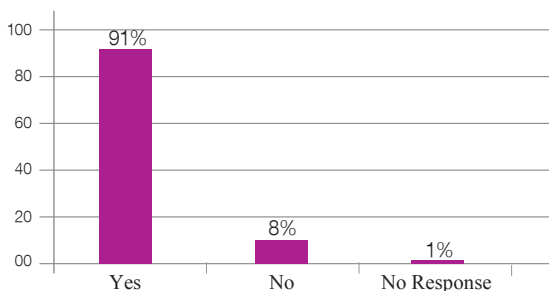


Figure 08: Current financial crisis

3.12 Torture and oppression

In response to a question, more than 81% SWs stated that they used to face police raids during normal operation hours of their brothels, and more than 52% of these SWs further revealed severe incidents of abuses by the members of law enforcing agencies (Figure 09). The dominant forms of abuses by police include extortion (53%), threat of imprisonment (14%), abusive slangs (13%), rape/sexual advances (12%), and illegal arrest (7%) (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11: Criminalizing sex work and police abuse

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Police abuse				
Yes	60.0% (24)	46.7% (14)	51.8% (57)	52.8% (95)
No	40.0% (16)	50.0% (15)	46.4% (51)	45.6% (82)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	1.7% (03)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Types of police abuse*				
Abusive slang	12.5% (3)	.0% (0)	15.8% (9)	12.6% (12)
Extortion Threat of Imprisonment	50.0% (12)	35.7% (5)	57.9% (33)	52.6% (50)
Sexual abuse/rape	29.2% (7)	28.5% (3)	8.8% (13)	13.7% (13)
Physical violence	8.3% (2)	21.4% (3)	10.5% (6)	11.6% (6)
Illegal arrest	.0% (0)	14.3% (2)	.0% (0)	2.1% (2)
	.0% (0)	21.4% (3)	7.0% (4)	7.4% (7)
N	(24)	(14)	(57)	(95)

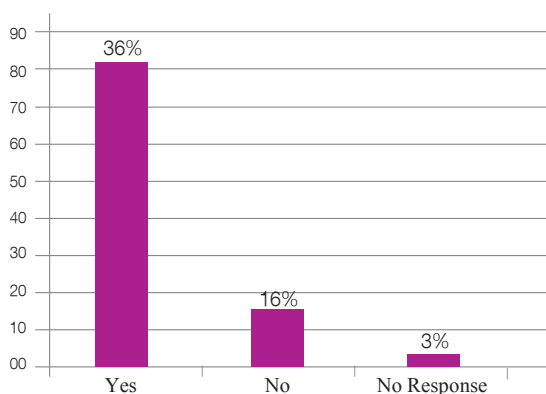


Figure 09: Police raids during normal operation hours of their brothels

3.13 Role of Police during eviction

Though the local police were not in favor of eviction of the study brothels, they did not help SWs either. About 90% evicted SWs said they did not get any help from police during the time of eviction (Figure 10). More than 80% SWs do not get any help from police even now. In response to another question, around 50% SWs were found aware of their rights that they can practice as legal sex workers. However, an overwhelming majority of them (70%) had the knowledge that they have the rights to be protected by the law enforcement agencies (Table 3.11.1).

Table 3.11.1: Whether received any help from Police during eviction

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Help from police now				
Yes	2.5% (1)	20.0% (6)	20.0% (22)	16.1% (29)
No	2.5% (36)	76.7% (23)	78.2% (86)	80.6% (145)
No response	7.5% (3)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Police threats now				
Yes	2.5% (1)	20.0% (6)	20.0% (22)	16.1% (29)
No	90.0% (36)	76.7% (23)	78.2% (86)	80.6% (145)
No response	7.5% (3)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	80.6% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Right to work as a sex worker				
Yes	67.5% (27)	30.0% (9)	54.5% (60)	53.3% (96)
No	22.5% (9)	36.7% (11)	26.4% (29)	27.2% (49)
No response	5.0% (2)	30.0% (9)	14.5% (16)	15.0% (27)
N	100.0% (38)	100.0% (29)	100.0%(105)	100.0% (172)
Legal right to get protection by police				
Yes	82.5% (33)	56.7% (17)	69.1% (76)	72.0% (126)
No	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	11.8% (13)	9.1% (16)
No response	12.5% (5)	36.7% (11)	15.5% (17)	18.9% (33)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (29)	100.0%(106)	100.0% (175)

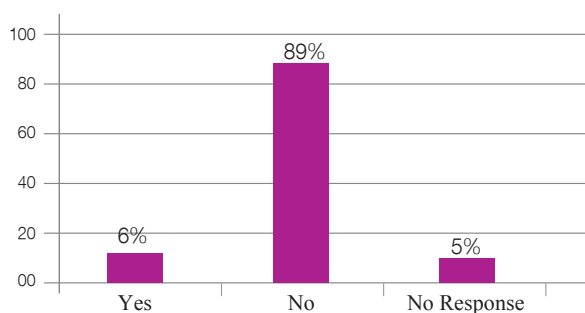


Figure 10: Whether received help from Police during eviction

3.14 Role of local political leaders during and after the eviction

High-profile political leaders, mostly local Ministers and Mayor, were directly related to evict all these century-old study brothels. Local power relations and politics of attracting popular votes had played a pivotal role in organizing these primordial attacks on marginalized sex working communities and their dwellings. It is an open secret in Madaripur that a high-profile political leader instigated some religious fanatics to attack the brothel. Likewise, everybody in Kandapara of Tangail and Fultala of Khulna knows the masterminds. Similar techniques of involving local religious extremists were applied in both Kandapara and Fultala. As reflected in their opinion, more than 77% evicted SWs throughout the study brothels said that the role of local political leaders' during the time of brothel eviction was very bad (Figure 11). Further, about 60% SWs did not get any help from local political leaders after the eviction. Because of repercussion, still, a sizeable number of SWs (17%) even do not like to talk about local leaders (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12: Local political leaders' behavior during and after the eviction

Role of local political leaders during the eviction				
Good	7.5% (3)	20.0% (6)	5.5% (6)	8.3% (15)
Very bad	77.5% (31)	63.3% (19)	80.9% (89)	77.2% (139)
Moderate	5.0% (2)	13.3% (4)	5.5% (6)	6.7% (12)
No response	10.0% (4)	3.3% (1)	8.2% (9)	7.8% (14)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)
Role of local political leaders after the eviction				
Good	12.5% (5)	26.7% (8)	13.6% (15)	15.6% (28)
Very bad	45.0% (18)	50.0% (15)	61.8% (68)	56.1% (101)
Moderate	15.0% (6)	13.3% (4)	9.1% (10)	11.1% (20)
No response	27.5% (11)	10.0% (3)	15.5% (17)	17.2% (31)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0%(110)	100.0% (180)

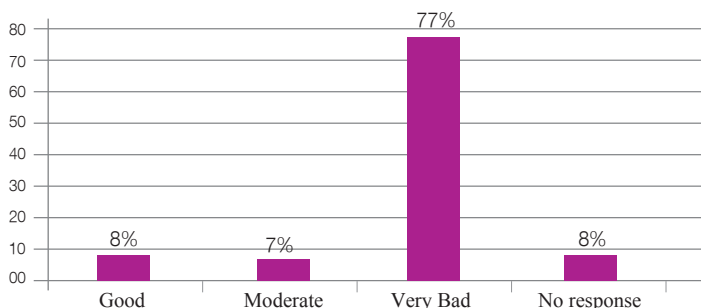


Figure 11: Role of local political leaders during the eviction

3.15 Government initiatives during and after the eviction

Because of influence of high-profile political leaders, local administration and allied government officers were idiosyncratic in relation to brothel evictions. Local Deputy Commissioners (DCs) and Superintendents of Police (SPs) were forced to implement the plan of local leaders. As noted, despite their several attempts and demonstrations, about 70% SWs did not get any help from the local government officials before the eviction of their brothels. As usually, about 90% evicted SWs did not get any government support during or after the eviction of their brothels (Table 3.13) (Figure 12). Further, 81% SWs reported that government has no intention to look after their matters even today. Only about 20% SWs said that government is friendly to SWs' rights though 92% of evicted SWs reported that government has no plan to rehabilitate evicted SWs in the near future (Table 3.13.1).

Table 3.13: Whether received government help before, during and after eviction

Government Initiatives				
Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Whether government helped before eviction				
Yes	25.0% (10)	23.3% (7)	24.5% (27)	24.4% (44)
No	72.5% (29)	70.0% (21)	67.3% (74)	68.9% (124)
Do not know	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	6.4% (7)	4.4% (8)
No response	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	1.8% (2)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether government helped during eviction				
Yes	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	6.4% (7)	5.6% (10)
No	92.5% (37)	90.0% (27)	85.5% (94)	87.8% (158)
Do not know	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	.9% (1)	1.1% (2)
No response	2.5% (1)	3.3% (30)	7.3% (8)	5.6% (10)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether government helped after eviction				
Yes	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	7.3% (8)	6.7% (12)
No	90.0% (36)	90.0% (27)	88.2% (97)	88.9% (160)
Do not know	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	3.6% (4)	2.2% (4)
No response	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	.9% (1)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether government help now				
Yes	22.5% (9)	13.3% (4)	6.4% (7)	11.1% (20)
No	65.0% (26)	80.0% (24)	87.3% (96)	81.1% (146)
Do not know	2.5% (1)	3.3% (1)	5.5% (6)	4.4% (8)
No response	10.0% (4)	3.3% (1)	.9% (1)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

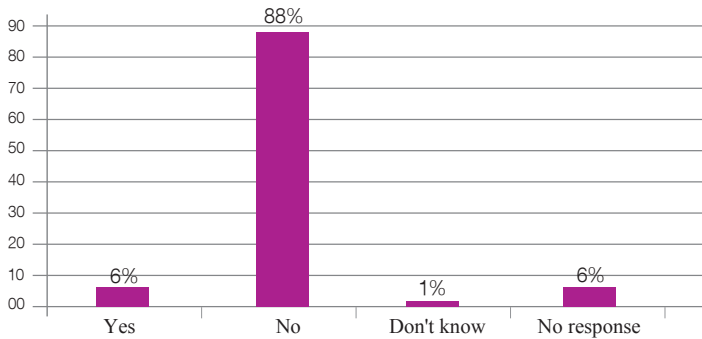


Figure 12: Whether government helped during eviction

Table 3.13.1: Settlement/rehabilitation program by the government agencies

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Settlement/rehabilitation program by government				
Yes	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
No	92.5% (37)	86.7% (26)	93.6% (103)	92.2% (166)
Do not know	.0% (0)	6.7% (2)	2.7% (3)	2.8% (5)
No response	7.5% (3)	3.3% (1)	.9% (1)	2.8% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether government is friendly to the sex workers				
Yes	5.0% (2)	13.3% (4)	25.5% (28)	18.9% (34)
No	60.0% (24)	63.3% (19)	50.9% (56)	55.0% (99)
Do not know	32.5% (13)	16.7% (5)	20.9% (23)	22.8% (41)
No response	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	2.7% (3)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

3.16 Whether received NGOs' help before, during and after the eviction

Similar to other local authorities, surprisingly, because of influence of high-profile political leaders, local NGOs and civil society organizations also kept their status quo in relation to local brothel evictions. About 66% SWs believe that local NGOs raised their voices before the illegal eviction. However, the study findings clearly revealed that, despite their several attempts and demonstrations, about 60% SWs did not get any help from the local NGOs during or after the eviction of their brothels (Table 3.14) (Figure 13). Further, majority of the evicted SWs (55%)

have reported local NGOs are not helping them enough to relocate them in their previous places and professions.

Table 3.14: Whether received NGOs' help before, during and after eviction

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Whether NGOs helped before eviction				
Yes	47.5% (19)	66.7% (20)	72.7% (80)	66.1% (119)
No	45.0% (18)	23.3% (7)	23.6% (26)	28.3% (51)
Do not know	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	3.3% (6)
No response	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	.9% (1)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether NGOs helped during eviction				
Yes	42.5% (17)	36.7% (11)	37.3% (41)	38.3% (69)
No	50.0% (20)	53.3% (16)	59.1% (65)	56.1% (101)
Do not know	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	3.3% (6)
No response	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	.9% (1)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether NGOs helped after eviction				
Yes	52.5% (21)	36.7% (11)	30.0% (33)	36.1% (65)
No	45.0% (18)	53.3% (16)	64.5% (71)	58.3% (105)
Do not know	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	4.5% (5)	2.8% (5)
No response	2.5% (1)	10.0% (3)	.9% (1)	2.8% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether receive NGOs' help now				
Yes	55.0% (22)	60.0% (18)	28.2% (31)	39.4% (71)
No	40.0% (16)	30.0% (9)	67.3% (74)	55.0% (99)
Do not know	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
No response	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	1.8% (2)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

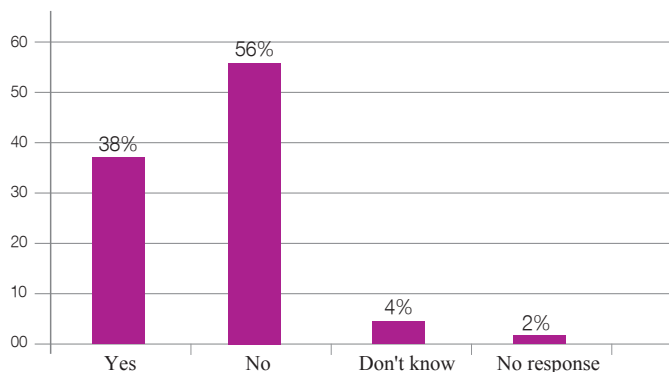


Figure 13: Whether NGOs helped during eviction

3.17 Settlement/rehabilitation program by the local NGOs

About 50% evicted SWs believe that there are enough local NGOs who can help them to resettle. As observed by 60% study respondents, despite their capacity to help evicted SWs, these NGOs have no concrete plan to proceed further to rehabilitate evicted SWs in the near future. Specifically, an overwhelming majority of study participants (88%) further said that local NGOs, even who deal with Human Rights, did not do anything to rehabilitate or resettle evicted SWs and they are just busy with AIDS or condom programs only (Table 3.14.1) (Figure 14).

Table 3.14.1: Settlement/rehabilitation program by the local NGOs

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Whether had enough local NGOs to help evicted SWs				
Yes	55.0% (22)	50.0% (15)	47.3% (52)	49.4% (89)
No	17.5% (7)	20.0% (6)	14.5% (16)	16.1% (29)
Do not know	22.5% (9)	23.3% (7)	36.4% (40)	31.1% (56)
No response	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	1.8% (2)	3.3% (6)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Whether local NGOs had enough capacity to help evicted SWs				
Yes	67.5% (27)	66.7% (20)	57.3% (63)	61.1% (110)
No	5.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	3.3% (6)
Do not know	22.5% (9)	23.3% (7)	37.3% (41)	31.7% (57)
No response	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	2.7% (3)	3.9% (7)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Did these NGOs help resettling/rehabilitating evicted SWs				
Yes	7.5% (3)	13.3% (4)	6.4% (7)	7.7% (14)
No	90.0% (36)	76.7% (23)	90.0% (99)	87.7% (158)
Do not know	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	2.7% (3)	1.6% (3)
No response	2.5% (1)	10.0% (3)	.9% (1)	2.7% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

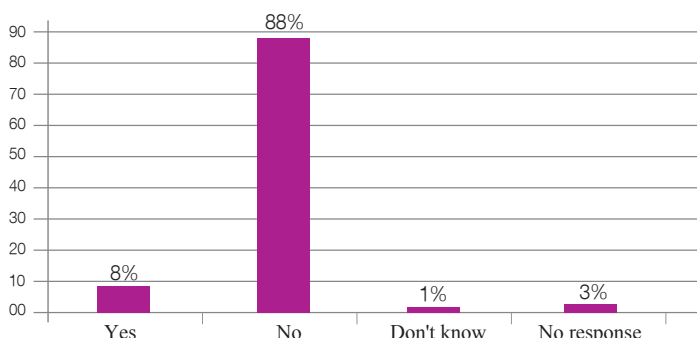


Figure 14: Whether local NGOs help resettling/rehabilitating evicted SWs

3.18. Stigma, discrimination and integration

SWs and sex working still face stigmatization (91%) from the mainstream society and all local authorities (Figure 15). Majority of the study SWs (81%) still fear of disclosing their identities when they seek services from the society. However, as a sign of positive development, about 50% SWs acknowledged that they can access to sexual and reproductive health services from the NGO and other government health service providers. On a further note, about 45% SWs opined that they had been denied by their immediate family members because of their sex work; also, they had been treated differently (66%) and they had suicidal tendencies in their life time (Table 3.15).

Table 3.15: Stigma, discrimination and integration

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Fear of disclosing identity as sex worker				
Yes	65.0% (26)	80.0% (24)	87.3% (96)	81.1% (146)
No	35.0% (14)	16.7% (5)	10.0% (11)	16.7% (30)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Denied sexual and reproductive health services				
Yes	60.0% (24)	43.3% (13)	39.1% (43)	44.4% (80)
No	32.5% (13)	50.0% (15)	53.6% (59)	48.3% (87)
Do not know	2.5% (1)	.0% (0)	3.6% (4)	2.8% (5)
No response	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	3.6% (4)	4.4% (8)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Denied by family members because of your sex work				
Yes	72.5% (29)	36.7% (11)	36.4% (40)	44.4% (80)
No	25.0% (10)	33.3% (10)	40.0% (44)	35.6% (64)
Do not know	2.5% (1)	26.7% (8)	20.0% (22)	17.2% (31)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	3.6% (4)	2.8% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Treated differently				
Yes	65.0% (26)	56.7% (17)	68.2% (75)	65.6% (118)
No	22.5% (9)	13.3% (4)	9.1% (10)	12.8% (23)
Do not know	7.5% (3)	23.3% (7)	15.5% (17)	15.0% (27)
No response	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	7.3% (8)	6.7% (12)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Suicidal tendency				
Yes	70.0% (28)	33.3% (10)	33.6% (37)	41.7% (75)
No	27.5% (11)	63.3% (19)	60.9% (67)	53.9% (97)
Do not know	2.5% (1)	.0% (0)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

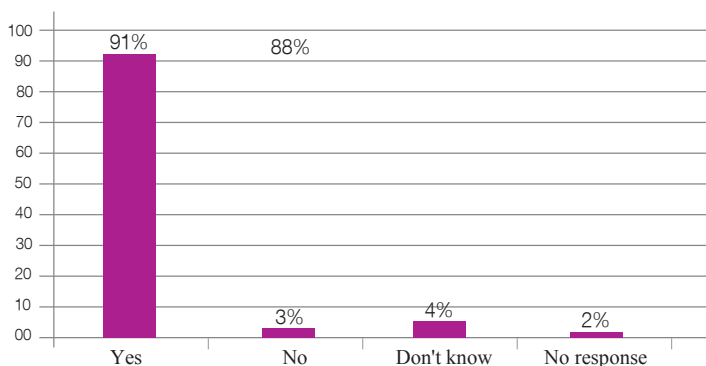


Figure 15: Perceived stigmatization of sex working and sex workers

3.19 Stigma and access to services

About 87% SWs reported that they do not know any program, which is currently working in their localities to reduce stigma or discrimination attached to SWs and sex working. However, because of deep-rooted cultural construction, only 13% SWs believe that stigmas attached to prostitution could be removed from this society. Although 36% SWs believed that people from mainstream society don't like to see them availing services from the established centers and facilities, about half of the study SWs (48%) reported that they had no problem in this regard (Table 3.15.1) (Annexure 1).

3.20 Violence and abuse

Majority of the study SWs had encountered verbal (83%), psychological (77%) and gender-based (64%) violence in their lifetimes. Most of these violence were physical abuses (68%) such as beating (84%), slangs (50%), intimidation (41%), teasing (36%), blackmailing (29%), and slapping (10%) (Table 3.16) (Annexure 1). The major perpetrators of gender-based violence were community leaders and brothel madams, followed by babu (fixed client) and clients. They mostly seek help, after experiencing gender based violence, with their peer SWs and NGO outreach workers (about 40%). About 50% SWs reported that the incidents of gender-based violence were very high during the time of brothel eviction (Table 3.16.1) (Annexure 1).



CHAPTER 4

Economic Impact of
Brothel Eviction

4.1 Economic Impact of Fultola (Khulna) Brothel Eviction

During our field visit, we went to Fultola, Khulna where we talked with the local people there on previous and current economic activities in and around the evicted brothel areas. We talked to businesspersons, political leaders and many other people and they told us that, before these brothels opened, there were not many people, and most of the people came here only after these brothels opened. Around the brothels, there were many business houses like clothes, cosmetics, fast food, laundry and drug stores. The landowners, madams and babus regulated the area and mostly they were the owners of these businesses.

The local stakeholders also informed that, from these business houses, OC (Officer in Charge) of local police station used to receive 17,000 Tk. per day and 1,00,000 Tk. per month as Selami (bribe). In another case, a brothel cashier used to take 50,000 Tk. upfront for renting a room and 300 Tk. per day as its rent. He had good connections with the local police station. However, after the eviction, many of these businesses have been closed and those, which are still active, have much fewer customers and transactions than before.

It is readily evident from the Table 4.1 that a huge number of professions and business activities had been developed centering the Fultola brothel and, because of eviction, these economic activities had gone into wary. For example, as indicated by multiple sources, the daily average transaction of all business houses during brothel operation in and around Fultola was about 5.7 million Tk., which had been drastically fall into about 15,000 Tk.

We asked 10 business houses there to speak about their previous and current daily transactions. In reply, of those who still operate their businesses there, said that their average sell during brothel operation was 9,100 Tk., and now their daily average transaction had shrunk to only 630 Tk.

Because of closer of these economic activities, the local business personnel, most of whom are brothel madams, pimps and local traders are facing serious financial hardships and fall arrears to repay their bank/NGO loans. The SWs lost their all personal belongings and daily

income too. The closing of this century-old sex establishment also had socio-cultural and law enforcement discourses, and the sudden eviction seriously impacts not only the local economic activities but the rate of burglary, stealing, eve-teasing, attack on women and children, and the incidence of rape are on rise in and around greater Khulna region.

Table 4.1 Economic Activities of Fultola (Khulna) Brothel Areas

Before establishment of the brothel	After establishment of the brothel	After eviction of the brothel	Owners of these business	Amount of daily money transaction		Involvement of local stakeholders	Daily transaction by personal business houses	
				During operation	After Eviction		During operation	After Eviction
1) Bangla mod (Local Wine shops)	1) Tea, battle leaf, hotel, cigarette, flexi load	1) Nothing exist except tea stall	Outside people, local people	6,000,000	20,000	Sex workers, cashier, police, businessmen	10,000 Tea Stall/Flexi	200 Tea Stall/Flexi
2) Nothing	2) Tea, hotel, fruits, drugs, cosmetics	2) Tea, biscuit	Outside an local and people	5,000,000	10,000	Madams, pimps, cashiers	15,000 Cosmetics	000 Cosmetics
3) Nothing	3) Yaaba, Ganja, Fencidile, Hotel,	3) Nothing exist	Outside people	6,000,000	20,000	Land owners, madams	20,000 Wine	000 Wine
4) Nothing	4) Drugs, ganja, hotel, tea	4) Pharmacy , cosmetics	Local businessmen	7,000,000	10,000	Sex workers, businessmen	5,000 Pharmacy	500 Pharmacy
5) Don't know	5) Market, fast food stall	5) Food stall	Various people	5,000,000	20,000	Local businessmen	5,000 Food Stall	600 Food Stall
6) Nothing	6) Laundry, grocery, salon, flexi load	6) All closed except grocery	Local people	4,000,000	10,000	Local businessmen	7,000 Stationary / Grocery	1000 Stationary / Grocery
7) Nothing	7) Grocery, hotel, vegetable stall	7) Nothing except vegi stall	Outside people	6,000,000	20,000	Sex workers, businessmen	3,000 Vegetable stall	400 Vegetable stall
8) Don't know	8) Grocery, tea, hotel	8) Jewelry shop	Local women	5,000,000	10,000	Businessmen	20,000 Jewelry shop	3,000 Jewelry shop
9) Nothing	9)Drugs, fruits vegi, cigarette	9) Cotton shop	Both local & outsiders	6,000,000	25,000	Local people	5,000 Cloth shop	500 Cloth shop
10) Nothing	10) Laundry, flexi load, tea	10) Few exist	Outside of locality	7,000,000	10,000	Madams, Pimps	1,000 Laundry	100 Laundry
Average Daily Transaction				5,700,000	15,500		9,100	630
Average Monthly Transaction				171,000,000	465,000		273,000	18,900

4.2 Economic Impact of Madaripur Brothel Eviction

The study team visited Madaripur and talked to local elites, journalists, police, NGO workers, businesspersons, brothel madams and pimps on economic activities surrounding brothel areas. Almost all of them told us that the economic activities of Madaripur town were mostly centered on this evicted brothel, the foundation of which was dated back to British regime. In their opinion, because of eviction, hundreds and thousands of business houses lost their business and profession. Around the brothels, there were many businesses like cloth stores, cosmetics shops and parlors, hotels, restaurants, fast food, local markets, laundry, pharmacies and so on. Brothel owners, madams, local people, and Babus were the owners of these businesses and they regulated the area with the help of local political leaders, political goons, religious leaders and, most importantly, with the direct help of local police.

In a group discussion, local stakeholders informed us that, local police station and the mid- ranking political leaders of the current government used to collect donations from the brothel madams and local business houses on daily and monthly basis and the amount of extortion money was not less than 1 million BD Taka in a month. Brothel madams and the cashiers usually charged 50,000 to 100,000 Tk. upfront for renting a room in the brothel and the local police and political leaders always had a share in this bond money. Almost all madams and Babus had good connections with the local police station local politics too. After the eviction, almost all of these businesses have been closed and those, which are still active, have much fewer customers and transactions than before. Facing this situation, some brothel madams cum land owners have already sold their lands to outsiders to build markets there.

It is readily evident from the Table 4.2 that a huge number of professions and business activities had been developed centering the Madaripur brothel and, because of eviction, these economic activities had gone into wary. For example, as indicated by multiple sources, the daily average transaction of all business houses during brothel operation in and around Madaripur was about 8.8 million Tk., which had been drastically fall into about 6.4 lac Tk.

We asked 10 business houses there to speak about their previous and current daily transactions. In reply, of those who still operate their businesses there, said that their average sell during brothel operation was 10,100 Tk., and now their daily average transaction had shrunk to only 450 Tk.

Similar to Fultola brothel, the local traders and SWs are facing serious financial hardships and some of them are virtually starving. As observed by the local journalists and police authority, the closing of this century-old sex establishment also had sociocultural and law enforcement discourses, and the sudden eviction seriously impacts not only the local economic activities but the rate of eve-teasing, attack on women and children, and the incidence of rape are on rise in and around greater Barisal region. The SWs lost their all personal belongings and daily income too.

Table 4.2 Economic Activities of Madaripur Brothel Areas

Before establishment of the brothel	After establishment of the brothel	After eviction of the brothel	Owners of these business	Daily transaction in and around the brothel		Involvement of local stakeholders	Daily transaction by personal business houses	
				During operation	After Eviction		During Operation	After Eviction
1) Cloth store, Grocery	1) Cloth, hotel, tea stall, jewelry	1) Not like the brothel time	Local people	10,000,000	60,000	SWs, cashier, police,	5,000 Food Stall	400 Food Stall
2) I don't know	2) Drug stall, grocery, tea	2) Most are closed	Local Traders	5,000,000	80,000	Madams, pimps	7,000 Cosmetics	000 Cosmetics
3) Don't know	3) Jewelry, tea	3) Pharmacy, tea stall	Land owners	6,000,000	70,000	Land owners, madams	5,000 Pharmacy	600 Pharmacy
4) Nothing	4) Stationary, parlor, bazar,	4) Tea stall	Land owners	10,000,000	70,000	Sex workers, business	10,000 Hotel	000 Hotel
5) Don't know	5) Bank, NGO office, hotel, parking place	5) Most of them closed	Cashier, land owner	6,000,000	90,000	Local business men	8,000 Tea Stall/Flexi	300 Tea/Flexi
6) Nothing	6) Shoe store, laundry, cloth store	6) Most them closed	SWs, madams	7,000,000	30,000	Local business men	5,000 Stationary	000 Stationary
7) Nothing	7) Flexi load, hotel, office,	7) Most of them closed	Local peoples	7,000,000	70,000	Business men	30,000 Jewelry Shops	1,500 Jewelry Shops

8) Nothing	8) Electronics, cloth stores, tea	8) Nothing	Sex workers	6,000,000	60,000	Business men	20,000 Wine shop	000 Wine shop
9) Hotels	9) Cosmetics, grocery	9) Few food, tea stalls	Leaders, landlords	10,000,000	60,000	Local people, land owners	5,000 Food Corner	200 Food Corner
10) Don't know	10) Drug stall, marriage registry office	10) Bakery, tea stall, Cloth store	Land owner	8,000,000	50,000	Madams, pimps	6,000 Cloth Store	1,500 Cloth Store
Average Daily Transaction				8,800,000	640,000		10,100	450
Average Monthly Transaction				264,000,000	19,200,000		330,000	13,500

4.3 Economic Impact of Kandapara (Tangail) Brothel Eviction

Kandapara brothel was established by the Nowabs/Zamindars during Mughal period and had an expansion during British regime. The brothel is well accepted by the local people and customers from neighboring districts including capital Dhaka frequent SWs there for decades. In and around of this Tangail brothel, there are hundreds of small businesses mostly owned by the madams, babus, local businesspersons, and political leaders. There are several markets and thousands of employees surrounding the brothel areas. Most of these markets rely on SWs and their customers. The brothel was evicted by the local political forces and finally resettled again within couple of months following a direction of High Court. After the eviction, many of the local markets and businesses were forced to close. Some shops have started their operation however, with fewer customers than before.

Several respondents attending group discussions held in Kandapara brothel informed that local MP, municipality Mayor and his brothers and political cadres, Officer-in-Charge (OC) of local police station and couple of influential madams living within the brothel used to collect millions of Taka per month from the local business owners, customers and SWs. Renting a room here in this brothel cost about 50,000 to 100,000 Taka as a bond and 500 to 600 Taka as daily rent. Local political leaders, religious leaders, and, surprisingly, some self-help groups (NGOs) had their lion shares in the meal.

Table 4.3 clearly shows that a huge number of professions and business activities had been developed centering the Kandapara brothel and, because of eviction, these economic activities had gone into wary. However, this brothel has been resettled but, as indicated by multiple sources, the daily average transaction of all business houses during brothel operation in and around Kandapara was about 7.3 million Taka, which had been drastically fall into only about 2.3 lac Taka.

We asked 10 business houses there to speak about their previous and current daily transactions. In reply, of those who still operate their businesses there, said that their average personal sell during brothel operation was 9,800 Taka, and now their daily average transaction had shrunk to only 990 Taka.

Because of eviction, brothel madams, pimps and traders inside the brothel premises lost their houses and businesses, and almost all of them are currently facing serious financial hardships and fall arrears to repay their bank/NGO/lender loans. The SWs lost their all personal belongings and daily income too. The disturbance of this century-old sex establishment also seriously impacts not only the local economic activities but also the overall social balance in and around greater Tangail region.

4.4 Personal financial loss of a SW

In this research, almost all study SWs acknowledged that, on average, they entertain 7 to 10 clients a day and charge them 400 to 600 Taka. per sexual act. Thus, if we calculate the mean number of clients and average fees charged per client, an individual SWs lost Taka. 4,250.00 a day because of their brothel eviction (8.5 client x 500 Taka. = 4,250 per day and 127,500 Taka per month).

Table 4.3 Economic Activities of Kandapara (Tangail) Brothel Area

Before establishment of the brothel	After establishment of the brothel	After eviction of the brothel	Owners of these business	Amount of daily money transaction		Involvement of local stakeholders	Daily transaction by personal business houses (Average)	
				During operation	After Eviction		During operation	After Eviction
1) Nothing	1) Tailors, pharmacy, flexi load	1) Floating hawkers	Outside people, Local Traders	10,000,000	200,000	Police, SWs, Cashier	5,000 Pharmacy	600 Pharmacy
2) Don't know	2) Restaurant, hotel, fruits, cosmetics, drugs	2) Tea, cosmetics, grocery	Outside people, local aged people,	7,000,000	300,000	Madams, pimps, cashiers	10,000 Cosmetics	500 Cosmetics
3) Nothing	3) Ganja, Fencidile, Yaaba, jewelry	3) Food stalls	Madams, land owners	6,000,000	250,000	Land owners, madams	5,000 Food Stall	800 Food Stall
4) Nothing	4) Drugs, ganja, tea, hotels, cloth store, tea	4) Local Wine shop, cosmetics	Local businessmen	10,000,000	200,000	Sex workers, business men	20,000 Local wine shop	2,000 Local wine shop
5) Don't know	5) Market, fast food stall, grocery, flexi load	5) Street hawkers, Flexi	Sex workers, madams, babu	5,000,000	300,000	Local business men	5,000 Tea Stall/Flexi	300 Tea Stall/Flexi
6) Nothing	6) Laundry, grocery, salon, transport	6) Most of them closed	Local people and businessmen	7,000,000	250,000	Local business men	6,000 Stationary Grocery	500 Stationary Grocery
7) Nothing	7) Grocery, hotel, vegetable stall, CD stall, life insurance	7) Nothing Except small shops	Outside people	6,000,000	300,000	Sex workers, business men	30,000 Jewelry Shops	3,000 Jewelry Shops
8) Don't know	8) Grocery, tea, flexi, load, hotel	8) Restaurants	Local women	5,000,000	150,000	Business men	6,000 Restaurant	1,000 Restaurant
9) Nothing	9) Drugs, vegetables, fruits and cigarette stall	9) Nothing except cloth store	Both local & outside people	10,000,000	200,000	Local people	8,000 Cloth Shop	1,000 Cloth Shop
10) Nothing	10) Laundry, flexi load, quack doctors	10) Few exist	Outside of locality, babu	7,000,000	150,000	Madams, pimps	3,000 Quack	200 Quack
Average Daily Transaction				7,300,000	230,000		9,800	990
Average Monthly Transaction				219,000,000	6,900,000		294,000	29,700



CHAPTER 5
Qualitative Findings

5.1 Key Findings of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

A total of 3 (three) FGDs were conducted with the local stakeholders in and around the evicted study brothels. The number of participants per group ranged between 10 to 12. The summary findings of these FGDs are discussed below. An elaborate discussion is attached as Annexure-1.

FGD Findings : Fultola Brothel

Fultala brothel of Khulna was established before the independence of Bangladesh. Local administration and political/religious leaders have evicted this brothel several times during the last 2 decades. Recently, newly elected local chairman evicted this brothel on 3rd September 2015. The reason behind the eviction is controversial.

As observed by the participants, a brothel cashier, local chairman, brothel madams and local police manage the power structure of the vicinity. Government agencies did not have much role to manage this brothel. This area used to be known as Godown road, but now the road is known as "Nati Bari Road" (whorehouse road). Before taking any girl inside the brothel, she has to be licensed, notarized and we have to pay the police



Tk. 5000 per girl. They have an affidavit where it is written that because of the girl's incapability to do some other works they had chosen this profession. Since her age is 18, she can do this for her survivability. Sometimes if the girl is under 18, she makes her license by giving bribe. As observed by SWs, "We do not receive any facility from the government. Little help we used to get is from Non-government organisation. Government does not even treat us as human beings. If they care, they would not kick us in the belly."

As observed by SWs: "The electricity of the brothel was disconnected seven days before the eviction. However, the girls could not go out because the gate was locked. Nobody had imagined that something like this would happen. Local chairman said that there would be no sex workers living in this area. Moreover, if he is to find someone he will slaughter her. The girls asked for help in so many places but nobody helped them. Those who like us, mostly NGO workers, cannot go against the government. One Journalist observed: "Because of this eviction the incidents of rape had increased in this area. Some NGO workers/SWs noted: "The brothel was evicted for political causes. There was a huge drug business going on beside the sex business. Police used to raid this place very often. In addition, if they had found an underage girl, we had to bribe them. Sometimes they used to wait outside and took money from those who are going inside." One SW noted further: "I was scared of what to do as I had never done this work outside. Many girls went to work at the mill but they could not sustain that much of physical labour and some of them fell sick. Some of the girls have gone to India with their clients. Some have gone to other brothels like Doulathdia, Baniasanta, and Mymensing etc. Everyone keeps in touch hoping that she can come back to her own place someday. It would be much easier just to kill us and throw our bodies in the drain to rot."

SWs Leaders: "The NGO's could not play any role at the time of eviction. There were two DICs here before, and now both of them are shut down. As noted by a local businessman/Banik Samity: "This brothel was the centre of Fultola Bazar. Now all the shops and stores are shut down. We suffered huge economic loss. There will be no permanent benefits if they are evicted without proper rehabilitation."

FGD Findings : Madaripur Brothel

As noted by journalists and local elites attending the FGD: "This brothel is about 250 years old and it was one of the few brothels which survived British and Pakistan regime. The people of West Pakistan built this in association with British white people. In addition, people who used to come here for their business would visit this brothel. A plan to evict this brothel had started just after our independence. There were about 23 houses here, which had more than 600 rooms. More than 1500 girls used to live here.

A senior journalist and local level leaders stated: "There was a mosque situated next to the brothel. In addition, the property was disputed as 90% of the mosque's property was inside the brothel area. The religious people would get offended due to the dispute and try to evict the girls. They used to start a fire to scare people off. However, that was temporary. This time the eviction seemed permanent." Local level leaders stated: "The number of rape has increased since the eviction of this brothel on 27 August 2007. Police tried to provide some protection to the girls at the time of eviction, but they failed ultimately."

Madams/senior SWs: "These girls cannot live alone. A list was supposed to be done for their rehabilitation. However, nothing was done black and white. We filed writ petition twice in the high court against our eviction. The decision was in our favour. We could stay in the brothel provided, if we follow specific rules. This was done in the year 2012, but in reality, everything went in vain. Local minister and his goons violated the high court orders clearly for their political gains and to grab this land."

A senior journalist: "When I tried to talk on the behalf of the sex workers, people got angry with me." Madams: "The local people talked deceivngly. They would say something in front of the sex workers and something else in front of the officials. They encouraged some of the property owners to evict their houses. Thousands of people gathered and chaos started. There was looting and beatings too. It was a horrible night. I have not seen the chaos of 1971, but I believe that night was horrible than that. The NGOs those supported these girls were attacked too. Their offices were beaten too. Our girls were raped too."



One senior NGO leader: "The manager of CACP came to me and asked for my help to provide accommodation for these girls as no one would rent their houses to them. The girls came to us and cried for help. Some girls stayed nearby after the eviction. The rest went to Faridpur, Jessore, Doulathdia, and Tangail brothels. The girls are now trying hard to earn a living. They are still involved in the sex business. They have to work beside roads, riverbanks, bus stands, rail lines etc. It is all scattered now. Some NGOs still try to look after them. We lost our children during the eviction. There was a school named Agami School where 112 kids used to study. It is closed now. All DICs are also closed here."

One senior brothel house owner/madam: "These girls were evicted before and came back after sometimes. Nevertheless, it is not possible this time. We tried to protest against the eviction. However, all of efforts went in vain." Another madam: "There were so many social and political reasons behind this eviction. There was no help from the government. Now there is no help from any NGO or government organizations. They cut off our water and power supply in the name of rehabilitation. Nobody gave us a single drop of water. We left this place empty handed in the morning."

Senior SW: "So many economic activities were going on in and around the brothel. A daily loss of near one crore Taka was caused due to this eviction. The business is doomed here. The local businesspersons wanted these girls to stay. However, nobody could come out and raise their voice for the girls. There were 2000 shops in and around the brothel and most of these are closed now."

If our girls go to a government hospital or a clinic, they cannot reveal their identity. A few days ago, two of the sex workers died in a hospital without any treatment. They were buried as unclaimed before we would bury them as our own."

Madam: "Most of these girls have their voter ID and birth certificates though they use brothel as their permanent address. Local people have been kind to them. Otherwise, they would not get any house for rent and could not live here. Minor girls take Oradexon so that they could grow prematurely and look older. We, the property owners do not want them to take Oradexon, however they take those in secret. Because of Oradexon, one of the girls suffered from brain tumour. Sometimes I get in touch with the girls living outside. They rented houses outside and work there. All of them are sick and worried about their future. Some of them are working as floating sex workers. Some had married their clients. However, not everyone wants to marry them. The worst condition is of those who could not return to their own home though they were the one who would maintain their family. In addition, as they were unable to provide money after the eviction, they were kicked out from their homes.

These girls are not used to physical labour. It is very hard for them to work in mills or factories. Still they are doing whatever they can to earn some money. You cannot imagine what works they have to do. They are cleaning streets, collecting woods, supplying water in the restaurants, all these for so small livelihood. The living condition was well at the Madaripur brothel. It was neat and clean. We used to get many facilities. They used to live happily. They had TV, fridge and even sofa set too. Their rooms were not so small but were arranged nicely."

Journalist: "There was no safe home or shelter for the sex workers in Madaripur. The NGO's could not play an effective role. In addition, there was no coverage of the media too as no journalist was allowed to enter the brothel."

Madam: "Many pregnant girls were evicted too. We requested so much saying that these girls would leave once they had their babies, but no one listened. SWs cannot cope up with outer world and want to return to the brothel. They are suffering a lot. Actually, they want to return to the

brothel as all of them are suffering from insecurity. The houses are still there in the brothel and it is very much possible to arrange employments for these girls within or outside the brothel. I want my 1500 girls to live and survive at subsistence level. We had asked so many girls about what if they had employments. In reply, they said, to survive in the society they would need husbands too. Jamai jugar kore din, ei pesha chere dibo."

Human rights activist: "There is no chance of rehabilitation from the government. Actually, they need their brothel back. These girls want to stay in their old profession, as they can never return home. They can never get married. Some of the young girls asked, you could arrange our marriage one by one. You just take the young girls and do not worry about the elders. It would be better if these girls could get jobs at garments factory. The minister, who is also the chairman of the labour union, told them to leave their profession. However, they did not agree. If staying here is a problem, government can arrange a free property outside the city area for the SWs."

Senior madam: "They will engage themselves in their old profession even if they are employed in some other professions. So, it's better for them to rehabilitate here rather than somewhere else."

FGD Findings: Kandapara Brothel, Tangail

This important FGD was conducted with the brothel community and other stakeholders to evaluate their attitudes towards the eviction of this Kandapara brothel. The findings are:

NGO activists/Journalists/SWs: "Kandapara is a 200 years old brothel and has been here since the British regime. There were seven brothels/Baiji Mahal here in the past, almost all of them established by the local Zamindars. The last Baiji Mahal was evicted in 12 June 2014. Afterwards, a women lawyer of BNWLA made a writ petition in the high court. Local political thugs tried to evict the brothel for many times. However, after the writ, the brothel was re- established on 2nd December 2014. After the high court's ruling, local administration did not

stop SWs as they visited the DC and took the final order of reestablishment. The family responsible for this eviction has gone hiding for various reasons. They are trapped with Faruk's murder case and thus they are all fugitive."

"The local DC visited here during the time of eviction, though he was against this. I have talked to him and with various NGOs. Since most of the properties of this brothel belonged to the sex workers, the main reason behind the eviction was to grab their land. On the other hand, there was 100% political reason too. Some political persons triggered the fanatic Muslim units here and finally the Khan family came into scene. The convoy from Khan family came to the brothel and threatened the SWs. If the sex workers would not leave the place, they would burn the whole area. So many SWs escaped earlier. Later these people were engaged in demolishing the houses there and looting. They robbed the trucks, which were loaded with the girls' stuffs. Most of the 900 evicted SWs could not take their belongings. SWs could not rent houses locally and some of them were tortured in the city areas."

"There was a complete cycle of lifestyle based on the brothel activities. About 50-60% business activities of that area were dependent on the girls' income. The clients and the businessmen faced a lot of trouble after the eviction. Khan Family, in association with local Mullahs, tried to evict this brothel early in 2006, but we anyhow managed to secure it."

"The cadres of the political leader took the shelter of local administration and planned for the eviction because of property. People from Australian high commission and UNDP came to talk with us after many days. The Khan family demolished everything by bulldozer. There was political power structure within and outside the brothel. Four foreign ambassadors



visited this place but they could not intrude into the brothel. The SWs and other people of this brothel became so helpless after the eviction and many SWs left Kandapara forever."

"After their return, the SWs built their own houses again in an open field by their own money. No journalist covered that news though the rights issues of SWs were in talks in the mainstream society. Is there any law which allows anyone to allot my recorded land to me?" There was neither any activist from human rights who stayed beside us nor the MJF. During the eviction period, not a single NGO or a person stood beside the SWs. The leading NGOs were silent too. The NGOs started micro credit business here rather than concentrating on human rights issues of SWs. The police was guarding the brothel during the time of eviction. But the main performer of the eviction was a local political gangster."

"All projects are stopped for the SWs for the last 2.5 months. PSTC is closed; the NGO does not supply condoms free anymore. The SWs need to buy condoms now from local shops. Global Fund worked with the SWs but now all of their activities are closed. More than 60% SWs take clients without condoms. What is the use of Global Fund or other donor supported programs if they are not sustainable?"

5.2 Key Findings of KII

Twelve (12) KIIs were conducted with the local stakeholders in and around the evicted study brothels. The findings are as follows:

Sex Worker Leader, Tangail

Aklima Begum Akhi (40) is a SW's leader and currently running a local NGO close to Kandapara brothel, Tangail. In her words: about 54 people (with 59 houses) own Kandapara brothel. Milon chairman once tried to evict us, though he was unsuccessful as the high court passed a decision in favour of us. The living condition of this place was not good earlier as it is now. Various NGOs are working with us and trying to extend some facilities, mostly health care, to the SWs. Most of the girls here are deprived, illiterate, and not aware of their rights. They came to this profession in dire need of money. Almost all of them were present at the time of eviction but they did not get enough time to prepare themselves for protest. Among the listed 929 girls, there were about 600 present only. We tried to go to mayor's house but were refused to enter there. If we had protested against them, we would not be alive now. We were threatened of our lives. That is why we kept quiet.

In a word, they had destroyed the brothel, not the sex business. Those people gave us just an hour to leave this 130 years old brothel. Some people were standing at the gates with patrol. The prime reason was to claim the 3.5 acre of land owned by the brothel. However, there were religious reasons too. Those people were successful to aggravate the religious people against us. The politicians said that this was done to save the society though we had no trouble with any politician or society. Our land was their main target. In addition, they thought it would be an easy

job once we were gone. They used to take money from us. However, that was a small amount of money compared to this land. There were many businesses going on based on this brothel. About 20,000 people used to work in around the brothel of 4,000 sex workers. There were shops of every types- grocery, jewellery, clothes etc. Hundreds of people used to walk on these streets. A person would spend about 2000 Tk. daily here and about 100 million Tk. worth of business was going around.

Lot of people have been benefitted due to this brothel. Among them, there were businessmen, transportation labours, hotel owners, police, rickshaw puller, butcher etc. Especially the sex workers and the businessmen were the most benefitted. Moreover, the NGO who were working for the girls would also get large sum of money from the donors.

Sex workers as well as various types of working class people were affected due to this eviction. Business was collapsed and some were forced to close shops. The number of clients decreased rapidly. These clients were the main buyers at the shops. All of the businessmen had to suffer a big loss. The whole city of Tangail had become a graveyard. The demand of sex is higher than the demand for clothes. Therefore, this business will survive in the end. All the businessmen wanted the brothel to remain there but could not speak up. They were afraid that everyone would say bad words about them. The present condition of all the sex workers is horrible. Some of them have returned and others have joined other brothels. Those who evicted us are fugitives now. All of them have been charged with the Faruk murder case. When Rubi was our leader, the evictors took 23 lac Taka from us. In all these years, they have taken a lot of money from us.

Most of the girls here have their regular clients (Babu). We do not charge them for food and accommodation. Some of these clients are political leaders. These people became filthy rich. They are always looking for a chance to take money for us. They lure the girls with the proposal of a marriage and to have a family, these girls accept all their conditions. Actually, most of the clients are fraud. Nobody really loves these girls. The girls do not understand that these clients are there as long as the money is there. Once the money is gone, so is the client. We did not see a

single client at the time of our eviction. Nevertheless, they have returned soon after we have returned. These devils are always looking for a way to take money from the girls.

It was 11th day of Ramadan in the year of 2014 when they tore down this brothel apart. This means the girls were being kicked at the belly, as they did not have any other income source. Those desolators asked us to build up a wall around the brothel as the girls could be seen from outside. They claimed if someone sees these girls, his prayer would not be accepted. We spent 2.5 lakhs Taka to build up that wall. At that time, they came to know about the brothel's land property and a plan was started to acquire this land. On the day of eviction, they came at around 11 am and gave us 1-hour notice to leave the brothel. They threatened to beat us. We left the brothel once they started to threaten to burn down our houses. Some tried to transfer their belongings by truck or van. Nevertheless, they were unsuccessful. Everything was mugged. Those trucks were looted. Sajib and Mannan were among the looters. My friend Marjina had 7.5 lac Taka cash at her house. She had an IPS and some jewellery too. All of these were looted. They cut off the power and water supply of the brothel. They even tried to enter my house. However, I kept my door locked and as soon as I got a chance, I escaped by wearing a Burqua. If I was caught, I would be dead already.

Haider commissioner of Ward No.11, Tangail used to take a lot of money from us. He was the main culprit behind this eviction. I went to Human Rights Commission as soon as I heard about the eviction. I even went to the mayor's house but he refused to come out. Many meetings were held at Madrasas and Mosques to evict us. Many political leaders spoke against us in their gatherings. The henchmen of these people were behind all the lootings. Many girls were sexually harassed. They have tortured the girls in different places even after the eviction.

It was proved on that day that sex workers do not have any rights. Human rights were thrown at the streets with the girls. We are not considered as citizens let alone human beings. Nobody gave us any shelter. No one would rent his or her house to us. Two women, four elderlies and four kids died on that day. Nobody looked out for us. Many have joined other brothels due to poverty. SWs got beat up in the streets but no one came to help them. I went to the chairman of local Awami

League. However, he did not listen to what I had said. Then I went to D.C. sir. I cried for help and he suggested contacting the human rights commission. D.C. sir was a kind-hearted person. There was no food for the girls on the Eid day even. I tried to contact D.C. sir, tried to contact some journalists, and even called Khan Bahadur Sir. However, no one would come forward to help the girls. They had to celebrate Eid with empty stomach. Those regular clients also avoided these girls as if they did not know them.

I think the amount of torture at the time of eviction was much more than of 1971. All the so-called gentlemen of the society were neglecting them. Those who used to come at night would forget everything in the morning. The girls could not go to other brothels because they had to pay 50,000 Taka to join there. They did not have much cash with them. Nobody would rent houses and those who did were threatened as well.

Most of the girls lost their ID cards during the eviction. Later when I went to recover their IDs, commissioner Haider filed a false case of human trafficking against me. He was always rooting for our loss. Some of the girls have bank accounts. Still when they go out people would look at them with disgust. They have to go out wearing Burkas so that no one can recognize them, they do not get any help from the government even then.

It is true that human rights have been violated during the eviction, but the aftermath was more devastating. However, some of these girls had houses outside but they could not live there because of all the torture. Powerful people of the society used to go to them. As a result, they were forced to work outside. Many of the girls had older parents living in the village who were dependent on their income. In addition, they were forced to engage into sex works at hotels or other places. Clients from outside do not tend to use condoms, as a result these girls were at a huge health risk. Some of them were suffering from HIV infection. Even a bird has its own nest, but not these girls. They were not only homeless but also suffering from other problems too. Whatever they had, been gone and they had been tortured. Some of them had even gone mad. Still they were strong willed saying, "We won't leave Tangail until those desolators are being punished." They used to earn so much before and used to have so much fun. Now they are scared all the time. They are working very hard to build up houses. Sometimes policemen threat them

and take money from their clients. Good-looking girls are earning a little bit more than the other girls. None of these girls can mingle with people from the society. I live with my son in a rental house outside the brothel. However, no one knows about my involvement here. If they knew, I could not live there anymore.

The police have a huge influence on the brothel. They used to raid the brothel regularly. Sometimes they would harass the clients for money. We suffered a loss of about 3 lac Taka every time police raided the brothel. This has reduced slightly but the harassment of the clients is still going on. Whenever we try to oppose them, they threaten us with false cases. We requested the police so much to help us fight the eviction but they were just standing there doing nothing. However, they helped us when we returned. They do not threaten us anymore but take money from the clients.

There had been many NGOs working for these girls of this brothel since its beginning but no government organizations were there. Even, no NGO were in control of the brothel. However, some political figures tried to take control over the brothel but we did not let them to take control. However, we had to pay them a lot to keep them at the bay. I believe there should be some official control of the brothel with a tax system. Otherwise, many people will try to take control forcefully. We have a registered organization where the girls keep some money too. Businessmen still want us to be here and they want this place to run smoothly. Some of them would look to us with their helpless looks.

What can I recommend? All I want them is to live happily. Still if you ask me, I would say:

- First, we have to amend the law that was formed in the year 2012. It states that if someone uses his property for sex business he will be facing criminal charges.
- The view of political and religious leaders has to be changed. They are the ones who tortured us a lot. Some NGOs should be formed to work in this matter.
- The rude behavior of the police has to be reduced. They are to enforce law, not to harm the sex workers. The sex workers should be properly dignified so that no one can evict them as they wish.

The elders should be taken care of. All of them should get proper civil rights.

- All the support to the sex workers should be provided directly. There should be no intermediary involved. The chairman and members work as middlemen and they are the ones who are corrupted the most. To improve the environment inside, all the drugs and liquor business has to be stopped.
- Most of the people in the society look at us with disgust. This view has to be changed. We are not things just to be used and forgotten. People think of us as money machines and whenever required they would take money forcefully. This has to be stopped as well.
- The most important of all is that no brothels should be evicted. The dirty game of controlling brothels has to be stopped. The environment has to be improved inside and police force should be there for their protection. Corruption and bribing has to be removed from this country.
- The government can take action if they want. I believe sex workers should not be deprived of their basic human rights. If required, they should be rehabilitated. All the wrong doings and torturing on them have to be stopped. They should be provided adequate security so that they can live their life like other citizens.

Babu/ Businessman, Tangail

We have taken an interview of a shopkeeper beside Tangail brothel. Because of the eviction, they faced many losses. According to them, this eviction was illegal and they are still frightened. While he was talking with us, he did not share everything he wanted to. The cause and effect of the eviction according to him are highlighted below:

In this brothel, the SWs have the legal right to stay as the high court issued ruling for them. In the past there was about 6 to 7 thousand girls but now the number is 6/7 hundred. The rest of them are out of network. Some of them escaped because of this eviction. Most of the houses are

demolished; goods were also looted as well as my shop was also demolished. Everyone knows who did this. However, none of them has the power to protest against them. Even though, the people who protested against the eviction could not say anything because of fear. In my opinion, it is a pre-planned eviction. The environment of the brothel was approximately good. I think the usage of drug has increased more now than before.

There formed huge trading surrounded by the brothel. There were many types of business like groceries, cloth shops, raw markets and ornaments etc. Every day minimum 4/5 thousand people used to come here in the past and the sex workers also spent a lot of money in the market, as their income was good. After the brothel eviction, the sex workers tried to mix with the society but they faced many problems. They could not mix with the mainstream society because they always had social stigma, slender with them. They cannot cope up with the society.

Because of this eviction, sex worker and businessperson faced much insecurity and always had to remain in fear. The situation of some sex worker was really pathetic. They could not earn money and could not mix with the society. Nobody accepted them in the society. I personally saw them roaming in the road at mid night. They worked hard to earn money but everyone just used them without payment. At the time of eviction, police was present there but they did not help them rather they tried to harass them. I think they should be given all rights by keeping them in this profession because they may not be adjusted with another profession. Most of them wanted to remain in this profession. Earlier, they did not want to remain in this profession but now they want it.

Journalist, Tangail

The young boys and students visited the brothel in the past. That is why the local people tried a lot to evict the brothel in 2006 but could not. However, in 2014, they succeeded because of various reasons. The main reason was the ownership of the land. There are 17-18 owners of this land. Municipality Mayor and his brother, one MP, and one president from the chambers league were behind the eviction. Since they are

politically powerful, nobody protested against the eviction. We the journalist tried to stop it but could not make it up.

This brothel was evicted in October 2014. It reopened after seven to eight months later. The life standard of this brothel is very low. SWs need license before joining this profession. However, most of the licenses are fake; these are actually the affidavits. The under aged children are forced to take Oradexon to look older. We formed teams to check Oradexon practices within the brothel. We found 150 girls who are taking the medicine and they are being smuggled from place to place since 2004.

Before the latest eviction, I heard some scandals and talked with the Mayor regarding the issues. He assured me that nothing would happen. Nevertheless, all of a sudden they evicted the brothel. I was out of Tangail during that period. When I returned there, I found all the houses were broken and smashed. I was surprised with the politics of them. There were 929 listed girls in the brothel. Their main motive of this eviction was to gain the land property and thus they triggered the religious leaders and used them as a social protector. There were hundreds of businesses around this brothel. Thousands of people used to visit this place. The regular transaction of this place was of around 20-25 lakh BD Tk. There was a chain of business around and inside the brothel. That is why the businessmen wanted to rebuilt the brothel for their overall betterment.

The four brothers' plan and intension did not function well as they did not get the ownership of the land. The administration system of Tangail is very strong. The current OC is very loyal and helpful. However, the gangster ousted the brothel and vandalized everything as much as they could. The girls managed to stay outside after the eviction. Some took houses on rent, some were shifted to other brothels and some came back to this brothel. Many of them have their own national ID card and bank account too.

Their main trouble after the eviction was the shelter. After the resettlement, the situation is improved as their children are studying in some good schools. Day by day, they are mingling with the mainstream society and the people are accepting them in a normal way. After the eviction, they faced some serious financial crisis as well as they were

indebted. The lower ranked officers used to make intercourse with the new girls and threatened them. However, they are so threatened that they could hardly take help or ask other for help after the eviction.

In my opinion, the government or the local administration should take necessary steps to maintain the surveillance of this brothel. In a word, overall monitoring and mentoring of the girls are needed. They need proper counselling to recover their condition. Now a day they face a lot of insecurity and their unsecured condition is beyond imagination. They are very marginal and vulnerable. To me, eviction is not the positive or effective way. The govt. should take steps to make the local environment better. The government should make sure that other girls should not join this profession again. Those who are willing to come to this profession should be above 18 years old. Last, but not the least, SWs should get the opportunity to walk side by side with the mainstream society.

NGO, Tangail

We talked to a NGO worker from Nari Mukti Shomiti named Sabetry Ghosh. She was present there while the brothel was being evicted. We have a lot of information about that brothel from her.

She says, the ambience of this brothel was comparatively well, but the living standard was low. Clients are not coming like before. SWs are not getting free condoms from anywhere and they often engaged in unprotected sex with clients for more money.

SWs' and their kids are denied their basic human rights in every sector. SWs visit the service points hiding their identity, often wearing Burka (veil). Evictors threatened them to leave that place within two hours. During that time girls flew away from that place. People around the place just watched that incident but could not say anything. The municipal Mayor Lutfor Rahman Mukti was directly involved with that eviction. He deployed religious people and priests against the sex workers. Most of the businessmen lost their businesses during this eviction. After losing everything SWs' conditions are like as street beggars. These girls are as like as social workers. They only meet the demand of the society.

Only for the sacrifice of these girls, the womenfolk of your greater society can come out to work without any hesitation and risk. Otherwise, the ladies from your family could be the victim of sexual harassment. I feel that the SWs are friends of us.

Nobody will believe how they tortured these girls while they were leaving the brothel. SWs were plundered, beaten and sexually harassed on that day. Those who wanted to take rent outside of the brothel also been tortured. I think that there was no political issue involved there; it was the greed to grab the land. On the other side, religious people think that they are unholy. SWs are detrimental for praying. It was "Haram" while carrying their dead bodies in front of them. SWs are responsible for spreading diseases in the society.

I think that the SWs had support from the government. Without government support, they could not get verdict of high court in favour of them. They came back with the verdict of high court. They are the citizens of this country. The people of that area have now realized the importance of these sex workers. After eviction of the brothel, sexual harassment and rape rate were increased. In that situation, our mothers and sisters were in fear of going outside. When those sex workers came back, the clients started to come back again regularly. Even the SWs could not finish rebuilding their homes for the rush of clients. Now the local businessmen have realized the importance of the SWs of this brothel.

Behaviours of the Police against the SWs were so rude that it cannot be described in words. These policemen used to do lot of things in the brothel; having sex free, taking bribe, looting money and giving threats to the SWs and clients were very common. When the sex workers were leaving that brothel, attitudes of the local police were as like that, they were not even watching anything. Most of the people wanted to loot the valuables of SWs. CARE, MJF, CACP, HASAB, ICCDR, B, BWHC and some other NGOs tried to help the SWs after the eviction.

Government should be aware of the children of sex workers. It is very important to maintain that no girl of a sex worker is going to be like her mother. It is also important to take steps about their boys and they should not be criminals. It is also important to change the perception of the people of the society against sex working as a profession.

KII: Babu (Fultola)

All the girls of the brothel had licenses. The people who controlled the brothel tortured the sex workers. The cashier Mosto was the person who controlled it mainly. However, no one of them could say anything against him. Some people took permission from the local police station and they controlled it. They extorted money from there. They tortured the most. Many sex workers did not have parents and they were the victims of the pimps mostly. The SWs were very helpless. Before eviction, there were many businesses around the brothel running from morning to late night. However, all of them are closed now. They suffered from a huge loss.

There were many types of businesses but the drug business was much known; the brothel had Bangla mod, Phensidyl, Ganja, and Yaba. Cashier used to sell them personally inside and outside of the brothel. Only one drug stall was permitted but others were illegal. Local people used to come here secretly. The previous OC and the cashier Mosto had a good relation. There were 4/5 hotels, pharmaceutical stores, grocery shops, garments, jewelry shops and many other types of stalls. I think these businesspersons suffered more loss than the sex workers, because the sex workers could find other brothels or floating businesses but most of the businesses of these businessmen were closed and they had to find alternative businesses like being rickshaw/van puller, working at streets etc.

Sex workers had no one of their own and they were so much helpless. They actually worked according to the orders Mosto so he was the culprit. This eviction was illegal. If anyone went against Mosto, he would lock her in the room and all SWs were afraid of him. In fact, it was needed to evict drugs not the sex workers.

As a citizen of Bangladesh, I have some fundamental rights. Alike me the sex workers also deserve these rights. They have rights to do sex work. Though I do not know the laws, I think it is illegal to evict any brothel. This brothel became the center of drug business rather than sex business. Sex business was losing the demands because of drug business. In the previous days, these girls used to earn more. However, they could not even afford their daily cost after the drug business became the main business. Still now, many sex workers are waiting for it to restart.

The local people complained about drug business, not the sex business. They thought that if the drug business continued, the young generation would become addicted. The community people went against the brothel when the drug business was soaring. There was information available regarding the association of political leaders, police and local people with this business.

When the brothel was running, the amount of daily transaction was quite good. During Eid time, the daily transaction was above 5/6 lac Taka in the brothel area. The businessmen earned a lot of money through the business of drug from the brothel. Many petty businessmen were involved with this brothel. Most of the hotels related to this brothel are closed now. Most of them are waiting for the brothel to reopen.

According to the house owners, a meeting was held at the DC office. However, I do not know what actually happened there. Before eviction, clients could not enter into the brothel for 2 months. The girls here got very short time to leave with their necessary things while eviction took place. The present condition of this brothel is diminishing. If some organizations work to restart this brothel then it will be good for the sex workers. Local businesspersons have become desperate to run their business again.

I think the sex workers should be provided with the legal rights like a normal citizen. They should not face discrimination due to their work. Police did not torture them but threatened them. After eviction, Mosto tried to harass the sex workers. The SWs are always the victims of social exclusion and never get their social rights.

When they stay at brothel, it is safe for them but when they go outside, they face social stigma and exclusion. The floating sex workers face serious consequences. They bear all stigmas for livelihood. They are now at risk, threatened and unsecured. They cannot cope with the mainstream society. Though some of them do not do this work on their own will, all of them are victims and they are excluded from society. During elections, the leaders come to them and try to store reliance in them. After election, these leaders become invisible for them. The businesspersons want this brothel because their businesses go with this brothel. However, they have never come in the front.

Before eviction, the authority assured them about providing foods but they did not. They did not get any food for continuous 7 days and due to the lack of foods, the sex workers left the place. It took probably 5 to 7 days for all the girls to go. They started to live far away from the brothel otherwise they would face many problems. Before, after, and during eviction they did not get any help either from the government or from NGOs. All these sex workers faced many helpless situations and searched for shelters. The society did not want this eviction. During the holy month of Ramadan, there was transaction of 6/7 lac BD Taka per day. When the SWs were in brothel, they had all necessary things. After eviction, they could not afford their daily needs and they have become the burden on the society. Day by day, they are becoming poor and helpless. Society still excludes them and they never attend any occasion or party.

As the sex workers have license, the police or administration never harass them. However, the floating sex workers face many problems. After the eviction, police/administration did not help the sex workers. Earlier, many NGOs were with the SWs. However, no government organization helped them. "Alokito Nari Unnayon Samiti" was always with them for other services. Government was not involved in the regulation of brothel either. NGOs worked to arrange loan for them and provided them various advices. The attitudes of other stakeholders were different. The stakeholders who were dependent on them they considered them as good but the others considered them as bad. During eviction, many NGOs came forward to stop the eviction but could not. The sex workers helped each other. If anyone got shelter, she tried to give shelter to the others. I think brothel should not run under any personal control because the sex workers get tortured by that person in the name of money, possession of the business etc. In Bagherhat brothel, police used to come to investigate if there was any drug or illegality after evening. In this brothel, these rules should be practiced.

My recommendation is, like transgenders, these sex workers should be treated with importance and should be provided with the fundamental rights. If I face any dangerous situation, other people of the society will come to help me but they will never help the sex workers to solve their problems. That is why they cannot go anywhere and become victims.

They should have their rights ensured through the ordinance or parliament. Government and sex workers can work together. It is a democratic country, so we all have equal rights. If they work together, the SWs can hope to get their rights. Our society should change the present attitudes towards sex workers. They are landless, family less; they have chosen this work for their livelihood. Therefore, they should be treated as normal citizens of the country.

My request to the government is that they should work for the sex workers' well-being. They are so much helpless. They become victims every time. If this brothel starts again under the control of police and government authorization and if there is no cashier like Mosto, the sex workers' rights will be secured. I think if the brothels are controlled and investigated on a regular basis by local police then it will be of extremely helpful for the sex workers.

KII: Police (Fultola, Khulna)

I think all the brothels of Bangladesh need to have permission from the government. As far as I know this brothel did not have any permission. I have come here 2 months 6 days ago. After coming here, I heard that they were already gone. If they had the permission, the government obviously would look after them. However, they had no such permission and were evicted.

People of the local community do not want this brothel to reopen as they think the environment of this area has become decent now. Earlier, the young people used to come to this brothel and some of them were married. I do not know about SWs' present condition, but none of them came to me. The sex workers were evicted on 30 August. I came here on 6 September. I did not see any of them and did not get any complain from them.

It is not an eviction; it is a resettlement. Each of them took ten thousands Taka and went on their own will. They signed on the resettlement forms before going. When there is an eviction, the government helps them but it is not an eviction, it is a resettlement. The local community wanted

them to go away from there. All the citizens of the society have equal rights no matter who he or she is. Many powerful leaders did meeting and seminar with them and fixed a date for their going. Nobody raised their voice because it was a re-habilitation and they went on their own will. As we are an Islamic country, nobody wants this profession. Nobody talks on behalf of this. Most of the local politicians agreed with this re-habilitation.

During their leaving, there was no movement and protest because it was a re-habilitation. We cannot understand their present situation and place in the society, as they never come to the police station with any complaint. We think they are living like the other people in our society. They are not residents of a fixed place and that is why I do not have any information of whether they have national ID or not. We have not heard about their present situations so we do not know about their current state. In the presence of many people, they took the money and police helped this time. Not only police but also other organizations helped them to go away from this brothel.

CSS and other NGOs provided them health services. I do not have any information about rendering any governmental help to them while the brothel was there. However, police stayed there all the time for their security; otherwise, they could not be able to live there. They had some local people as their authority to regulate their brothel. Police had no connection with their regulation. The local community resettled them for their own benefits. They gave their own money to send them away from that place and it was not from the governmental help. I do not have any information whether there were any protests by NGOs regarding this issue.

Anyone can claim his or her rights in the society. All are equal to me. The sex workers are the victims. Society looks them separately but it is not fair. It is necessary for a sex worker not to be treated differently. They should enter into the mainstream. As they are the members of our society, they are like the other citizens and they can work under the supervision of the government. Sex working is a natural matter and the senior citizens of our society know about it. Religion never supports this profession, but the SWs should not be evicted like this. Our government should help them adequately providing economic support, shelter and alternative jobs. If our government works for them, it will be fruitful and

the SWs should be resettled properly. This profession should not stay in our society. All the sex workers want to live a normal life so they should get that help and it is our responsibility.

KII: Political Leader (Fultola, Khulna)

I think there is not a single sex worker who comes here willingly, all are victims. So many seminars and meetings held here on this issue. Some local political leaders helped them. I do not know about the previous environment but the current situation of this area is good. There is no bad people, no harassment, and no obligations.

Now it has been evicted, but I think it is wrong to evict them. All the sex workers worked here maintaining the rules. After eviction, they have no rules and regulations. HIV risk has been increased as most of the girls are working now as floating sex workers and they do not have secured situations to run their work. The girls who work there have their licenses so they have all rights to continue their work. When they are evicted, all human rights are violated. According to governmental rules, these girls have permission and rights but I think it is good to bring them to normal life. I do not know everything about the actual rules regarding this profession. There is obviously a gap between the rules and the practice in regulating the brothels. The sex workers and the NGOs both need to protest against eviction.

When a sex worker stays in the brothel, she is safe but when she goes outside, the local community reproaches them. No one accepts them. Obviously, there was a political association with the brothel. Few leaders liked to keep them because they had personal interests though most of the people did not like. There were many stalls and few drugs stalls. The drug stalls were run as some people liked to take drugs during intercourse. These businesspersons have not recovered the loss. Most of them have closed their business.

I do not know the actual reason of this eviction because during eviction, I was not present there. May be the religious people and the powerful people have done this eviction and the sex workers are the sufferers. I know, few political leaders, chairman and many other people were

related with the regulation of the brothel. I do not have any information about the violations of SWs' rights during the eviction. However, some violations of law might have happened there during the process. The sex workers are still at risk as some local leaders still threaten them. As they are outside the brothel, they are more victimized now by the society. They face social discriminations too, and most of them are excluded from their family. After eviction, sexual risk has been increased, as these SWs are outside and working as floating sex workers. Now, they cannot take their necessary protection to protect their sexual acts with their customers. They are looked at from a narrow point of view from both social and political level. When they were at brothel people wanted them for their own interest. Still the businessmen want them for their business. They are still at risk and in vulnerable situation and cannot cope up with the mainstream society.

The SWs are suffering from many psychological disorders. Few of them tried to commit suicide. Still they cannot cope up with their financial problems. They are getting indebted day by day. The police did not want to evict the brothel because they used to get a fixed amount of money from the madams. Many policemen used to come to do sex without payment. Sometimes they threatened the sex workers and harassed them. They raided the brothel to look for drugs. However, during eviction, the police were there and they saved the sex workers from ravage.

Many NGOs were involved with them but I am not sure about the involvement of government. NGOs gave them health services and many other advices to help them. Some stakeholders considered them as normal but some considered them as immoral. NGOs protested against eviction and they organized meetings at DC office for sex workers. There is no clear information about whether NGOs and other social workers are currently working to overcoming SWs' problems. When a girl becomes a sex worker then she is excluded from her family and has no connection with them. If this brothel is reopened, it will be very good for the sex workers and the businessmen. The sex workers cannot go anywhere and as they have no other options but becoming floating sex workers. Earlier, they received help from the NGOs but now they do not get it. There is no information available about the policy and regulations settled by government or any other authorities

to protect sex workers. I think if government accommodates them in a secured place then all the businesses of brothels will be regulated systematically and it will be proved beneficial for them.

KII: NGO (Fultola, Khulna)

We work for the brothel-based and floating sex workers. The sex workers stay in the brothel maintaining rules and regulations. If anyone goes beyond the rules, she will be punished. They do not think like normal citizens of the society. They cannot do anything as their own will. They do their work according to their client's will. Some clients like to do anal sex. These girls do it to satisfy the clients though they do not like to do. Earlier, they did not use condoms but now they are aware about STDs. Even after knowing about STDs, these girls always remain at risk, as some clients do not like to use condom. Here the environment was different. The local powerful people used to control it. They were involved with the drug business also. Both powerful local people and administration were involved with this drug dealing.

It was not eviction, according to plan, they had been resettled. The SWs received 10,000 Tk each. On 1 December 2014, the DC came here and people from NGOs were present. The people from administration talked to the SWs. The brothel became the center of gambling, drugs and many other addictions. One person was murdered here also.

The SWs are getting more privileges now than before. On the last Eid-ul-Adha, they got rice from the DC office. Earlier they could not go outside the brothel but now they can come out of brothel because they are getting equal rights. Now they are considered equal socially. I think administration always help the sex workers in every possible way to ensure their rights.

The SWs tried to protest during eviction but could not because some of the sex workers wanted to go and the others wanted to stay. That is why they could not be united and their protest was not strong. Both local people and administration were involved in this resettlement. There was drug business and this is the main cause behind this brothel's

eviction. The sex workers were responsible to help to grow this business. The losers were the sex workers and the businessmen, but I do not have any idea about the people who was benefitted because of eviction.

The decision to resettle these girls was taken long time ago. DC sir personally told that no one would be forced. The sex workers who wanted to continue this profession they could go to another brothel and who did not like it they could lead normal life and they would be given alternative works or trainings. However, all the girls went away with the money rather than joining in other professions. After the eviction, the SWs were in measurable condition. Local people did not want to give them house on rent. That is why some of them left this place. In the society, they always become the victims of harassment by the young generation. They were facing sexual harassment too. They do not have any secured shelter now. It would be very hard for them to overcome this situation.

Only ten thousand Taka could not help them with any proper arrangements to resettle themselves. Drugs destroyed their lives and harmed the social norms and values too. As they are in this profession for a long time, they cannot do another job. Their physical condition is not so good and they are even mentally weak. They are going through uncertainty, tension, depression, exclusion and lack of shelter. Most of them are living the life of a bohemian sex worker.

Currently, NGOs are giving health services like awareness, prevention against HIV and STDs' treatment. Pregnant sex workers also get health services. NGOs were in the favor of the security of the sex workers and still they are working for them. As like other citizens, they should be given fundamental rights so that they can live a normal life.

KII: Government Officer (Madaripur)

I think there are legal frameworks to run a brothel. I rescued many girls personally. One of them called me "father". This girl used to work in Dhaka. Somehow, she came to Madaripur and was caught by a shopkeeper. He took her to the brothel. Later we arrested that man. Mainly the customers prefer young girl. That is why the madams wanted

to take young girls but never allowed them to come outside of the brothel. There were about 23 house owners. One day I was sitting at a tea stall and saw that a young girl was running and few women were running behind that girl. She was crying. I caught her and heard that she was from Joypurhat. I took his father's number and called him to take his daughter back from here. Many people threatened me for this. The girls who were below 18 they never came to this profession willingly, they were brought here by force. All they had was just a registration number. This brothel had 400 voters and many of them were below 18. This area is the center of Madaripur district. Some SWs had personal names and most of them were locals. Ex-mayor and counselor were their regular customers. These political leaders had many illegal wives in the brothel. Many people knew about this but nobody could say anything.

If a young boy marries a sex worker, he could not go back to his family. His family will exclude him. That is why nobody helped the sex workers. Most of them are continuing their profession after the eviction. Some of them are working as floating sex workers. Now they are unsafe. The rate of STDs has been increased. The customers do not like to use condom. The sex workers never want to have a baby because their babies never get social rights. All the babies are unexpected. Their future is full of hardships. Few men marry the sex workers and take money from them. Sometimes they go away. Some wives make extra relations whose husbands are not at home.

All the citizens have rights to live. In brothel, they had a fixed place to live but now most of them are shelter less. They had security in the brothel. In every eviction, we see that there are two aspects. People try to get the land back from the sex workers as it may be of personal or governmental possession. In such case, the owner files case against the land users. However, here nothing happened like this. The community people were with the sex workers but at last, they did not do anything.

In our country, we have the gap between the policy and the implementation of policy. This is the condition in most of the cases. If the SWs are to be evicted then the authority should manage resettlement and better jobs. However, they used to earn more than any other work. That is why they could not be satisfied with other profession. Many NGOs worked for them and now the SWs cannot find them.

This brothel was beside the mosque and that is one of the major problems. The Hujurs were involved behind this eviction. I think religious fundamentalism was behind this eviction. Political party might be involved with the brothel. Even if someone wanted the brothel to remain open, he could not tell it openly. The businesspersons knew that they would be loser but did not tell anything. Economic factors were also related with eviction. The powerful local people wanted this land. They always pressurized the house owner to sell their land. The owners were bound to sell the land in low price. The daily transection of this was huge and it was more than 50 lakhs. There were many hotels, restaurants, and cosmetic shops. Thousands of clients used to come here daily. The businessmen were the beneficiary groups here.

During the time of eviction, there was so much crowd and many ornaments were looted. Now all of them have become religious persons. Mosque played a big role in this eviction. "Imam Kollayan Somiti" was involved in this eviction. During this eviction, rights of the sex workers were violated. Before eviction, there was a notice board but the sex workers did not give importance to it. That is why they became the victims later. During eviction, there was no physical torture or rape occurred but the sex workers were raved. I heard that during eviction, police troubled a lot as they wanted to have sex without payment and took money from the sex workers. They always lead their lives with social stigma. They can never get married by going out of brothel. The society never accepts it. The sex workers are not developed no matter how much effort is given. If I want to help them, I will face many problems. There was no more sexual harassment but 2/3 girls were lost after the eviction.

When there was a jute mill there were many labors working there and they were the customers of the brothel. The politicians only like to get benefit but never want to help the victims. The SWs had faced many hard situations during eviction. They were going under unstable conditions. Many of them have children and they are facing more problems. During photo secession, we like to make up our face but they like to cover their face. Before the eviction, there was a group of administrative people who worked for the sex workers. NGOs gave them all the health services. Family planning department also worked for them. They had

gynecologist for the pregnant sex workers. Many NGOs organized meetings and seminars for them to make them conscious about HIV and STDs. However, the customers did not like to use condoms. We can work for the sex workers, but not for the customers.

If we can ensure their human rights, it will be so good for them. Before that, we should change our attitude towards them. Otherwise, no action will be fruitful. They should be provided with actual rights from the government. We have no leaders to implement the laws. If our political parties and our government work with strong mentality then the situation will get better. The lawmakers themselves violate the laws. We all know it, but cannot say anything against it; at least not in Madaripur.

KII: Tara Madam (Madaripur)

In 1971, I saw many people dying. The Pakistani occupation forces tortured and forced the girls to work according to their will. However, those Pakistani tortures were nothing if we compare with the tortures we faced during our last eviction.

The girls who were here came willingly and we did not force them. We had no girls below 18 years. The house owners controlled the brothel. In the previous time, there were 300 houses. At the end, it had only 23 houses. The outsiders had taken our houses by taking our thumbprints on some papers. We did not understand it. We the house owners did not permit the girls to go outside. Nobody could take drug. Our environment was good.

Sex workers are outside of the brothel now. Some are working in the factory; some are working as maids, some work in the street. Some are still sex workers and do their job as floating sex workers. Their condition is very miserable. The sex workers who are good looking can get customers but others remain jobless. Some has gone to Doulatdhia brothel. Now two sex workers are living with me. Milon Bhuiyan and some Jamat leaders jointly did this eviction. Now there is a Madrassa here. Raju Hawladar, the previous commissioner, failed in the last election. He thought that he did not pass in the election because we did

not give him votes and that is why he evicted us. Babu Chairman and Kahalil chairman both spoke against us. Babu Chairman's wife is Purnima, she is also a sex worker, and her mother was a sex worker. She had money that is why chairman married her. She sang in one of the programs of ATN channel and the host of the program was Munni Saha. The people who evicted us talked about resettlement but they actually did not do anything. Police was present there but they did not protect us.

We the house owners, appealed in the high court that is why they could not take our houses and we entered into our house. Our human rights were violated. Hujurs beat the sex workers and tortured. We did not get any help from the law enforcement authorities. As a normal citizen, the sex worker has the equal rights. However, they do not get the rights. We are sex workers and do it for our livelihood. If we get our rights then we will not do this work anymore. Now they cannot get any work. This Milon took 5/6 crore Taka from many organizations in the name of our resettlement but never did any. Our money was taken by Milon and Jamal Hujur. They wanted this land. Now they force us to sell it with low price. I have sold two houses for 1crore 80 lakhs only. However, its price is more than two crore. My brother has been trapped in false case. The minister told the police to take more money that is why I sold my houses. Here we have two Awami League groups: Mamun group and Kajal group.

DC wanted to resettle us, but he could not do it because of political pressure. He remained quiet to save his own job. Many NGO people came here to help them but police arrested them. Police tortured the CACP manager. No journalist could write down the news. Political factors were there and all were controlled by the leaders of ruling political party. Hujurs wanted this eviction to happen because we were sinners and we should be evicted. However, financial benefits were also related to it.

Daily transaction of money here was of more than one crore. Many people used to come here. There were many hotels, cloth stores and drinking bars. Mainly alcohol named "Bangla Mod" was available there. Many people came here from Barisal, Shariyatpur, Taker hat, Shipper, Vanga and Dhaka. Many rich people used to come here. They spent more than 30/40 thousands Taka per day. Some sex workers earned 30/40 thousand Taka per day. It depended on their customers. This brothel was open for whole day and night. When the foreigners came, we informed

the police for their security. Now these businessmen lost their businesses and some of them are rickshaw pullers. They have not recovered their loss and become the burden on the society.

The last municipal election was responsible for this eviction. Khalil chairman was helpful but could not do anything because of rival group. They hung a signboard for eviction. Then we told them to resettle us. Their torture started after this. We did not go outside. Probably 500 people came to evict us. They made rumour that we beat Raju and Babu and that is why they tortured us. All of them had arms. Customers ran away. We called OC but he abused me. The people who were with us went against us. RAB came to help us but SP and DC sent them back. This eviction continued from 11 a.m. to evening. They beat us and threatened us. Some of us were taken to hospital. After 2 years, we have come here. The political leaders were the benefitted people. The Hujurs have made a madrasa in that land of brothel. Raju Hawlader took money from brothels personally. His wife Purnima had property in this brothel. She has changed her religion and her name is Salma now.

During the eviction, they took our cloths, beat us, and snatched our money. Now the sex workers are workless. They cannot do other jobs. They are staying at others' houses with fake information. Still police and administration threaten them. They tortured the girls and threatened them with acid attack. Sex workers are facing much discrimination. They cannot touch others' products. After eviction, society did not accept them and did not even give a glass of water. I am a sex worker but my daughter is not. She also faces social stigma. She cannot walk in the street. Now the young girls are at danger because the boys cannot go to the brothel. Some husbands go outside for their work and meanwhile their wives make extra marital relationship. Sometimes their family members catch them.

Normally police do not take money from us. However, they are disturbing us more. They always threat us. They have taken a room to watch over us in the brothel. Earlier they harassed the customers. They caught the clients and we spent our money to free them. Sometimes they raided the brothel and we spent 40/50 thousand to move our clients safely from there.

Government never helps us but some NGOs always try to help by giving health services, condoms, medicine, dresses, buckets etc. We did not give money to the political leaders but they had connection with the regulation of brothels. During eviction, there were more Muslim girls than the Hindu girls, but before independence, there were more Hindu girls in our brothel. Earlier the Muslim women could not enter the brothel, only the widow could. However, this situation was changed later.

The sex workers deposited their money in the ASA Samity. Previously, BRAC worked in maintaining the transaction of money. It provided loans to the girls. After eviction, they could not collect money from the sex workers. Some girls kept their money in the life insurance companies and they lost their money. Earlier nobody looked at the brothel as a bad or sinful place. Everybody looked at it as a business institution. NGOs made the girls intelligent. They organized many meetings, seminars for these girls. They talked with the sex workers about every aspect of safety and rights.

All the sex workers should be given a fixed place to do their work. However, I think their children should not be brought into this profession. They should be provided with normal lives. We feel uncomfortable to talk with others all the time. If we do not get married to anyone then what will happen to us. Here is no implementation of laws. The chairman of human rights commission talked for us but policy makers, political leaders and law enforcing agencies did not listen to him. We organized many meetings and seminars but nothing was fruitful. We tried hard but could not do anything.

If our Prime Minister thinks for us then we will get away with this situation. Obviously, government can work for us. Government needs the help of NGOs to be fruitful. Most of these girls are the victims of sexual harassment by the boys of powerful people like chairman, MP, police etc. As the SWs are poor, they cannot do anything. Those boys make sexual relations with these girls and then unexpected pregnancy makes their life hell. If they speak against these boys then their families are punished. Until the power structures are being changed or removed, this injustice will never be stopped. Day by day, sex workers are becoming more victims of their injustice.

KII: Journalist (Madaripur)

These girls came here for their livelihood. They cannot come out from this profession. Some of them came here willingly. Babus and madams regulated this brothel. Mayor Nur Alam Babu, Khandakar, Bolai Saha, Abdul Khalek, Raju Hawladar, Karim Matobbor and Motiur Rahman Bhuiyan were directly involved with the brothel operation as well as for the eviction. Police and transport labors were the main customers. Most of them tortured the sex workers. During their illness, nobody cared for them. Bangla mod was common there. Ganja and Oradexon were available. Yaba also became popular. Family Planning workers came here to advise them about health services. However, most of the clients do not like to use condom. Now the condition of the SWs is so measurable. Most of them became floating SWs and some went to other brothels.

They did not get any prior news about eviction. There was no meeting or discussion. If there was any meeting, they could be motivated to get out from this profession. Probably, they were evicted on 27 August 2013. Their human rights had been violated and I think some of them were raped. Police did not allow any people to enter into the brothel; they tortured and vandalized SWs' rooms. It was a planned eviction. Their rights were available for them inside the brothel only. Outside they had no values. In the registration form, they confessed that they came here willingly. That is why they had right to do this work. Normally there is clear announcement before eviction but this time nothing happened like this and no rules were followed. The evictors said that this eviction followed the laws but it actually did not. They did not think about the consequences of this eviction.

In my opinion, economic factor was responsible for this eviction. The son of our Imam was involved with it. Our minister was with the eviction and nobody could talk against him. Daily transection of this area was around one crore Taka. About 12,000 labours of a local factory were the common customers of this brothel. A SW entertain 10/15 customers per day. During Puja and Eid, SWs had more customers. Here we have a large temple; many people visit here to watch puja celebration and it

increases the volume of customers. No one is benefitted because of this eviction, except some local leaders. If we treat these sex workers as a citizen and give them legal rights, it will be good for our nation. During eviction, the SWs were tortured, raped, looted and sexually harassed. Everyone likes to enjoy but nobody helped them during the eviction.

I think society accepted these SWs. Otherwise, they could not live in this brothel for the last 200 years. After the eviction, now a day, the rate of rape and violence against women has been increased. Even maids are not safe in our houses. The state has failed miserably to ensure the security of these destitute girls and women. The businessmen always wanted this brothel but no one talked about it openly. The role of local police was always negative towards these SWs. They harassed and tortured them. Many young officers came here to do sex without payment. During eviction, police were there but did not help. Now the sex workers are out of the sight of police and they do their job secretly. I think the SWs should be organized first and they should build up a strong network among themselves. They became the victim of eviction and harassment repeatedly because of lack of coordination. There are many NGOs working for them and I think government and donors should extend financial support to them.

KII: NGO; Shahnaz Rubi, NGO Worker, Madaripur

This brothel was regulated by the powerful people, businessmen and political leaders. Most of the evicted SWs are found continuing their profession until now. They cannot come out of this job. Their human rights have been violated during the eviction. They are not sex workers from their birth. We the NGO workers went there to protect them but could not. Some of the evictors had arms. I went to our minister and he said that the Hujurs were doing that and he could not do anything. Obviously, there was a gap between the law and its policies relating to SWs and that was why they were evicted like that. The main target was not the sex workers, it was the land. A college professor and the head of the mussolli committee worked jointly to evict the sex workers according to their plan. Now the social environment is at risk. Our girls and women

cannot go outside after the evening time. Few days ago, a 3-year-old baby was raped. The young boys were impressed by the aged women of the brothel.

The people who supported SWs left them in the middle of the problem. Nobody came in front to help them. The main cause of this eviction was the land and local powerful people wanted to make there a multicomplex building. Here we have two groups of Awami league - Mamun group and Kajal group. Mamun's brother, Yead Ali, made a road for the brothel, when Kajal group objected it and instigate local Hujurs to evict this. So many SPs and DCs were forced to leave this district for this political rivalry.

There were more than 1000 SWs here and every girl had 10/15 customers per day. More than 2 thousand people visited here every day. During the occasions, the number of people used to be increased. Both the SWs and the businessmen were the losers and the amount of loss is larger than the benefit. Nobody was benefited because they could not grab the land. CACP and PIACT workers faced many problems while working for the sex workers. Many Hujurs came to loot the houses but at last, they tried to have sex with the sex workers. Babu Chowdhury is a culprit and he always says that, girls are just like banana peel; the peel should be thrown away after eating the banana. During the eviction, they tortured the sex workers, pulled out their sharees and dresses. After the eviction, the SWs become vulnerable and sexual harassed by the people of the mainstream society too. Local people now think that the brothel is good for their society. The sex workers have the permission from high court to reopen their brothel but they cannot implement the decision because of their lack of coordination. CACP and PSTC worked with the money of SWs but never actually helped them. As our minister is against the sex workers, the local NGOs could not do anything. If our minister is a parliament member, obviously, this eviction has been done by the government and that is why nobody helped the sex workers. It will be better if NGOs and government work together for these destitute womenfolk of this country.

5.3 Case Studies

Six (6) Individual Stories were documented with the SWs in and around the evicted study brothels. Elaborate findings of these case studies are furnished as Annexure 2. Summary of these case studies are as follows:

Story of Mala

Fultola Brothel, Khulna, Age: 19, Education: Grade Six

I joined prostitution while I was 13. My father used to gamble and my brother did the same while he was growing up. My mother used to work as a domestic aid. My sister lives in Dhaka and she got married there. I used to do all kinds of household chores besides studying. I studied up to class 6. Then, I started working in a Hindu household beside my residences as the cost of study in high school became hard to bear for my mother. However, there was no word of happiness in my family. My brother used to beat me without any reason and I could not go out. Moreover, if I went anywhere for some reason, he would beat or exploit me. Speaking in a loud voice in our home was not allowed and it would be a problem for me. I used to quarrel and scream at my mother. Actually, my mother did not beat me but instead tried to understand me in some matters.

I became 12 years old in 2009. I could not bear the torture from my brother anymore. A woman in whose household I used to work decided to shift to Dhaka and I requested her to take me along. She agreed, I left my home, and my journey began (Annexure 3).

Story of Ripa

Fultola Brothel, Khulna, Age: 26, Education: Grade Six

At the age of 14, I got married to a boy at Fultola market. My hometown is in Satkhira. In our house, under the same roof, I lived with my mom, two elder brothers and two younger sisters. My father was absent and we were staying with our elder brother's family. My mother and elder brother had me married at a very young age, but I did not intervene. I thought that marriage was a good solution to remove any disturbance. My aunt knew the person who married me and I liked him. However, little did I know that there was another story waiting for me. My journey to prostitution began once I entered my husband's house (Annexure 3).

Story of Moyna

Madaripur, Age: 28, Education: Grade 9

I am from Barisal and I joined prostitution for livelihood. My family was deprived and our situation was very miserable, we were barely living. My father was a police officer, he was murdered, and still we do not know the reason. I was seven and my younger sister was four years old when he died. We used to live in our grandfather's house but our uncle always misbehaved with us. My mother went to her parent's family and I was sent to my aunt's house in Dhaka. There I was admitted into a school. I lived there for three years and then suddenly they went abroad and I was again sent back to my village to live with my mother and sister. They admitted me in class four and my sister in class one in a government school. We were still living with my grandfather. I was happy because I was living with my mother and sister. When I was in class nine my grandfather became sick and he wanted me to get married before he died. My mother accepted his final wish because she was tensed about my future.

I did not want to get married at that time but finally I agreed when I thought about my family's condition. After searching for a long time they got a primary school teacher as my groom who was living next to our village. They were happy about marrying me off with a school teacher as they thought a teacher would be a good person. My journey to hell begins once I get married with that man (Annexure 3).

Story of Salma

Tangail, Age: 34, Floating Sex Worker, Education: Grade 7

I have been a sex worker since I was young. I was born in this brothel. My daughter is also a sex worker. Our life will go like this forever and we have nothing to do. "Tomrai potita baniaso, tomrai joubon vog korba abar shomoy moto latti dia ber koira diba" (You have made us prostitutes, you enjoy our young times, and finally you will kick us once you are finished). We are like dolls, if you want to adorn us then you can and if you want to split us into parts you also can do it. I was living with my grandmother during my growing age. My hometown is in Rajshahi and I lived there with my grandmother, uncle, aunt and with their two children. I studied there. In my childhood, I heard that my mother lived in Dhaka and worked as a domestic aid. I thought that when I would grow up I would also do like this. My mother used to come at Eid.

I dropped out from school at class seven. Then everybody started thinking about my marriage. Though I wanted to complete my study, my mother stopped it. I did not know that my mother was doing something wrong. I had a relation with a boy who lived in our locality. When my relation became public, my grandmother told this to my mother. My mother warned me if I would maintain this relation, she would stop my study. In the meantime my mother brought me to Madaripur and got me admitted in class nine. I lived in a hostel with many other girls. My mother used to visit me frequently and bought many things for me. At that juncture, I knew that my mother was working in a mill.

When my SSC exam was knocking at the door, one of my friends informed me that my mother was living in a brothel. Actually, I was not surprised because sometimes I had a doubt like this. When I heard it, I wanted to visit her on the next day and my journey begins (Annexure 3).

Story of Mita

Age: 32, Education: Nil, Tangail

I have been in this profession since my age 15. Nobody forced me to do this business. I came here willingly. I had strong desirability for dress, jewelleryes, and luxurious life since my childhood. Our house was beside the brothel. Out of curiosity, one evening, I entered into the brothel to have a look. When I entered inside, nobody said anything. Suddenly a woman came and asked me, "Why are you moving around?" In reply, I asked her why those girls were wearing gorgeous dresses/make-ups and moving around, and if they were actresses. I told her that I liked these girls so much and I wanted to be like them. That woman asked me about my residence and also told me that if I would stay with them, I would be very happy, I could eat whatever I want, and could do shopping as much as I want. If I stay in that place my family would take me out of the brothel as it was near to my home. She promised that she would take me to another brothel. Within couple of weeks my journey started as a concubine, and then as a prostitute (Annexure 3).

CHAPTER 6

Key Findings of National Consultation Meeting on Brothel Eviction

A national consultation meeting on the eviction of three century-old brothels in Bangladesh was held at Manusher Jonno Foundation office. The representatives of several international and national organizations participated in the dialogue. Professor Dr. ASM Amanullah of Dhaka University moderated the meeting.

Table 6: Participants of National Level Consultation Meeting

SL.	Name	Designation	Organisation	Contact
01	Akhlima Akhi	Executive Director	Nari Mukti Shongho	01711220721
02	Asif Iqbal Khan	Coordinator	Nari Mukti Shongho	01718191915
03	Md. Shafiqul Islam	Program Officer	PIACT Bangladesh	01716187818
04	Safia Arifin	Coordinator	SWN	01714413337
05	Chumki Begum	Secretary	SWN	01724060186
06	Shahanaz Begum	Former Secretary	SWN	01819404850
07	Shah Alam	Program Coordinator	PIACT Bangladesh	01818645365
08	Nazmun Nahar	Training Officer	BNWLA	01917560323
09	Rowshon Ara	Project Director	Naripikkho	01711487898
10	Aleya Akter Lily	Executive Director	Shonirvor Mohila Shongstha	01816657732
11	Enamul Haque	Program Coordinator	HASAB	enamul@hasab.org
12	Md. Yamin	Reporter	Radio Today	eyamin49@gmail.com
13	Kashfia Feroz		Action Aid	kashfia.feroz@actionaid.org
14	Rina Roy	Director	MJF	rina@manusher.org
15	Mohuya Leya Falia	Program Coordinator	MJF	
16	Md. Salim Ahmed Purvez	Senior Program Manager	MJF	salim@manusher.org
17	Rabeya	Research Assistant	DU	rabeya.du@gmail.com
18	Maria Akter	Research Associate	DU	mariajahan222@gmail.com
19	Naim Ahamed	Research Coordinator	DU	naimahamed.du@gmail.com
20	Prof. Dr. ASM Amanullah	Team Leader	DU	dramanullah@hotmail.com

The participants discussed various important issues such as the causes and consequences of brothel eviction, rights of SWs, their current problems, possible solutions etc. Major findings of this discussion are as follows:

Akhi: Almost 2000-2500 SWs lived at Kandapara brothel and within two hours, it was evicted. They set fire and demolished all buildings of this brothel. We had to fly away in a very short time. SWs were evicted by force. Through disconnecting electricity and water supply, SWs were

deprived of their basic human rights. We could not do anything as local Mayor did everything.

Naznin Nahar: Local police did not play any role to resist the eviction. SWs did not get any support from the local administration either. Without any notice, the SWs were evicted and it became possible because there was no legal shield to protect the SWs from humiliation.

Shahanaz: The eviction of sex workers from their place was the humiliation of their rights. The eviction of sex workers, within two hours' notice, was the violation of human rights. Political and financial issues had worked there. However, the political parties denied it and claimed that the sex workers left the brothel on their own choices. Due to this illegal brothel eviction, several mini brothels were emerged and sex workers spread all over the country. NGOs working with SWs have no fund and other policy supports from the donors to work on rights-based issues.

Rouson Ara: She strongly argued that, in Tangail, many people had their own personal land in the brothel area. Therefore, there was no rightful ground to evict them. Many human rights organizations worked here to support sex workers. They helped them by giving money also. However, ultimately local NGOs could not resist the eviction, as there was no coordination and immediate legal action from their part.

Anamul Haque: Several human right organizations strongly worked to support sex workers in Madaripur. However, at one point, NGOs had nothing to do because a strong local political faction was related to this eviction. This political faction employed local Musulli Committee, a fanatic group, to evict this brothel. NGOs did not work effectively under pressure. In his opinion, 'Water Transport Minister helped to evict Madaripur brothel'.

Salim Ahmed Purvez: As sex workers are vulnerable, they remain at risk always. Coordination is very important and mobilization is also necessary. NGOs can play important role to coordinate SWs' affairs.

Safiq: We had several meetings to relocate the brothel to another place but this could not be done because of political pressure. Sex workers have no legal status that is why they had no rights to move further.

Akhi: So many NGOs worked only to prevent HIV. However, they worked very little to secure the rights of sex workers. NGOs also helped the SWs during the time of eviction with their limited resources. It is hard to continue as sex worker if there does not exist any alternative work.

Anamul Haque: My organization arranged a consultation meeting to re-establish the evicted brothels so that the sex workers could continue their business.

Chumki: We talked to Fultola sex workers and the main reason of eviction of that brothel was drug bussiness. We went to DC, Chairman, and talked with them and they told us that sex workers should leave the brothel by taking money. Then Chumki raised the question - "is 10,000 Taka enough for their rehabilitation?" After eviction, all sex workers were scattered, as they did not have unity.

Akhi: Despite her request, befor eviction, no national or local level NGO went to Kandapara brothel to help the distressed SWs.

Shahanaz: NGOs have to be infromed prior to the eviction then they can take steps to help the sex workers. Otherwise, they are not able to do anything.

Safiq: SWs' real situation was very hard and he could not explain it. Iqbal says that he informed Care Bangladesh and some other NGOs but the real situation was very tough to understand. Rina Roy: What was the contribution of local level NGOs to check these evictions?

Mohuya Leya Falia: We visited the brothels before their eviction and we also worked hard to help them. However, ultimately, the brothels were evicted and we want to know the real reasons.

Kashfia Feroz: After getting information about brothel eviction, they went there immediately but could not do anything.

Laily: Sex workers network also worked. They arranged meetings and conferences and after receiving eviction news, they went there immediately but could not do anything.

Mohuya: Before Madaripur brothel's eviction, we worked there. Police was helpless there and did not do anything because it was related to local

politics. She also talks about an increasing need of training, targeting sex workers, to rehabilitate them with alternative livelihood. It takes long time to prepare SWs with some life skills.

Shah Alam: Which NGO has worked to resettle the sex workers? Despite civil society pressure, SWs are not rehabilitated even today. NGOs cannot work against the local political power, no matter how much a local NGO tries. However, he is also sceptical about the extent of support by the local NGOs during the time of eviction.

Nazmun Nahar: Political party, which is in power, has no right to evict brothel. The message should be in the ground from the top leadership of the country.

Akhi: Members, Chairman, Babus, and the powerful people from surrounding areas caused harm to brothel seriously.

Chumki: A coordinated action should be initiated in such a way that a brothel cannot be evicted in future.

Anamul: Common writ (Class Action) can be filed to high court to check future brothel eviction.

Kashfia Feroz: In which purpose the NGOs work? For whom they want to work? They do not come in front. However, it is the first step to involve sex workers to establish their rights.

Shah Alam: The first thing is that, one sex worker has to confess that she is a sex worker. However, most of them do not do it. Then how they will get their rights?

Safiq: In the National ID card if it is shown that she is a sex worker then they face harassment. Anamul: The leaders of the sex workers never hide their identities but the ordinary sex workers hide it. They themselves do not recognize it as a profession.

Chumki: Sex working is an occupation. The sex workers are professionals. They want their identities and rights.

Shahnaz: NGOs supply condoms; however, sometime they ask sex workers to buy condoms from them. As their profession is written in NID, the sex workers face harassment. That is why they feel hesitation to introduce themselves as sex workers.

Chumki: Cooperation, coordination and support are necessary to establish sex workers' rights.

Shah Alam: NGOs should work more to raise awareness, employment opportunities, and the knowledge on human rights.

Chumki: After the eviction, brothel sex workers are now working as floating sex workers. However, the security and facilities, which were provided in brothel, could not be enjoyed in the streets, parks and hotels.

Akhi: Sex workers do not get condoms free after the eviction of their brothels. Global Fund suddenly stopped their funding without any alternatives, and their whole initiative is fruitless now.

Chumki: NGOs have limitations. However, if they want to work for these sex workers, they should organize movement and national dialogues.

Anamul Haque: In Madaripur, the Masjid market was closed as its business was depended on sex workers. Without any rehabilitation, no brothel should be evicted. Policy advocacy is needed for this. Sex workers should not be evicted by threats and a state-level policy is needed in this regard.

Laily: Sex workers do not get their rights automatically. Government agencies and concerned NGOs have to work in this regard.

Rouson Ara: A positive move by the local political parties can help to check further brothel eviction. In her opinion, sex working is not the focus here, it is their land.

Safiq: NGOs do not help to stop controlling child sex working.

Safia: In her opinion, at first, a national policy is needed to ensure sex workers' rights.

Shahanaz: She focuses on alternative livelihood for the sex workers. The process of joining alternative livelihoods should be devised first.

Anamul: To stop further eviction, everybody has to work in a co-ordinated way. NGOs and human rights organizations can jointly work with the SWs' organizations.

Mohuya: We can negotiate with the government agencies and work under their monitoring and supervision. We have to work at an international standard. The sex workers can report their problems to the human right commission too.

Shah Alam: First, we should identify the root causes of the problem and then we should start working. We need policy to check further brothel eviction. Otherwise, the rest of the brothels will be evicted soon. This policy should be in our hand as soon as possible.

Anamul Haque: Policy review is an important issue. It can tackle the brothel eviction.

Kashfia Feroz: Working at policy level and negotiating with government are also needed with the support of respective MPs, SPs, local Journalists, and the members of Bazar Malik Somity and District Imam Somity. A network should be in place to mobilise these stakeholders.

Nazmun Nahar: Brothels should also work under some ethics. They should not violate the ethics. They should follow the existing policies and laws strongly.



CHAPTER 7

Discussions and Policy
Recommendations

7.1 Discussions

The broad objective of this study is to explore how do forced eviction of brothel impacts the psycho-social and economic contexts of displaced sex workers and assess how they manages different risks, vulnerabilities and displacement.

The study also reviewed some previous data, which ultimately helped in triangulating methodological approaches and guided the study team to go deeper into the understanding of the risks and vulnerabilities of the children of sex workers. The findings of this study will inform the decisions on next steps of the program against which any new mainstreaming approaches, tools and programs might be introduced in near future. Since an extensive and ethnographic study on the evicted SWs has been largely absent in Bangladesh, the findings of this work should also be useful to the GoB, local and international NGOs in designing a culturally sustainable rehabilitation program, targeting evicted SWs. This study have demonstrated that overall the mainstream community people, government authorities, local political and religious leaders, and the immediate family members still had serious stigma and discriminatory attitudes towards the evicted SWs.

Quantitative Findings

Sociodemographics:

- Most of the study SWs (about 70%) were below 32 years of age. About 15% of them were child SWs (below 18 years of age). Data in this study clearly reveled that most of the study SWs (90%) started their sex business as a child sex worker.
- About 45% SWs acknowledged that they earned in between 20,000 to 70,000 BD Taka monthly before their brothels were evicted. Currently, after the eviction, about 33% SWs either have lost their total income (17%) or they just earn in between 500 to 5000 BD Taka per month and this amount is far below than their subsistence.
- A large number of evicted SWs (63.3%) were found living either in other neighboring brothels or adjacent to brothel areas.

- Around 60% of the SWs are in this business for 6 to 20 years. A considerable number of SWs (40%) still do not have their access to these national data base, mostly because of lack of knowledge and one-stop service centers and administrative hassles.

Major reasons of brothel eviction:

- Major reasons, as perceived by the evicted SWs, of these evictions were local political pressure (53%) for gabbing land, followed by economic conflict (20%) and community's orthodoxy (12%). Only about 6% replied that religious fundamentalism was the cause of their eviction.
- Local administration and police were not behind the scene - only 1% SWs believed that administration was responsible for their eviction. More than 37% study SWs believed that previous conflicts were responsible for their eviction and most of these conflicts were centered around the 'Ownership of Land' (46%) and 'Extortion/Chad' (37%).

Violence during eviction:

- An overwhelming majority of SWs (90%) faced violence such as plundering (49%), physical torture (22%), demolishing households (19% for Fultola and Madaripur, 100% for Kandapara) and rape (6%) during the period of eviction.

Sociopsychological and cultural impact of brothel eviction:

- About 65% evicted SWs replied that their current life is going Very Bad. Almost 90% evicted SWs are currently doing their business either in neighboring brothels or in the parks, streets, stations, rented houses and hotels.
- Of those SWs who left their profession are currently facing family or societal problems such as abusive slangs (56%) and physical torture (37%), and around 50% of them do not get any access to public services/facilities.

- More than 91% evicted SWs suffered from severe psychological trauma after the eviction of their brothel. More than 52% evicted SWs cannot attend any public or social events.

Financial impact of brothel eviction:

- An overwhelming majority of SWs (90%) have been facing severe financial crisis since the closer of their brothels.
- About 70% of them had lack of cash, followed by shelter (17%), and lack of food and clothes (12%).
- It is readily evident from the Table 4.1 to 4.3 that a huge number of professions and business activities had been developed centering the evicted brothels and, because of eviction, these economic activities had gone into wary. For example, as indicated by multiple sources, the daily average transaction of all business houses during brothel operation in and around the evicted brothels were about 5 to 10 million Tk., which had been drastically fall into only about 15,000 to 6 lac Tk.
- The local traders and SWs are facing serious financial hardships and some of them are virtually starving. As observed by the local journalists and police authority, because of closer of these economic activities, the local business personnel, most of whom are brothel madams, pimps and local traders are facing serious financial hardships and fall arrears to repay their bank/NGO loans.
- The closing of this century-old sex establishment also had socio-cultural and law enforcement discourses, and the sudden eviction seriously impacts not only the local economic activities but the rate of burglary, stealing, eve-teasing, attack on women and children, and the incidence of rape are on rise in and around greater Khulna, Barisal, and Tangail regions.

Criminalizing sex work and police abuse:

- More than 81% SWs faced police raids and abuses during normal operation hours of their brothels. The dominant forms of abuses by police include extortion (53%), threat of imprisonment (14%),

abusive slangs (13%), rape/sexual advances (12%), and illegal arrest (7%).

- Though the local police were not in favor of eviction of the study brothels, they did not help SWs either. About 90% evicted SWs said they did not get any help from police during the time of eviction. More than 80% SWs do not get any help from police even now.
- In response to another question, slightly more than 50% SWs were found aware of their rights that they can practice as sex workers within their brothel premises.

Role of local political leaders during and after the eviction:

- High-profile political leaders, were directly related to evict all these century-old study brothels. Local power relations and politics of attracting popular votes had played a pivotal role in organizing these primordial attacks on marginalized sex working communities and their dwellings.
- As reflected in their opinion, more than 77% evicted SWs throughout the study brothels said that the role of local political leaders' during the time of brothel eviction was very bad. It is not always true that local people or local religious groups are against these brothels. They are just used by the political agents.

Government initiatives during and after the eviction:

- Because of influence of high-profile political leaders, local administration and allied government officers were idiosyncratic in relation to brothel evictions. Despite several attempts and demonstrations, about 70% SWs did not get any help from the local government officials before the eviction of their brothels.
- About 90% evicted SWs did not get any government support during or after the eviction of their brothels.
- Further, 81%SWs reported that government has no intention to look after their matters even today.

NGOs' help before, during and after eviction:

- Similar to other local authorities, surprisingly, because of influence of high-profile political leaders, local NGOs and civil society organizations also kept their status quo in relation to local brothel evictions.
- About 66% SWs believe that local NGOs raised their voices before the illegal eviction. However, the study findings clearly revealed that, despite their several attempts and demonstrations, about 60% SWs did not get any help from the local NGOs during or after the eviction of their brothels (Table 14).
- Further, majority of the evicted SWs (55%) have reported local NGOs are not helping them enough to relocate them in their previous places and professions.

Settlement/rehabilitation program by the local NGOs:

- As observed by 60% study respondents, despite their capacity to help evicted SWs, these NGOs have no concrete plan to proceed further to rehabilitate evicted SWs in the near future.
- Specifically, an overwhelming majority of study participants (88%) further said that local NGOs did not do anything to rehabilitate or resettle evicted SWs and they are just busy with AIDS or condom programs only.

Stigma, discrimination and integration:

- SWs face serious stigmas and discriminations (91%) from the mainstream society and all local authorities. Majority of the study SWs (81%) still fear of disclosing their identities when they seek services from the society.
- About 45% SWs opined that they had been denied by their immediate family members because of their sex work; also, they had been treated differently (66%) and they had suicidal tendencies in their lifetime.

Obstacles of mainstreaming in the society:

- Although the situation is improved, as stated by the participants, people from all walks of life still undermine the SWs.
- The major obstacles of mainstreaming of SWs are lack of dwelling place, inappropriate environment, and lack of employment opportunities.

Violence and abuse:

- Majority of the study SWs had encountered verbal (83%), psychological (77%), physical abuses (68%) and gender-based (64%) violence in their lifetimes.

Qualitative Findings

- District and Upazila level government officers and law enforcement agencies are not sensitized on SWs' rights. They do not know the relevant laws, polices and high court directions in dealing with SWs and brothels. There is a clear lack of coordination in this regard among the local administration.
- Gender based violence is very common within the brothel. The most common forms of gender-based violence suffered by the SWs in the brothel are fighting, quarreling, slapping, pulling of hair etc. Customers, shopkeepers, businesspersons are the major players of gender based violence inside the brothel. Some female respondents say that they cannot walk at night along the road because of the eve-teasers. Police, in most of the cases, do not attend them in dangers.
- Some adult males state that the sex workers participate in the training program on various issues of protective behavior not because of learning something, but because of having fun. The brothel boys tease and irritate the girls inside, though they have received training.
- The majority of the study participants reported that they are still subjected to various risks around them such as forced sex, violence, eve-teasing, and illicit use of drugs (wine, ganja, heroin, phensidyl,

yaba etc.). The study respondents are found aware of the negative consequences of sex work.

- If a customer offers more money, sex workers often agree to make love with them without any protection. Madams participated in this study opined that they are born with risk, live in the risks and risks are their every day's companion. Some of the participants said that unprotected oral sex (commonly known as Ural Sex), prevalent in the area, may also result in STIs and HIV transmission. Many reported that the SWs do not consider these activities as risks.
- The study finds that the adult males and NGOs workers who are living inside the brothel have positive attitudes in establishing SWs' rights and in controlling child sex working and gender based violence within the brothel. Although some of them are involved with this vicious cycle, a separate Brothel Monitoring Committee (BMC) should be formed involving these influential role-players.
- Local NGOs stopped HIV/STIs prevention activities and SWs' access to reproductive health facilities, condoms, contraception, and primary health care services are almost dysfunctional in the three study areas. Because of this dilapidated situation, the SWs often suffer from various health complexities namely trauma, diarrhea, wasting/stunting, respiratory disease etc. These difficulties are exacerbated by fake NGOs and fraudulent well-wishers.
- Because of this eviction, sex worker and businessperson faced much insecurity and always had to remain in fear. The situation of some sex workers was pathetic, and they could not earn money and could not mix with the mainstream society. Nobody accept them in the society and they roam in the streets and parks at mid night. In some cases, they just help each other by using their own informal networks and social link.
- Because of their physical limitations and psychosocial and cultural construction and identities, these evicted SWs do not like to integrate themselves with the mainstream society and are not suitable for alternative livelihood options. They prefer their selling sex rather than working in a factory or NGO.

- The major bottlenecks to ensure SWs' rights and justice are local political pressure and the absence of national legal framework. The elopement of mighty Khan Family from Tangail helped SWs to return to their own place, not the high court ruling. The civil society and service providers could not do much to ensure the rights and justice issues of sex workers and brothel eviction, unless there is national consensus or strict law in this regard.
- Similar to the situation of other developing countries, the demand for prostitution may have increased in Bangladesh as people have become richer because "economic growth drives demand for luxuries" and sex is seen as a luxury. The imbalance of sexual interest between men and women, leading to the seriously high, continuing, and inevitable demand for the sex industry, which therefore I conclude is never going to be eradicated. Moral objections or campaigns against prostitution would make no difference to its growth. It is going to continue regardless. As observed by Freud, the moral thing just does not come into it. Human sexuality knows no boundary.
- Law-enforcing agencies are not sensitized well on the mechanism of establishing SWs' rights. Police forces should be sensitized regularly and existing laws/policies must be implemented.
- A separate drop-in-center for the drug users should be organized immediately in or around Kandapara, Fultola and Madaripur brothels. Existing staffs of implementing agencies must be more dedicated and committed to the rights of SWs. Other NGOs working in and around the evicted brothels have to play positive roles in protecting SWs' human rights.

7.2 Lessons Learned

1. A vicious cycle of local political leaders, extortionists, and land grabbers were responsible to stage the orchestra of brothel eviction. Religious fundamentalism, local administration and Police worked as auxiliary forces. Political goons, police and madams/pimps are controlling the underworld dynasty of drugs and recruitment of

child SWs. This vicious cycle regularly raid and abuse SWs and their clients even during the normal operation hours of the brothels.

2. Just to survive, almost all evicted SWs are continuing their business in neighboring brothels/areas or streets. Government, NGOs and donors have no programs to resettle these SWs.

3. The evicted SWs do not get access to the mainstream services including shelter, health, and legal opinions because of fear and organizational support. Around half of the study SWs did not have any National ID Card or any other identity card.

4. Despite their several demonstrations, SWs did not receive any fruitful help either from the local government agencies or from the NGOs before, during, and after the eviction of their brothels.

5. SWs faced physical, sexual, and psychological violence during the time of eviction. They have been facing severe financial crisis, shortage of foods and shelter since the closer of their brothels.

6. Leaving sex working as a profession did not work. Of those who left their professions are currently facing family or cultural problems and they cannot attend any public or social events. Majority of SWs still fear of disclosing their identities when they seek services from the society. Because of their physical limitations and lack of identities, evicted SWs do not like to integrate themselves with the mainstream society even. They prefer selling sex rather than working in a factory or NGO.

7. Because of evection, the state lost thousands of jobs, business houses and huge financial transactions. Daily average transaction of all businesses during the functioning of Kandapara brothel was 7.3 million BD Tk., the amount is reduced into only 2.3 lac BD Tk. after the eviction.

8. Eviction of these century-old sex establishments also had wider sociocultural and law enforcement concerns. The study findings show serious consequences and lethal effects of brothel eviction at individual, society and state at large. The greater society is witnessing the rise of the incidents of rape, sexual abuses, eve teasing, and attack on women and children in the evicted brothel regions.

9. There are some quasi-legal instruments in Bangladesh to protect the rights of the sex workers and brothels. However, these are not discrete and the local administration, lawmakers, and NGOs are not properly sensitized on the practical application of these policies. They do not know the relevant high court directions in dealing with SWs and brothels. There is a clear lack of coordination in this regard among the local stakeholders and national NGOs. SWs are found sensitized but not self-efficacious in establishing their rights. As a result, their constitutional and fundamental human rights have been violated by their own lawmakers. Violating High Court's rulings and directions, local MPs and Ministers organized serious crimes against these marginalized womenfolk of the country.

10. Because of displacement and shortage of supply, the evicted SWs are not currently using condoms consistently. They are now seriously susceptible to RTIs, HIV, and STDs/STIs. Local NGOs stopped HIV/STIs prevention activities and SWs' access to reproductive health facilities, condoms, contraception, and primary health care services are almost dysfunctional in the study brothels. Because of this dilapidated situation, the SWs are suffering from various health complexities namely trauma, diarrhea, wasting/stunting, respiratory disease and STIs. There are no doctors, nurses and medicine in the NGO clinics located in and around the evicted brothels.

11. The major bottleneck to ensure SWs' rights is the absence of a national legal framework. The civil society and service providers could not do much to ensure the rights and justice issues of sex workers, unless there is national consensus and strict law/policy framework in this regard.

12. Similar to the situation of other mid-income countries, due to rapid industrialization, development, and increasing middle class with high income and conspicuous consumption, the demand for prostitution may have increased in Bangladesh. Moral objections or campaigns against prostitution would make no difference to its growth.

7.3 Policy Recommendations

1. There are serious gaps between the policies and practices in dealing with the rights of the SWs. In this regard, an informed national-level legal framework should be developed and passed in the parliament.
2. The donors, NGOs, and GOs should initiate income-generating/alternative livelihoods project for the displaced SWs. Local community leaders, journalists, and human rights activists should be involved in any rehabilitation program. Government and NGOs should come forward to creating new employment opportunities by networking local industries and garments for the evicted SWs.
3. A strong network of NGOs should be formed to provide integrated services to the evicted SWs. Similarly, a strong networking mechanism should be in place among the local and national NGOs to face the threat of future brothel eviction.
4. Present situation of the displaced SWs should be assessed by the government agencies and they should be compensated for their financial losses. Concerned NGOs should establish temporary safe home for the evicted SWs and their children.
5. Law-enforcing agencies should be sensitized regularly and existing policies/high court directions relating to sex work must be implemented strictly.
6. Satellite health care facilities and referral system should be established around the evicted brothels.
7. A National SWs Protection Committee (NSPC) should be formed to ensure the rights of the SWs.
8. An independent Brothel Monitoring Committee (BMC) should be formed at National and Local levels involving influential stakeholders.
9. To avoid any counterproductive reaction, it is also necessary to undertake some small- scale operation researches in order to understand the sex cultures, sex business, and power dynamics of the evicted brothel areas.



Annexure

Annexure 1: Tables

Table 3.15.1: Stigma, discrimination, and integration

Aware of any program that reducing stigma and discrimination				
Yes	30.0% (12)	6.7% (2)	9.1% (10)	13.3% (24)
No	42.5% (17)	56.7% (17)	40.9% (45)	43.9% (79)
Do not know	25.0% (10)	30.0% (9)	46.4% (51)	38.9% (70)
No response	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	3.6% (4)	3.9% (7)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Stigma can be removed				
Yes	30.0% (12)	10.0% (3)	7.3% (8)	12.8% (23)
No	42.5% (17)	66.7% (20)	60.0% (66)	57.2% (103)
Do not know	25.0% (10)	16.7% (5)	29.1% (32)	26.1% (47)
No response	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	3.6% (4)	3.9% (7)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Access in the mainstream society				
Yes	77.5% (31)	46.7% (14)	38.2% (42)	48.3% (87)
No	10.0% (4)	26.7% (8)	29.1% (32)	24.4% (44)
Do not know	12.5% (5)	16.7% (5)	27.3% (30)	22.2% (40)
No response	.0% (0)	10.0% (3)	5.5% (6)	5.0% (9)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
People don't want their access to mainstream society				
Yes	50.0% (20)	33.3% (10)	30.9% (34)	35.6% (64)
No	35.0% (14)	36.7% (11)	26.4% (29)	30.0% (54)
Do not know	12.5% (5)	23.3% (7)	39.1% (43)	30.6% (55)
No response	2.5% (1)	6.7% (2)	3.6% (4)	3.9% (7)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

Table 3.16: Gender-Based violence and abuse

Variables	Areas			Total
	Fultola	Madaripur	Tangail	
Gender based violence				
Yes	70.0% (28)	60.0% (18)	63.6% (70)	64.4% (116)
No	30.0% (12)	36.7% (11)	32.7% (36)	32.8% (59)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	3.6% (4)	2.8% (5)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Physical violence				
Yes	67.5% (27)	73.3% (22)	66.4% (73)	67.8% (122)
No	32.5% (13)	23.3% (7)	28.2% (31)	28.3% (51)
No response	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	5.5% (6)	3.9% (7)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

Type of physical violence				
Beating	77.8% (21)	77.3% (17)	89.0% (65)	84.4% (103)
Throwing stone	3.7% (1)	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	0.8% (1)
Slapping	11.1% (3)	13.6% (3)	8.2% (6)	9.8% (12)
Kidnapping	7.4% (2)	9.1% (2)	2.7% (2)	4.9% (6)
N	100.0% (22)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (122)
Psychological violence				
Yes	85.0% (34)	66.7% (20)	77.3% (85)	77.2% (139)
No	.0% (0)	23.3% (7)	17.3% (19)	14.4% (26)
No response	15.0% (6)	10.0% (3)	5.5% (6)	8.3% (15)
N	100.0% (27)	100.0% (22)	100.0% (6)	100.0% (12)
Type of psychological violence				
Blackmail	17.6% (6)	35.0% (7)	31.8% (27)	28.8% (40)
Intimidation	17.6% (19)	30.0% (6)	37.6% (32)	41.0% (57)
Humiliation	20.6% (7)	20.0% (4)	17.6% (15)	18.7% (26)
No response	5.9% (2)	15.0% (3)	12.9% (11)	11.5% (16)
N	100.0% (34)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (85)	100.0% (139)
Verbal abuse				
Yes	90.0% (36)	83.3% (25)	80.0% (88)	82.8% (149)
No	5.0% (2)	10.0% (3)	14.5% (16)	11.7% (21)
No response	5.0% (2)	6.7% (2)	5.5% (6)	5.6% (10)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)
Types of verbal abused				
Shish Mara/Calling	5.6% (2)	12.0% (3)	17.0% (15)	13.4% (20)
Teasing	36.1% (13)	40.0% (10)	35.2% (31)	36.2% (54)
Slangs	58.3% (21)	48.0% (12)	47.7% (42)	50.3% (75)
N	100.0% (36)	100.0% (25)	100.0% (88)	100.0% (149)

Table 3.16.1: The perpetrators of gender-based violence

The perpetrators of gender-based violence				
Clients	2.5% (1)	13.3% (4)	11.8% (13)	10.0% (18)
Own family members	5.0% (2)	13.3% (4)	7.3% (8)	7.8% (14)
House owners/madams	7.5% (3)	13.3% (4)	20.9% (23)	16.7% (30)
Intimate partner/babu	2.5% (1)	23.3% (7)	10.9% (12)	11.1% (20)
Police/ Administrators	12.5% (5)	3.3% (1)	.9% (1)	3.9% (7)
Politicians	.0% (0)	3.3% (1)	2.7% (3)	2.2% (4)
Community members/ leaders	52.5% (21)	13.3% (4)	26.4% (29)	30.0% (54)
Religious leaders	.0% (0)	.0% (0)	.9% (1)	.6% (1)
No response	17.5% (17)	16.7% (5)	18.2% (20)	17.8% (32)
N	100.0% (40)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (110)	100.0% (180)

Seeking help after experiencing gender based violence								
Clinic	.0%	(0)	3.3%	(1)	1.8%	(2)	1.7%	(3)
Peer sex worker	5.0%	(2)	10.0%	(3)	32.7%	(36)	22.8%	(41)
Friend's house	2.5%	(1)	.0%	(0)	.9%	(1)	1.1%	(2)
Family house	.0%	(0)	3.3%	(1)	2.7%	(1)	2.2%	(4)
Outreach workers/NGO	27.5%	(11)	20.0%	(6)	15.5%	(17)	18.9%	(34)
Nobody	20.0%	(8)	30.0%	(6)	16.4%	(18)	19.4%	(35)
Do not know	37.5%	(15)	20.0%	(9)	14.5%	(16)	20.6%	(37)
No response	7.5%	(3)	13.3%	(4)	15.5%	(17)	13.3%	(24)
N	100.0%	(40)	100.0%	(30)	100.0%	(110)	100.0%	(180)
When was the incidence of violence high?								
Before eviction	37.5%	(15)	16.7%	(5)	14.5%	(16)	20.0%	(36)
During eviction	22.5%	(9)	43.3%	(13)	58.2%	(64)	47.8%	(86)
After eviction	40.0%	(16)	30.0%	(9)	17.3%	(19)	24.4%	(44)
Do not know	.0%	(0)	6.7%	(2)	.0%	(0)	1.1%	(2)
No response	.0%	(0)	3.3%	(1)	10.0%	(11)	6.7%	(12)
N	100.0%	(40)	100.0%	(30)	100.0%	(110)	100.0%	(180)

Annexure 2: FGD Participants

FGD: Fultola Brothel

As observed by the participants, "Fultala brothel of Khulna was established before the independence of Bangladesh. This brothel has been evicted by the local Hujurs, political leaders, and administration several times during the last 2 decades. Though local people have no problem, with the help of political leaders, newly elected local chairman evicted this brothel on 3rd September 2015. The reason behind the eviction is controversial."

Table 5.1 FGD Participants Demographic Profile (Fultola Brothel, Khulna)

Name	Profession	Name of organization
1. Md Shafiul Islam	SI (Police)	Fultola Thana, Khulna
2. Md. Sohel	Politician	Fultola
3. Kazi Abdul Hai	Babu	Fultola
4. Md. Nesar Uddin	Journalist	Fultola Reporters Club
5. Rajia Sultana	Councillor	PHTC
6. Md. Alamgir Khan	Business man, Banik Somiti	Fultola bazar
7. Shahnaj Pervin Bijli	Sex worker Leader	Fultola brothel
8. Moni	Sex worker	Fultola brothel
9. Salma	Sex worker	Fultola brothel
10. Shikha Ghosh	CSE	CSS, Fultola
11. Mahbulul Alam (Mithu)	PSTC	PSTC, Fultola
12. Bino	KMSS	KMSS, Khulna

Brothel scenario: Total number of SWs =65; Number of house: 4; Landlord: 4; Number of Babu: 20; Total room: 80; Madam/pimp: 20.

FGD: Madaripur Brothel

As noted by journalists and local elites attending the FGD: "This brothel is about 250 years old and it was one of the few brothels which survived British and Pakistan regime. The people of West Pakistan built this in association with British white people. In addition, people who used to

come for their business would come here. This establishment was used to run by wealthy people.

Table 5.2 FGD Participants' Demographic Profile (Madaripur Brothel)

Name	Profession	Name of organization
1. Md. Shohidul Islam	Women and Children Welfare Officer	Madaripur
2. Shanaz Rubi	Madaripur Mohila Kollayan Songtha (MMKS)	Madaripur
3. Momota Begum	Land Lady (brothel)	Madaripur
4. Shofikul Islam	PIACT	Madaripur
5. Tara Begum	Madam	Madaripur Brothel
6. Kamal Hossain	Businessman	Madaripur Bazar
7. Rajib Gosh	Babu	Madaripur Brothel
8. Rani	Bandhobi Nari Songothon (member)	Madaripur
9. Tahmina	SW Leader	Madaripur Brothel
10. Forhad Khan	Bandhobi Nari Songothon	Madaripur
11. Md.Habibullah	Mohila Kollayn Songtha (Member)	Madaripur
12 Md.Shajahan	Journalist (Daily Ittefaq)	Daily Ittefaq)

FGD : Kandapara Brothel, Tangail

This important FGD was conducted with the brothel community and other stakeholders to evaluate their attitudes towards the eviction of this Kandapara brothel. The FGD collected basic information on participants' occupation and organizational affiliation. In this FGD, majority of the participants' occupation was NGO works and journalism, while two of the respondents were SWs' leaders.

Table 5.3 Demographic Profile (Kandapara, Tangail)

Sl. No.	Name	Profession	Name of organization
1.	Sajib Kumar Pande	Senior field officer	BRAC
2.	Porimol Bepari	Area manager	BRAC
3.	Hirok Chowdhury	Accountant	HASAB
4.	Shely	Executive director	Progoti
5.	Rabeya	Madam/SW	NMS
6.	Jahanara	Former sex worker	NMS
7.	Laheri	Researcher	BELA
8.	Manjurul Islam	Officer	RPDO
9.	Nodi	Sex Worker	NMS
10.	Kamonashish Shekhor	Journalist	Prothom Alo
11.	Solayman	Businessman	Businessman

Annexure 3: Case Study Findings

Six (6) Individual Stories were documented with the SWs in and around the evicted study brothels. The findings are as follows:

Story of Mala

Fultola Brothel, Khulna, Age: 19, Education: Grade Six

I joined prostitution while I was 13. My father used to gamble and my brother did the same while he was growing up. My mother used to work as a domestic aid. My sister lives in Dhaka and she got married there. I used to do all kinds of household chores besides studying. I studied up to class 6. Then, I started working in a Hindu household beside my residences as the cost of study in high school became hard to bear for my mother. However, there was no word of happiness in my family. My brother used to beat me without any reason and I could not go out. Moreover, if I went anywhere for some reason, he would beat or exploit me. Speaking in a loud voice in our home was not allowed and it would be a problem for me. I used to quarrel and scream at my mother. Actually, my mother did not beat me but instead tried to understand me in some matters.

I became 12 years old in 2009. I could not bear the torture from my brother anymore. A woman in whose household I used to work decided to shift to Dhaka and I requested her to take me along. She agreed, I left my home, and my journey began.

She agreed, but my mother did not agree and my brother did not say anything about this. I left for Dhaka with the woman. Her residence was far from Mirpur 12. A few days later, I caught pox. My landlady suggested that I go home for a few days because her children could be

infected as well. I felt very happy at the prospect of going home. She gave me 60 Tk. for transportation costs.

I took a bus from Mahakali bus stand, and then changed to a bus heading to Nethrokona. I did not know the exact cost the trip would take and left with the money she gave me. I asked the bus helper how much money it would take if I wanted to go to Mirpur, and he replied that, it would cost 30 Taka. Therefore, if I wanted to go to Mahakali I would have to pay 30 but then to go to Netrokona I would have to pay double the cost. However, I only had 60 Taka and it was not enough. Thinking about it, I started walking but did not get up on the bus. What was the property owner thinking when she gave me only 60 Taka for such a long journey? As I was walking, I suddenly noticed that two men were following me. They tried to say something but when I saw them, I started walking quicker. While doing so, my sandals were torn, but I did not stop. However, they caught up with me and asked me what had happened and why I was walking so quickly. They were around 25 years old. I told them that I was going back to my home village. After telling them everything about me, one of the men said, "I have a sister and she has a daughter". They asked me if I wanted to do the job of taking the little girl to school, but I did not agree with him at any cost. They tried to persuade me to take the job. They bought me a pair of sandals. They kept trying to persuade me but my answer was still the same. I suddenly noticed that daylight was fading while we were talking. They asked me where I would stay at night and invited me to go with them to their sister's residence. They wanted me to talk to their sister and if I felt good, I could stay otherwise I would be sent home.

Sob kisu shune raji hoye gelam, maya lege gelo. Amara jara kharap kaj kori tader maya beshi thake bolei tow amra jibone kisu korte pari na"

The two men bought tickets for me and themselves but I did not know the destination, but later found out they were for Faridpur. After getting on the bus, I started to worry as to where they were actually taking me and to see whom. They soon fell asleep and by then the bus was in Bartiapara. They sat away from me on the other aisle. I noticed that the bus helper was looking at me in a perverted way and he suddenly sat beside me and proceeded to touch me.

I started screaming, "Brother! What are you doing?" He moved away swiftly. The two men woke up and thought that I must have been dreaming which was why I started screaming. Then the helper came again to ask what happened but I could not say anything because I felt shy. I did not say anything during the night while we were in the bus. We reached our destination in the morning. The men told me to get down; we were at their sister's home. When we were getting off the bus, I noticed that they motioned a woman and pointed at me. They asked me to go with the woman and that they would come after having some breakfast.

The woman took me to a place and said, "go inside and talk to my sister, get fresh and have some food".

"oidin rat theke sokal porjonto kisu gola dea name ni, mone hossilo kisu ekta kharap hote jasse"

When I went inside and into a large area, I saw some girls were talking bath in the washroom. It was a three stairs building. A woman from this building called me towards her, "hey girl". However, she did not say as to what I would be doing. I went with her, telling her everything about me. I asked her about her daughter and she took me to her room while listening to me. I noticed that there was a bed, a television and a table in her room.

She showed me to a bedroom in which I would be staying, and also showed me the bathroom and told me to take a shower and said that she would be sending some clothes. Then she went away. I was surprised; I had never seen a place like this before. I did not understand if it was some kind of hotel or a bad place, I was very confused about. At that time, I did not realise how bad this place was. A girl named "Asiya" came to give me a dress and pants. I had never worn these types of clothes before and I asked her to give me normal clothes. She told me, "SWs always wear those types of dresses. Don't you know that this is why they brought you here? They took you in to a brothel. The woman who took you in this house, her name is "Banu". She is your property owner. You are a small girl, you can earn a lot."

Listening to all of this, I was very shocked, and started crying. I did not have the strength to say anything. In that time, the girl tried me to explain many things. She said that if I were to live in here I should move carefully, there is no benefit to crying and these SWs were not thinking

about anyone, earning a lot of money was enough for them. I could not stop crying, I cried and cried. At that moment, she became angry and beat me then said, "I can't understand you. Keep crying, I am going, I have lot of work to do now".

After an hour, the property owner came and saw that I had not taken my shower. She became angry and said, "Go and take a shower, if you listen to me, I will take care of you. But if you not do this, it will be very bad for you, because you are a bitch; you have to be fucked off." I was scared of that woman, she was very unattractive. Out of fear, I went to the shower and started crying in there. However, she shouted at me to come out in a hurry from bathroom. However, I told her that "if you do not give me a scarf, I will not come out". She gave me a scarf.

The owner of house told me, "I spent 70,000 Taka to take you in here. Therefore, I can't bear to tolerate your drama. Stay in here, eat anything, have amusement by earning money. There's nothing for you at your own home except getting a beating and eating spoiled foods. I will give you a salary and you stay here for 1 year. If you do not feel good, you can leave after 1 year. There are many girls like you, they are doing this work. Stay here, you will feel better. As you are born in a poor family, you don't need to think about that. Didn't your husband fuck you? So, why don't you do it now? You can earn money. This job is the same thing. Your husband does not pay but they pay."

She left after saying these. Then she sent a meal to my room, but I could not eat anything. I did not eat anything else for the last two days; hence, I had no appetite. I lay down, I was not conscious when I slept. In the evening, the property owner called me and told me that the police would come and taught me what to say in front of the police. I had to talk according to her direction in front of police.

The police came and I dictated everything the property owner had forced me to say. I gave positive answers. The police were satisfied and left. That night, a man came to this room and they locked the room from other side. Many people wanted to spend the night with the new girl. Those who would come first, they would able to do it by paying a huge sum of money. A man paid money before he entered. I started crying when I saw the man and did not allow him to come closer. That man was good, he

did not do anything. That night, at least 5 people came to my room. I cried myself to sleep. I was small so they did not do anything.

Two months had passed. During these two months, I could not do any physical intercourse, but instead used my thigh to do it. They could not catch my tricks, because that room was very dark. However, suddenly, I got pregnant. I could not move. However, there was a satisfaction knowing that I had made an income of a huge amount of money. The Lord behaved very well with me. Everyone used to take good care of me.

After 2 months, I started having physical relationships. For the first time, it was very hard for me; my room was full of blood. During that time, everyone heard my voice and I had made a name for myself.

3 years passed by doing this work. I had an affair with someone who lived in the locality. I dreamt that, we would get married. He took me to Khulna. We lived together for 3 months. Those days went very well. However, as time went by, people got to know that I had come from a brothel and a problem arose in that area.

The local people did not allow me to live in here. I had nothing to do. I moved to Fultola area without causing any problems. Here I paid the rent from the money I earned. I gained an income and gave some money to my husband. Everything was going well. After staying for three months, the eviction started. The locals said that nothing would happen, but in seven days, they cut off the electricity connection. Soon the property owners told us that they would not be giving us shelter anymore. Everyone decided to pay 10000 Taka as some form of compensation and I did the same since I could do nothing else, I was compelled. Those girls who were inside the brothel could not be allowed to go outside and on the other hand, the girls who belonged outside could not be allowed to enter. We stopped eating at that time and Masi was not coming. All communications were shut down. We were in the worst condition possible. Police guarded the outside but they could not enter inside the brothel.

Everyone stopped all kinds of support. The police would come only if called because they did everything without compensation. They used to help us, but now they do not. Many NGOs such as PHT, Nari Kallayan and other human rights NGO's came to our aid and tried to support us.

However, we were in a situation where the NGO's could not help us. They could not give us shelter and for reason we did not listen to them. I could not understand where we would go. No one would support us if we moved someplace else. The chairman of the council said that if anyone extends shelter to any SWs, they would be punished.

So if no one gave us shelter, where would we go? In addition, I could not go back to my own home. Therefore, I tried to contact other known relatives. I was confused about my decision since most of them had moved to other areas. I went with one of the sisters in the brothel to her home and stayed there for some days. I soon felt hesitation because, I was staying there but I could not contribute to anything and I was confused as to what I would do. The customers who used to come to me at the brothel used to call me and told me to go to different places. They wanted to come and meet me. There was no work I could do because nobody would give me any work outside. Those who came from outside the brothel knew but some went outside to look for work but they did not get any because we were not used to doing any other kind of work. I went to Tangail from my sister's house. However, I didn't like the atmosphere there, so I returned and lived with her for 3 more months.

I stayed inside mostly and did not go out. I didn't give too much attention to what was going on. I could not understand anything good in life, because I spent my entire life going through beatings and bad behaviours.

Recently, I have been in a very bad condition. I am still waiting as to when we can get back to our brothel. My previous life was very good but now problems were arising here. "People would pay money before any physical relations". If brothels are not set up, we are going to have to beg on the streets without any income.

When I was in the brothel, different NGO's used to help us in many ways, like supplying condoms. PSTC has DIC. We went to the doctor 2 times in a week. They talked about SIT, STD, RIT, etc. We also used to talk to them about HIV tests and sexually transmitted diseases.

CSS also provided help. They required 10 Taka for a ticket. The PSTC was much better, they did a very good job and they always used to go inside and take good care of us. CSS has a school. Our children could

study there, however without any special support. I would be very happy if the brothel resettled and have no more expectations now in my life than staying in the brothel.

"Janen, amra je kotota oshohay eta amra jani. Ekhon koi jabo, ki korbo, k jane. Koi jabo ki korbo ekmatro Allah jane"

Story of Lipa

Fultola Brothel, Khulna, Age: 26, Education: Grade Six

At the age of 14, I got married to a boy at Fultola market. My hometown is in Satkhira. In our house, under the same roof, I lived with my mom, two elder brothers and two younger sisters. My father was absent and we were staying with our elder brother's family. My mother and elder brother had me married at a very young age, but I didn't intervene. I thought that marriage was a good solution to remove any disturbance. My aunt knew the person who married me and I liked him. However, little did I know that there was another story waiting for me. My journey to prostitution began once I entered my husband's house.

"Khankir bacha, sob meyeder bea kore ene ene ei notibarite fele. Ei shalar beta magi chorai khay."

That man had a shop in a market, a canister house but his parents were absent. His sister had gotten married. I was very happy because there was no one else in our house except me and my husband. However, there was great suffering waiting for me in the future that I could have never predicted.

The days were passing with a lot of interest and seven days passed away in happiness. I wanted to go to see my family and so my husband took me to my elder brother's house. After 3 days, I returned to my in-laws house, but on that day, my husband went missing at night. Two to three days passed and he didn't come home. I was later given the news from my brothers that he notified them that he was engaged in work in Dhaka. My husband soon come back home, but he was so frustrated that without

talking to anybody, he went over and lay down. I asked him what was the matter but he didn't give me answer. He was only mumbling that everything was finished and soon after some time, he said that he went Dhaka to buy some items for his business and while doing so, he was robbed of all his money.

"Tokhono bujhi ni j shalar beta van kortese Takar jonno"

My brother left in a fit of rage. My husband slept. The next morning, he asked me if I could manage some money from my parents' house. After that incident, my days became much harder. Who would I go for help? I was very confused.

I went to my aunt's house to discuss everything. While I was there, a woman who had come to see my aunt had said, "Are you Hafiz's wife? Who gave your marriage to this nefarious boy? This nefarious man takes girl and after two months, he gives away the girl to a naughty house. I could not believe what I was hearing. My aunt did not say much after that woman went away. She gave me five thousand Taka, told me to collect some more money from my parents' house and then carry on with my life for the present time. I didn't know how somebody could take money from their own house.

I went to the market and there I met a woman who said that, "Your husband takes girls and then gives them to the 'naughty house'; you will also be carried into the naughty house by your husband. All these things are an excuse from your husband. Please be informed about your husband. Your parents did not receive this information about your husband and you went on to marry this naughty boy. If you can, go back to your own family home; otherwise go to Dhaka and do work in the garments sector. If you stay here the naughty house will be the only place you will end up in."

I did not want to believe these facts and believe that my husband has another wife so I confronted the

woman about this matter and she offered to take me to the area where this 'naughty house' was located.

When I first went in, I was astonished! I saw that in every room, there was a television, a bed, a table and it was well decorated. There were

girls round the home, some were eating and some were gossiping. Every girl had their own personality. The woman takes me into another room, which was smaller, and in that house was one fridge, a TV, a showcase and a cot. the girls had decorated the rooms themselves.

The woman or "aunty", as they called her, took me near the girls and introduced me to them and the girls asked me come and discuss happy and sorrowful matters with them. One of the girls told me her story. She worked at a garments factory in Dhaka. The man also trapped this girl in a loving relationship and married her. When there was a shortage in the "naughty house", he took the girl there. This girl has been here for three years, and she would be around 18 years of age.

After hearing everything, my heart started spinning. I didn't know what to do; I thought I was going to die. How can someone's luck be so bad? I kept calm and did not think about the whole matter for a while. The aunty told me to go back home and not express anything of this matter with my husband.

I went back to my husband's house and we had lunch. Then I left for my family home to get the money. My husband said that I did not have to do any hard work for him. I told him strictly that I wanted to go back to my family's home but he would not grant me the permission to do so. The next day, after he left the house, I left as well without taking any belongings. I reached my family's home and shared everything with my mother, my elder brother and his wife. My brother's told me to stay here at their house and to see how this situation develops, they wouldn't abandon me.

I stayed for three month in my brother's house. However, my bad luck wouldn't leave me. Soon after I married another man from Madaripur, and after the wedding he took me straight to the naughty house. I was 15 years old at that time. The life of prostitution started from that time and I have been doing so for about 12-13 years. My husband was a broker in the house I worked in. "He brings SWs for men."

At first, I felt a lot of pain. Soon after I did not wait for the men to initiate, I was the one who started the fucking.

The house was overpopulated, the environment was dull, the food was very bad and it was very dirty inside. I ate properly only once a day,

during lunchtime. My daily routine went like this: I woke up at 12:00-1:00 pm, took a bath, ate properly and then started decorating our own bodies. After the decoration ended, I stayed outside and when one customer came, I took him inside and started fucking.

I would have sex 10 to 15 times a day. When I was younger, I had more customers. We didn't prepare our own food because if we did, our faces would become dull and lose its beauty. Our body was our asset. If our youthfulness were to wear out, "no crows would hit us."

There were woman in the house who washed our clothes, made the food and did all other kinds of work. We gave them 300 tk or so, and there were 40 to 60 women who were engaged in marketing.

Some SWs had daughters. The daughters would be taken into the home by the brokers. House owners spent 9000-10000 Taka that money was repaid by the SWs. The SWs fucked 20-25 times in a day. The daughter of the SWs also fucked 20-25 times a day. there was no chance of running away. There were caretakers who managed the goings and comings of everyone in the house.

Once, I tried to run away, but I was caught by another SW from the same house. These SWs were quite ugly and did not work properly. The food in the brothel slowly got better. They spent money according to how much each SW earned but they had no freedom. I was had no daughter; my husband and I lived together in a room. We spent and ate with whatever I earned.

We lived here continuously, we did not work outside. There were always some regular customers. We ate beetle leafs and smoked a cigarette and then started our work. Above all we always worked with middle- aged people and did don't work with customers who looked underage. There was a large variety of people who came to the house, from young to old people. Some people even came from abroad and some stayed for a whole day. For one day, we earned 2000 to 3000 Taka, depending on our own performances.

The local people did not want to give us any money and if we said anything, they'd beat us and showed power. We had to deal with many disturbances, but we had to have sex with them because the homeowners would not do anything as they were locals. They came, locked the door

and started to work. We needed to pay money to policemen if we wanted to say anything against them. It was better to let them do whatever they wanted to do rather than giving money to policemen.

We didn't get any type of help from other people earlier and even today, we do not get any help from anyone.

If we had to go outside the brothel for any service, we needed to pay more money than other people of the society. I went to hospital some days ago and I had to pay extra money for my treatment. I went again to the hospital after that but that time I was not even treated.

If any sex worker died, it caused more problems as we did not have any place in the graveyard to bury the corpse. There were different arrangements to bury any SW. There were so many problems in our lives. We used to work outside the brothel sometimes. If we went to work outside, we needed to be more careful as the client could bring 10 people in the name of one person. We worked in hotels also. That's why it is risky to work outside the brothel.

Earlier, we worked inside the brothel peacefully but at present, it is risky to work as floating sex workers. Some sex workers went to other brothels. I also wanted to go to other places but I remained here when I got the news of it to reopen. I did not save money earlier. If I get chance to work again then this time, I will definitely save money. We are SWs "if we earn 10 Taka we spend 100 tk." Some SWs save money for their partners but I do not do such thing and I can't accumulate money for my husband. If the brothel re-opens, I will find those people who removed us to avenge our eviction.

Story of Moyna

Madaripur, Age: 28, Education: Grade 9

I am from Barisal and I joined prostitution for livelihood. My family was deprived and our situation was very miserable, we were barely living. My father was a police officer and he was murdered and still we don't

know the reason. I was seven and my younger sister was four years old when he died. We used to live in our grandfather's house but our uncle always misbehaved with us. My mother went to her parent's family and I was sent to my aunt's house in Dhaka. There I got admitted into a school. I lived there for three years and then suddenly they went abroad and I was again sent back to my village to live with my mother and sister. They admitted me in class four and my sister in class one in a government school. We were still living with my grandfather. I was happy because I was living with my mother and sister. When I was in class nine my grandfather became sick and he wanted me to get married before he died. My mother accepted his final wish because she was tensed about my future.

I did not want to get married at that time but finally I agreed when I thought about my family's condition. After searching for a long time they got a primary school teacher as my groom who was living next to our village. They were happy about marrying me off with a school teacher as they thought a teacher would be a good person. I also thought like my parents that the nature of a teacher would be very good. My journey to hell begins once I get married with that man.

However, when I entered into the room I felt unhappy by seeing that a middle aged man came to see me. However, I had no way but get married with that man. When I went to my husband's house I saw a very well furnished house made by tin. He was living there with his mother and a younger brother. I felt unhappy when I got married with that man but after seeing his lovely family I started feeling comfortable. I was happy with my new home. We went to India after two months of our marriage for our honeymoon trip. We spent 15 days in India and at the last day of the trip we went to a market. At the market suddenly I got lost and started to search here and there for him but I didn't find him.

I searched for him and called him for a long time and then I waited there but I did not find him. At that time we did not have any phone to make a call. I had written the name of the hotel in a page where we stayed during that tour. I thought to go back to the hotel then maybe I would find him. When I got into a CNG and showed the address to the driver, he asked me about myself but I was frightened, speechless and cried.

The driver stopped the CNG by making a cause that he was going to toilet. After coming back, he made me senseless by putting a handkerchief on my nose. In the next day I found myself in a brothel. The condition of that brothel was really measurable. The forewoman of the brothel was very dangerous. Her behaviour was hundred times worse than ours one.

In every morning they called us and kept us standing towards the sun so that our tolerance capacity could increase. In the morning they gave egg, milk, breads, and fruits as breakfast; fish, vegetable, meat as a lunch; snacks in the afternoon and milk again after dinner. There were many rules and regulations. Their customers were allowed from the morning to 12 a.m. but after a.m. they were not allowed. Usually in our county customers start to come at night but in that brothel everything is to be closed by 12 a.m.

Anybody could not eat food as their own wish. If anyone would become fat then nobody would like her. However, it's totally opposite there. There were beautiful ladies in that brothel. I was also beautiful while living there. We had a lot of facilities but I never touched any money there. There weren't any situation to communicate with outsiders. Girls could not talk with each other. When new girls used to come, they always kept eyes on those new girls. They never gave those girls to talk to others. Without the forewomen, nobody could speak loudly. That place was full of criminals and I think, jail is better than that place. I stayed in that brothel as like this, "evahabei chilo onek kannakati korsi ar Allah re daksi sune ni"

Once some police came to the brothel suddenly. They asked us about a powerful criminal. During this time I came to the police and said them about how I was dragged into that brothel. Police took me to the police station and then handed me over to the Bangladeshi police. Bangladeshi police helped me to get back to my home.

After coming back to my home I was surprised to see that my younger sister got married, my mom, grandfather and uncle all of them became old. I told them everything about what happened with me. My mother started to cry after listening to all these. I knew Society would not accept me anymore. In my in-laws house everything was changed. My husband

got married to another girl. They had a baby. Everything got changed in the last nine years.

Local people arranged an arbitrator. In the arbitration they said that if I wanted to be sacred I would have to work as a servant in a local member's home. If they thought that I could be sacred then they would think about me. In that family there were four members- the man, his wife, one daughter and one son. They didn't want to keep me in their home but he kept me forcefully in his home. His elder daughter who was 20 years old requested me to leave their home otherwise her mother would leave the home and their family would be destroyed, which she was unable to tolerate. I felt bad to hear that. Then I started to think about where I could go. Everyone started to ignore me. After that I requested that member to give me a good job or sent me to Dhaka. I wanted to take a home on rent in Dhaka and as the people of Dhaka did not know about me they would not ignore me. At that time I was very attractive and that's why he was scared to give me job anywhere. On that day I wanted to go to my mother's place. However, my uncle refused to keep me in his home. Then I told them "gola chapa diya maira felo ma tumi na parle chacha re bolo marte. Ai jobon ami ar boite parbo na."

Then my uncle suggested me to go to a brothel and stay there. This was the first time he gave me a good suggestion. Then I came to Madaripur brothel. I heard that this brothel would be evicted from the first day I have come here. The local leader will take the land for making market and mosque.

I came to this brothel on my own will and no one forced me. When I came to Madaripur, I told everything to a woman. She took me to the forewomen of this brothel. There she gave me a cottage. For me it was my last hope.

Before the eviction, many people from different NGOs, journalists used to come here and talked with us. They tried to suggest us that we should stay there. At that time there was no electricity for seven days. We got stuck in the dark. We did not get any support from police or administration. Even no civil person could help us. We had to stay under the open sky.

In one fine morning few men came with a signboard that government wanted to eject us. The time was around 10a.m. All the people of the brothel were not awoken on that time so we could not be united. We were few people present there. We wanted to uproot the signboard, which was rooted there. We had huge argument with them, slangs were used. At one moment girls started to throw pots and pans. In the meantime chairman called many people. They started fighting and stretching the girls out of their rooms. It was really a horrible situation.

"Ai j hat vhangā khankir bachara para uthanor somoykar hatahati tanatani korte giye aktane vhainga felse"

"Notir polara ahon chudena tagor ma der"

"je khoti korse amago amra Jodi manus hoia thaki Allah Jodi thake tagor obossoi bichar hoibo."

After torturing us they took money, ornament and many more expensive things from us. I wanted to escape from that place with my money that was inside the brothel but they did not give me that opportunity. They started to stretch my hand. Some pulled my hand very badly and my hand got broken.

"oi din joto kosto hoise atokhani jibone are hoy ni hoyto moroner somoy o hobe na."

I could not go anywhere with this broken hand. I had to remain in this open air field.

Next day I thought about where I could go but I realized that I had no other place to go. Then I decided to commit suicide but somehow I could not do this. Now-a-days I work with a sister. I am going through a miserable condition.

Story of Salma

Tangail, Age: 34, Floating Sex Worker, Education: Grade 7

I have been a sex worker since I was young. I was born in this brothel. My daughter is also a sex worker. Our life will go like this forever and we have nothing to do. "Tomrai potita baniaso, tomrai joubon vog korba abar shomoy moto latti dia ber koira diba" (You have made us prostitutes, you enjoy our young times, and finally you will kick us once you are finished). We are like dolls, if you want to adorn us then you can and if you want to split us into parts you also can do it. I was living with my grandmother during my growing age. My hometown is in Rajshahi and I lived there with my grandmother, uncle, aunt and with their two children. I studied there. In my childhood, I heard that my mother lived in Dhaka and worked as a domestic aid. I thought that when I would grow up I would also do like this. My mother used to come at Eid.

I dropped out from school at class seven. Then everybody started thinking about my marriage. Though I wanted to complete my study, my mother stopped it. I didn't know that my mother was doing something wrong. I had a relation with a boy who lived in our locality. When my relation became public, my grandmother told this to my mother. My mother warned me if I would maintain this relation, she would stop my study. In the meantime my mother brought me to Madaripur and got me admitted in class nine. I lived in a hostel with many other girls. My mother used to visit me frequently and bought many things for me. At that juncture, I knew that my mother was working in a mill.

When my SSC exam was knocking at the door, one of my friends informed me that my mother was living in a brothel. Actually, I was not surprised because sometimes I had a doubt like this. When I heard it, I wanted to visit her on the next day and my journey begins.

Next day my mother came to me and then I asked her about this. There she explained me that she didn't want that life. She didn't want me to become that my like her. That is why she was keeping me away from her life. I cried a lot then and could not concentrate on my study. I was

scared to think that what would happen if everybody knew about my mother.

My mother asks me that if I don't like to study then no need to proceed with the study. She told me that one proposal came for me to my uncle. One educated boy wanted to marry me. Then I heard the name of the boy from my mother. Then I started to like the boy and I agreed to marry that boy. The home town of that boy was in Barisal. After three years of our marriage we had a baby. When my baby was born I was at my grandmother's place. In the meantime every one of my in-laws house got to know about my mother. They refused to accept me. They wanted me to divorce my husband. All the members of my family tried to convince them. My mother proposed them to keep us in Dhaka and also to bear all the expenses of us. However, they didn't agree. They wanted to keep the child and get me out of the house. This incident spread out all over the locality. Everyone was talking about this. I felt very hurt and decided to live with my mother. When I came to my mother's place it was really a different picture for me. When I entered there I noticed that all the girls were roaming with weird getup. Some girls were teen aged, some were young and some were old women. Overall it was a weird situation.

There was one tin shade house and inside the house there were many small rooms side by side. Everyone used to roam around as like they had no work to do. The house was very dirty. Moreover, beside the dirty house there was a drain and garbage. I felt like nobody could clean that place ever. In that home some were cooking, some were smoking, some were taking shower, some were playing cards and some were gossiping. It was a different world for me. Then I went to my mother's room. It was a small room but it was neat and clean and also beautifully decorated. In that room there was a fridge, TV, table, showcase etc.

Many beautiful cloths were hanging there. However, there was bad smell coming from the room. I could not say anything to my mother; actually I didn't understand what I should say to my mother. After that I slept in that room for long time. I was so frustrated. My mother was sleeping outside the room. We could not say anything to each other. We slept for all night; we didn't even take the dinner. In the morning my mother told me everything that her income was getting lower as she was getting

older. I tried to convince my mother to go from here and I wanted to work here. My mother didn't agree with me. After many arguments we decided that my mother would stay in another room with an aunt. I started to stay in my mother's room.

When I started working I was good looking. New girls were in demand in that place. Everyone looks for new girls and this is the reason I could earn well. I used to deal with seven or eight customers in a day. We were passing our life very well with my earning. We used to get at least 300 Taka per customer and often the rate was higher than this depending on the customer.

I used to earn 2000-3000 Taka per day. Sometimes I could earn this amount at one night. In the occasion of Eid we could earn more because many types of people used to come here on Eid. Some foreign customers used to give huge amount of money for spending a night.

"jibone onek Taka kamaisi kintu nijer moto khoroch korte parini kono Taka poisa jomate pari ni oi somoy ja paisi family r pechone dhalsi"

There were some local goons and local leaders who didn't want to pay money after spending time with us as well as they tortured us. They always forced sex workers according to their wishes. If the sex workers refused them they tortured them. We always had to remain worried about this.

The picture inside the brothel was totally different. Money was everything there. There was a big market outside the brothel. We used to shop from there. They always used to make to more benefits from us. For example if the price of one dress was 1000 Taka they would take 1500 Taka from us. Because they knew that we could not go to other markets.

We were deprived form the all facilities. If we wanted to get these facilities we had to spend a lot of money. "akbar arekjon potitar pete baccha chole ascilo shomoymoto buje nai nosto krote pare nai. Pore operation korte hospital a gesilo bole kina, valo manusher baccha koto shadhona koreo hoina, ader kivabe ato baccha hoi."

"tomra shotorkotar shathe kaj korte parona, tomra nijelai tou shomaje cholte paro na? shudhu shudhu baccha jonmo deyar jhuki naw kno?"

For this reason sex worker didn't want to go in hospital.

Usually I didn't go outside the brothel. Once I went inside the brothel, I spent most of the time inside there. There were huge differences between inside and outside of the brothel. Their life styles also differed from the outsiders.

There was huge injustice and irregularity. When we heard that they would eradicate us from that place, we could not believe this because we heard that rumour for many times. Local leader and honourable family like Khan Family always mistreated us. They were benefited from this eviction.

Everyone gets benefited by us except us. Most of the sex workers didn't think about the future. They spent all the money they earned. Most of the sex workers had been in this profession throughout their whole lives. I personally didn't know anyone who could change their lives. One sex worker who was very beautiful got married to a local member. However, the member didn't take her in his home. He made a small cottage in the brothel for her.

In the brothel there were many renowned people's wives, children. They could not take them in the society. They had to remain in the brothel always. Actually this is not a life. Everyone using us every way they could. "magigor oi jaiga jatar jonno ase." People came here just to fulfill their desires.

They tortured us at the time of eviction. They tormented s using every mean they could. "71 re joto nirjaton na hoyse tar cheye beshi nirjaton hoyse para uthanur somoy , bodmasher dolgula jevabe parse amader eto diner kamai malpotro sob lotpat korse, elakar lokjon shilo na tara onno elaka thake asce"

Story of Mita

Age: 32, Education: Nil, Tangail

I have been in this profession since my age 15. Nobody forced me to do this business. I came here willingly. I had strong desirability for dress, jewelleryes, and luxurious life since my childhood. Our house was beside the brothel. Out of curiosity, one evening, I entered into the brothel to have a look. When I entered inside, nobody said anything. Suddenly a woman came and asked me, "why are you moving around?" In reply, I asked her why those girls were wearing gorgeous dresses/make-ups and moving around, and if they were actresses. I told her that I liked these girls so much and I wanted to be like them. That woman asked me about my residence and also told me that if I would stay with them, I would be very happy, I could eat whatever I want, and could do shopping as much as I want. If I stay in that place my family would take me out of the brothel as it was near to my home. She promised that she would take me to another brothel. Within couple of weeks my journey started as a concubine, and then as a prostitute.

She asked me to be careful and nobody should know about me going there. If they knew that, they would not allow me to go here. I went to home and did not say anything to anyone and again thought about what to do. I did not like the poor situation of my family. We had to starve for most the time of the day.

After two days, again I went to that lady's place. That lady told me that I had to live in another place for some days. Then I would return here. I asked her about how I could do that. She told me to go there in the next day and she would take me there.

I went there at dawn. A woman was wearing a "burqua". She was standing in the bus stand with a man. I was feeling uneasy. But I went there to have a good life. They took me to Dhaka by bus. Then he look me to a big house, I never saw such a big house before. I was feeling differently good. They left me on the ground floor, and they went to the 2nd floor for some conversation. I was waiting for their conversation to

be finished. In the meantime a servant provided me with some snacks such as- fruits, Juice, cake etc. I became happy. It had been a long time that I couldn't eat such kinds of food and I ate all of those gradually. In the meantime that woman came and said that "amar chachar basay aita. Tui aikane takbe kaj kirbe khabi-dabi, tara valo-kaoya, kapor-copor dibe, kono somossah hobe na"

I didn't know why I went to that place. But I flew from my house, as there I suffered from poverty. But I was feeling so good as I could be amidst of luxury in that place. I forgot my past. I finished having conversation with that woman and she left. She gave me an address and phone number to contact if I would face any problem.

I stayed there. There were a middle aged man, a little girl and three servants in that house. I lived there with great comfort and I had good relation with them. But an old man sometimes used to touch me in the name of different works. I did not like those types of works. But I did not say anything against it. He had a little granddaughter who used to go to school. I heard that she is an orphan.

Once, there were only me and that man in the house alone and no one else was there. After finishing all works, I was sleeping. Suddenly I woke up and noticed that, someone was laying down on me. I screamed. He pressed his hands on my mouth so that I could not make sound and started sexual intercourse with me. The bed sheet got wet due to my first time sexual intercourse at that night. Pain and bleeding did not stop at any cost. Guard called someone and admitted me into the hospital. They did not take me to that house from hospital.

After seven days, the women who brought me to Dhaka took me from hospital.

"Ami r manusr basay kaj korbo Na" I said to her. Then she asked me about which types of place I would like to stay she would take me there. Then she again took me to a place in Dhaka. She left me there and went away as the environment was very bad inside that house. There were at least 6 girls in that room and each of them were of different age. There were no proper arrangements for dressing and other equipment. Bad smell was in the entire room. All the dresses, television, fridge were shabby. I was not feeling good. I was thinking about my home after a

long time, but I could not go there. I started to cry and some of them told me that "oi ceri aisob dong bad dey, tore ante onek maal dalte hoise, akon telcey gei vabe bolbo tik temne colbe, onno kisu cinta korle kintu jane maira felbo" then she slept and another girl rumki said-"sun akhon ki kaj korte hibo sob boltesi sei anujayi toiri hoyo jao. Onno kisu cinta korar dorker nai."

Those three girls taught me how and where I had to go for a job, how to do that work. They taught me all kinds of work what I had to do. They encouraged me with affection. As, I could not go to my home, I agreed with what they asked me to do and said that "Apnader sob kotha sunbo kintu amare valobaste hoibo."

They started crying when they heard me saying this and immediately hugged me. I was feeling relaxed after many days. But I did not realise that relaxation would become a matter of agitation in the upcoming time.

They used to go to different hotels, houses, and clubs. All of those were very beautiful. They collected customers by hook or by crook in day or at night. Customers used to take them to their places. I also did it for many times, I went to many places, and I went outside of Dhaka, such as - Sylhet, Cox's-bazar, Bandarban, Rangamati etc. Many people took me with them at the time of travelling. If I lived there with them for two days they paid me 10000-20000 Taka, and they used to provide good foods; I also did my shopping with them. Some boys, especially young boys, used to behave badly. They told that only one would do sex with me, but they brought more people to in the name of 1 person to get intimate with me. They used to say that "Aivabe korbe oivabe korbe" and if I did not follow the direction they used to beat me.

Sometimes, some young boys used to force me to do sexual intercourse. There were many incidents. "kono kono somoy oi jaygay,buke kamor ditto, tipatipi aisob korto, maya-doya korto na.". "ak ber ak bura bole ki mke ney, ami to kono obostay nibo na, pore jor kore muke dey nitei hoito, na hole Mair dibe, police keo free ta dite nito, no hole rath e kam korte ditona." There were thousands of sad incidents. "manus manuser dukkhe koste pay ar amader dukkhe lokhe upohas kore."

We used to take all kinds of drugs such as- Cigarette, Phensidyl, alcohol and without taking those drugs, our body could not work more.

"Akber nesh... volo kore kum kortise hotath kore oggain hoy gesi kono hus nai, sokale deki kam-kaj kore

obostay rastay ak pashe felay rakes, keo ferw Takay ai" "amon obostay sorir vog hoye gele rastay felay dey"

I had been staying in that place for 1 year. My face was already changed after one year. It was not like before and no one could recognize me. I used to talk with that lady every day about returning to that area and I wanted to take house on rent there and how I didn't like moving around. But the land lady did not allow me to go there. They tried to make me understand through many ways. But I did not change my decision. At that time, I had at least 1 and half lac Taka. I used to income a lot in a month at that time. Many types of people used to come there. If I got close to anyone, he did not let me go anywhere else. I used to get more money at the time of travelling; I saved at least 20000-30000 after expending for food, medicine and rent cost. I saved money but I also wasted a lot of money. I could not save money. I could not able to realise the value of money at that time.

That woman asked me to take a house on rent there. She also said that total cost would be 70000 Taka. I gave her 70000 Taka. I asked her to buy necessary items.

After two days, I moved to Tangail area. I was feeling different as I was in my own area. I wanted to go to my home. But I could not go there due to fear.

I went inside (Brothel) after a long time. I noticed that there were different types of women. I did not say that I belonged to that area. I realised that the place was so bad but I could not realise it earlier. The floor was dull. The place was over populated and the atmosphere was very dirty. I could not breathe easily. When I entered into the room I noticed that there were a bed, fridge, TV, table and they were arranged in proper way. So I became happy. The rules of that area were very different and I felt more independent there. But all the women had to stay inside the brothel. They had the freedom to roam around inside the brothel. All used to move by their own will and collected customers. This job was very painful for the girls who were under aged. On the other hand, those who became older had different kind of pain. These two pains were

different. The girls who were young had to earn a lot that's why they had to handle more customers. This pressure was like a pain for them. However, old ladies were losing demand in this job and they did not have many ways to earn. It is very difficult to stay without money at old age.

When we were in brothel, new problems raised. Some people wanted to do sex without paying any money. It created many problems. Cashier used to took rent every day from us. Police and some powerful people used to do sex without paying any money. The powerful persons of this area often make trouble with brothel goons. As nobody wanted to get involved with brothel's matters, they never stepped forward to all the disturbances. For this reason, the people who came from outside used to exploit us, but our madams did not protest. If any problem occurred, we had to pay huge amount of money and go to the police station. None of us wanted to go to the hospital and police station, because if we visit those places the problems used to get increased. They used to insult and took huge amount of money from us.

I had been living this brothel since some years and I had faced lots of problems after a few days of staying there. I was used to it. I was living a good life and I used to earn a good amount of money and had good foods. Suddenly we heard that, our brothel would be evicted. We could not believe that.

References

- Alam, N., Chowdhury, M.E., and Azim, T. (2013). Factors associated with Condom Use Negotiation by Female Sex Workers in Bangladesh. *International Journal of STD and AIDS*, 24 (10), 813-821.
- Amanullah, A.S.M., Huda, M. N. (2012a). Commercial Sex and Vulnerability to HIV Infection: A Study among the Children of Sex Workers in Tangail Brothel. In: D. M. Sabet, T. Rahman & S. Ahmad (Eds.), *Sex Workers and Their Children in Bangladesh: Addressing Risks and Vulnerabilities* (pp. 59-81). Dhaka: University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh and Action Aid Bangladesh.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. and Huda, M.N. (2012b). Study on the Situation of Children of Sex Workers in and Around Daulatdia Brothel. *Save the Children International*, Dhaka.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. (1996). Sexual Behaviour of Commercial Sex Workers in Bangladesh: A Sociological Analysis. *Social Science Review*, XIII (2), 243-263.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. (1997). Current Status of Exposure of the Target Population to Different Mass Media of FP-MCH IEC Activities in Bangladesh. *Social Science Review*, XIV (1), 273-302.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. (2002), "A sociocultural analysis of sexual risk and disease in a developing country: the failure of KAP-based theories applied to controlling HIV/AIDS in the Bangladeshi sex industry", PhD Dissertation, The University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. and Daniel, A. (1998). The Reaches and Role of Mass Media among High Risk Groups in Bangladesh. *Social Science Review*, XV (1), 217-238.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. and Islam, S. (1996). *HIV/AIDS and Condom Use Study*. Dhaka: Social Marketing Company/Population Services International.
- Amanullah, A.S.M. (2006). Study on Knowledge, Attitudes, Behavior and Practices (KABP) for HIV/AIDS Mainstreaming in Concern Bangladesh. *Concern Worldwide Bangladesh*.

- Amanullah, A.S.M. and Choudhury, A.Y. (2005). Pre-intervention Audience Impact Survey for Adolescents and Youths on HIV/AIDS. Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, The Peoples Republic of Bangladesh and Save the Children Fund, USA, PIACT Bangladesh and Mattra.
- Amanullah, ASM. (2009). "Study on Knowledge, Attitudes, Behavior and Practices (KABP) for HIV/AIDS Mainstreaming in Concern Bangladesh". Concern Worldwide Bangladesh.
- Amanullah, ASM. And Uddin, J. (2010). Hospital Waste management in Dhaka City: A dysfunctional KAP model" International Quarterly of Community Health Education. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, USA.
- Amanullah, ASM, (2006). Bangladesh and HIV Epidemic: A Fatal Silence. Gender and Human Resources for Health in South Asia: Challenges and Constraints. University Grants Commission of Bangladesh (UGC) and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Dhaka.
- Amanullah, ASM. (2004a). "Baseline Survey for Youth on HIV/AIDS and Other STIs". UNFPA and the Center for Social Research, ACNielsen, Dhaka, Bangladesh
- Amanullah, ASM. (2004b). "Baseline Survey on Knowledge, Attitude and Behavior of Target Population of RHIYA Project Sites Bangladesh-2004". UNFPA and the Center for Social Research, ACNielsen, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- Amanullah, ASM. (2003). "Flaws in the Model: KAP (Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices) Strategies to Identify Risks of HIV Infection Among Sex Workers in a Developing Country". AIDS Impact, London, UK.
- Amanullah, ASM. (2002). "AIDS Knowledge, Condom Use and Sexual Behavior among Commercial Female Sex Workers in Bangladesh". Social Science Review. Vol. 17, No. 2, Pp. 147-159.
- Amanullah, ASM., Islam, S. and Khan, M.I. (2008b). Exposure to Media and HIV/AIDS-Related Risk Practices among Adolescents and Youths in Bangladesh: A Sociological Study. Journal of Business and Technology (Dhaka), Vol.1, Issue: 3, ISSN-1992-271x.
- Aziz, K.M.A. and Maloney, C. (1985). Life Stages, Gender and Fertility in Bangladesh. Dhaka: ICDDR,B. Caldwell, B. and Pieris, I. (1999). Continued high-risk behavior among Bangladeshi males. In J.C.
- Caldwell, P. Caldwell, J. Anarfi et al. (Eds.), Resistances to Behavioural Change to Reduce HIV/AIDS Infection in Predominantly Heterosexual Epidemics in Third World Countries (pp. 183-196). Canberra: Australian National University.

- Caldwell, B.K., Pieris, I., Barkat-e-Khuda, Caldwell, J. C. and Caldwell, P. (1999). Sexual regimes and sexual networking: the risk of an HIV/AIDS epidemic in Bangladesh. *Social Science and Medicine*, 48 (8), 1103-1116.
- Colquhoun, D. and Kellehear, A. (Eds.). (1993). *Health research in practice: political, ethical and methodological issues*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Chan PA. and Khan OA. (2007). Risk factors for HIV infection in males who have sex with males (MSM) in Bangladesh. *BMC Public Health*. 2007;7:153.
- Daily Sun. (2011, 24 July). *Kandapara Brothel in Tangail: Sex workers fear eviction*.
- Uddin, F., Monira Sultana, Sultan Mahmud, Maggie Black, Harriet Goodman and Rachel Kabir. (2001). *Growing up in the Brothel: Children in the Daulotdia and Kandapara Brothel Communities of Bangladesh*. Save the Children Australia/Services and Solutions International/Save the Children Sweden, Dhaka.
- Flay, B.R. and Burton, D. (1990). Effective mass communication strategies for health campaigns. In C. Atkin and L. Wallack (Eds.), *Mass Communication and Public Health: Complexities and Conflicts* (pp. 126-146). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (GOB). (1997). *Strategic Plan for the National AIDS Program of Bangladesh, 2004-2010*. Dhaka: National AIDS and STD Program (NASP), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.
- Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (GOB). (2006). *Baseline HIV/AIDS Survey among Youth in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: National AIDS and STD Program (NASP), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, ICDDR,B and Save the Children USA.
- Habib, S. E., Amanullah, A.S.M. and Hasan, K. (2000). AIDS knowledge, condom use and sexual issues among commercial female sex workers in Bangladesh. *Social Science Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 147-159.
- Habib, SE., Amanullah, A.S.M., Lovejoy, F. and Daniel, A. (2000-2001). Risking the future: unprotected intercourse and AIDS knowledge among female commercial sex workers in central Bangladesh. *International Quarterly of Community Health Education (U.S.A.)*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 265-280.
- Hossain, K.T., and Suman, M.S.R. (2013). Violence against Women: Nature, Causes and Dimensions in Contemporary Bangladesh. *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 10 (1), 79-91.
- Hossin, Z.M. (2012). Steroid Use, Sexual Risk and Violence among Brothel-based Female Sex Workers In Doulatdia, Bangladesh. In: D. M. Sabet, T.

- Rahman and S. Ahmad, (Eds.), *Sex Workers and Their Children in Bangladesh: Addressing Risks and Vulnerabilities* (pp. 82-106). Dhaka: University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh and ActionAid Bangladesh.
- Huda, M. N. and Amanullah, A.S.M. (2013). HIV/AIDS-Related Knowledge among the Secondary School Students in Bangladesh: a Cross-Sectional Study. *Advances in Infectious Diseases*, 3, 274-80.
- Jackman, C. (2013, October 26). Daughters of the Brothel. *The Sydney Morning Herald*.
- Jenkins C. Rahman H. (2002). Rapidly changing conditions in the brothels of Bangladesh: impact on HIV/STD. *AIDS Educ Prev*. 2002; 14(3 Suppl A):97-106.
- Khan, Z.R. and Arefeen, H.K. (1995). *The health status of prostitutes in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Center for Social Studies, University of Dhaka.
- KKS. (2003). *Our Lives in Brothel*. Save the Children Australia, Dhaka.
- Kippax, S., and Stephenson, N. (2012). Beyond the Distinction: Between Biomedical and Social Dimensions of HIV. *American Journal of Public Health*, 102 (5), 789-799.
- Mitra, S. N., Islam, S. and Amanullah, A.S.M. (1996). *Exposure to different media of FP-MCH IEC activities in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: The Ministry of Planning and World Bank.
- Mitra, S. N., Ahmed, S., Amanullah, A.S.M. and Islam, S. (1995). *Access to media in Bangladesh: The 1995 National Media Survey*. Dhaka: The Johns Hopkins University/Center for Communication Programs, Social Marketing Company/Population Services International and UNICEF.
- Moore, S.M., Rosenthal, D.A. and Boldero, J. (1993). Predicting AIDS-preventive behavior among adolescents. In D.J. Terry, C. Gallois and M. McCamish (Eds.), *The theory of reasoned action: Its application to AIDS-preventive behavior* (pp. 65-80). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT) [Bangladesh], Mitra and Associates, and ORC MACRO. (2009). *Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey 2007*, Calverton, Maryland: National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT), Mitra and Associates, and ORC MACRO.
- Nazreen, W. (2010). *The Crying Quarter*. Forum. A monthly publication of the Daily Star, Vol. 3, Issue. 7, July 2010. Dhaka.
- Patton, M.Q. 1990. "Sampling and Triangulation" in *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park: Sage. Pp. 165-198.
- Rosy, S. Y. (2013). *Trafficking in Women in Bangladesh: Experiences of*

- Survivors and Challenges to Their Reintegration. MPhil dissertation, Norway: University of Bergen.
- Rich, J.D., Nizam, R., Das, K., Islam, S., Akhtar, N., Dickinson, B.P., Flanigan, T.P., Mayer, K. and Carpenter, C.C.J. (1997). HIV and syphilis prevalence in Chittagong, Bangladesh. *AIDS*, 11 (5), 703-704.
- Sarkar, S., Islam, N., Durandin, F., Siddiqui, N., Panda, S., Jana, S., Corbitt, G., Klpper, P. and Mandal, D. (1998). Low HIV and high STD among commercial sex workers in a brothel in Bangladesh: scope for prevention of larger epidemic. *International Journal of STD and AIDS*, 9 (1), 45-47.
- Save the Children Fund-USA. (1993). *STD Treatment and Preventive Approaches: Findings from a Clinic in Rangunia Thana, Chittagong District, Bangladesh*. Dhaka: SCF/USA.
- TDH. (2005). *Brothel-based and Floating Sex-Workers in Bangladesh*. TDH, Dhaka.
- Tulloch, J. and Lupton, D. (1997). *Television, AIDS and Risk: A cultural studies approach to health communication*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- UNAIDS/WHO. (2011). *AIDS epidemic update: December 2010*. Geneva: UNAIDS/WHO.
- WHO. (1988). *Interview schedule on knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and practices on AIDS/KABP Survey*. Geneva: WHO/GPA/SBR
- Willis, B. (Undated). *The Health and Social Well-being of Children of Female Sex Workers in Bangladesh: Results of focus group discussions in Dhaka, Chittagong and Sylhet*. Centre for Global Health, Trinity College, Dublin.

Additional information on this study Sex Workers Rights are Human Rights: Psychosocial and Economic Cost of Brothel Eviction in Bangladesh may be obtained from Md. Salim Ahmed Purvez, Senior Program Manager, Research (E-mail : salim@manusher.org); MJF, House 47, Road 35/A, Gulshan 2, Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh or from Professor Dr. ASM Amanullah, Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka, Dhaka 1000, Bangladesh. Phone: 880-2-8125755, 88-01819151178, 61-2-89598300; Fax: 880-2-8615583, E-mail: dramanullah@hotmail.com; dramanullah@du.ac.bd

MANUSHER JONNO FOUNDATION

House 47, Road 35/A, Gulshan 2, Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh
Tel : +88-02-9850291-4, 9893910, Fax : +88-02-9850295
Website : www.manusherjonno.org

SUPPORTED BY

