

**THE EXPLOITATION OF BOYS/YOUTH  
IN THE  
MESSAGE TRADE**

**A Comparative Study of 79 Masseur and 79 Escort  
Young Men in Mumbai, India**



Photo courtesy of Charles Fox

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## *Executive Summary*

Many boys and young men in Mumbai have been forced, coerced, or have desperately fought to survive by participating in work in the sex industry. They often live stigmatized lives, with little to no educational opportunities, earning meager rupees by performing massages and using their bodies. Many of the masseur and escort young men in Mumbai are known to be from marginalized villages and families, living lives which are shown to deplete their self-respect, bring about shame to themselves and their families, and experience a harsh reality in an attempt to earn money to gain financial stability, support their families, and pay for an education.

This study hopes to shed light upon these boys and young men in an attempt to increase awareness of the need for training for alternate vocations and empowering these boys through intervention, advocacy, and empowerment that encourages independence, dignity, and growth psychologically and spiritually.

Samabhavana is a ISO 9001:2008 Certified Non-Government Organization (NGO) working in the area of Child Protection, Gender, Sexuality and Human Rights, wherein the mental and social wellness of individuals is prioritized in an effort to foster integration and dignity in life, regardless of the individual's gender, age, and sexuality. ([www.samabhavanasociety.org](http://www.samabhavanasociety.org) )

The Samabhavana vocational training program, supported by Love146, has reached out to approximately 800 boys in their communities. This research on sexual vulnerability was conducted as part of this program over a three-year period to glean psychosocial data pertinent to their lives before and during their work as masseurs. Throughout the study, counselors who were trusted by the boys, following years of building rapport through their visits to the drop-in centre and community counseling programs, administered questionnaires/interviews (see

Appendix 1) with the boys and young men. The baseline interviews and impact assessment were administered in a secure and confidential environment with all ethical guidelines being strictly adhered to throughout the process. All of the participants were invited and not coerced to take part and could stop the interview at any time if they felt uncomfortable. All young men were aware that they could seek follow up with Samabhavana if they had any concerns.

### ***Key Results***

The results of this study highlight the vulnerability of boys and young men to sexual exploitation through their work as masseurs and escorts. Among the multitude of factors that contribute to the boys' exploitation is their lack of skills in order to secure gainful employment and training. In an attempt to eradicate the exploitation of these boys and young men, it is imperative that the acknowledgment of this industry and these communities exist. The boys and young men are in hazardous and consistently violent situations and are continually exposed to multiple partners, thus significantly increasing the risk of HIV/AIDS and trauma related injuries and illness.

The boys and young men are stigmatized not once but twice. Although they earn for their families, they are unable to speak about sex or sexuality, which increases stigmatization. The majorities of both sets of young men suffer from low self-esteem and are exposed to an industry that is on the receiving end of ambiguous laws and legalities. These become increasingly ambiguous as the age of the young men increases and for those over the age of 18 years old.

It was observed by Samabhavana that there were increasing numbers of younger boys being recruited into the massage/escort trade due to the higher earning potential than into other jobs or not being employed at all. However, advocacy from Samabhavana appears to have reduced the

younger age group. In addition, there is little understanding as to the ramifications of sex work on a psychosocial level as well as in the area of sexual health.

### ***Purpose***

The purpose of this research is to determine the risk factors of young men who have been sexually exploited in the masseur and escort industries in Mumbai. It will also provide a comparison between sexually exploited young men in the massage industry and escort young men. Additionally, the researchers hope that this research will inspire and encourage other NGO's and researchers to acknowledge the vulnerability of these commercially sexually exploited boys and young men and, in turn, be prepared to work with them through programs focused on the reduction of stigma the individuals as well as their families endure. Additionally, it is anticipated through the awareness raised by the conduction of this study that the violence perpetrated upon the clients in the community and via the police will diminish.

### ***Population***

The population for this study is young men from two groups. The first group is male masseurs who were trafficked from the Mathura and Bharatpur districts of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan State to work in Mumbai. For most, 'masseuse' is a euphemism for sex workers and these are street based. They are primarily illiterate to semi-illiterate. The second group is male escorts who participate in direct sex work in Mumbai (not massage services) and primarily come from Mumbai. They are, for the most part, literate. The masseur participants were self-selected from 800 boys and young men for whom Samabhavana provide advocacy outreach through a vocational training program. Of the 800 masseur boys who were invited, 52 were interested in participating in the first round of the study. Thereafter, 27 additional boys and young men

became participants totaling 79 young masseur men. The escort young men were selected through referral and the snowball technique of peer referral (i.e. participants invited other friends who might be interested – no coercion was used).

### ***Methodology***

Awareness workshops and one-on-one discussions were conducted over a period of three months with more than 800 masseur young men at homes, sites, and the drop-in center. These workshops highlighted the benefits of joining the program. The masseur young men were required to volunteer and were asked to give a six-month commitment. This commitment included participating in a morning program that consisted of life skills training involving body language, good hygiene, etiquette, general knowledge, and basic English; and an afternoon program that included trade skills by Jan Sikshan Sanstha Technical School (72 boys participated in auto-mechanic repair and 7 boys participated in plumbing). The commitment to the program also incorporated a one-year internship and then follow-up to ensure employability. The training component was designed to cover fees, one meal, and travel. The escort boys did not participate in life skills but 54 went to do a one-week training and gain employment with the company Café Coffee Day and 25 did IT training. However, the IT training was considered to be too technical and, therefore, was unsuccessful. The young men were then given the opportunity to do auto mechanic training, which they completed.

A female counselor undertook half-day interviews before any training commenced to serve as a base line. Then, an impact assessment was administered by both a female and male staff member of Samabhavana upon completion of the one-year internship. Careful ethical consideration was given throughout the administering of these instruments and the participants

were offered follow-up care if desired. The young men were invited to participate and had the option to refuse to answer any questions that were asked. All information remained confidential and all identifying information was removed in reporting.

### *Literature Review*

Children, adolescents, and young adult males from any socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, or country can become victims of sexual exploitation. Poverty, family dysfunction, emotional challenges, economic challenges, and cultural expectations and demands can all be considered catalysts in making this population vulnerable to the sex industry. Many have been promised legitimate employment opportunities, even with little to no educational background or work experience (McClain & Garrity, 2011).

In 2006, Lillywhite & Skidmore wrote, “The overwhelming majority of resources do not address male sex work at all” (p. 352). There is decidedly little research available regarding the sex industry and the boys and young men attempting to earn money through the sale of their bodies (Muhammad & Zafar, 2006). In India, the issue of boys prostituting themselves is taboo, as is the act of selling oneself for sex. As a result, little programming exists in the attempt to identify, serve, and rehabilitate this population of marginalized boys and young men.

Stigmatized by their communities due to the fact that they have sex with men (Ali & Sarkar, 2006), these boys are at risk of being victims of violence, physical abuse, drug abuse, and are exposed to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.

### *The Vulnerable*

Mumbai is considered to be the largest city in India, with a population estimated at 13 million. It is diverse, and a virtual magnet for those from outlying areas who are seeking a better life.

Nearly doubling in the past 25 years, the population of Mumbai sees over half of its citizens living in crowded and cramped slums (Gray, 2008) and lacking the ability or opportunities to earn enough income to cover even the most basic of needs.

Poverty, few skills, little-to-no education, and the promise for a better life through legitimate employment assists in facilitating the emotional and economic vulnerability of boys selling their bodies for sex (McClain & Garrity, 2011). According to Ali and Sarkar (2006), the urbanization of cities has led to the term, 'urban poverty'. Defined by a people who are unable to afford to meet their basic living needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, and an education, the authors suggest not only is this population financially poor, but they are 'capability' poor (Ali & Sarkar, 2006). This culture can be considered to encompass the boys and young men within the masseur and escort sex industry in Mumbai, India.

The abused can be coerced and threatened in an attempt to hide the maltreatment inflicted upon them while they attempt to survive. This can isolate them from support, rehabilitation efforts, and an effort to facilitate skills training and education. The perceived power through the reward of payment can also lead the boys and young men to feeling that actively seeking help through programs designed to teach skills and provide counseling is not important (Lillywhite & Skidmore, 2006). The boys and young men who work as masseurs and escorts, selling their bodies for meager payment, are at times abused, gang raped, and demoralized by those who solicit them.

Ranging from the ages of adolescence to young adult, male victims of sexual exploitation and abuse are largely ignored. Often considered the stronger of the genders physically, males are more likely to be viewed as the sexual aggressor and, in turn, vulnerability and victimization is often not considered to be a social phenomenon (Graham, 2006). The young men masseurs and escorts report at times being sexually assaulted by the client and others. However, comparing the violence of the male being victimized often diminishes the incidents of great physical violence that the young men endure. The assault and physical force suffered by those in the sex industry is, oftentimes, overlooked based on the assumption that this does not take place in the context of consensual sex (Graham, 2006).

Often enduring appalling living conditions and physical and psychological abuse, many of the exploited do not recognize alternatives to their rights as victims (Logan, Walker, & Hunt, 2009). Many forgo physical health screenings, disease prevention education, and basic health care needs because of the lack of resources available to this marginalized population. Klain & Kloer (2008) posit that the mental health of this group of exploited young men is at increased risk for depression and suicide. It is suggested that this population should undergo routine physical assessments as well as regular mental health screenings to screen for symptoms of anxiety, stress related disorders, depression, and suicide risk (McClain & Garrity, 2011).

### *Motivation Models of Causation*

Few analyses have been conducted with regards to the adolescent male and the causal factors related to the entry of the sex industry through prostitution or escorting. However, this phenomenon being explored in the female adolescent can offer a potential crossover view of the insights into the thought processes of the young male in the sex industry.

When faced with little-to-no education, no viable source of income through legitimate employment, and the implications that come with this plight, the boys and young men within the sex industry invite further explanation to the reasoning of their decisions. Several models have been offered in an attempt to explore the psychological characteristics and personal crisis and events surrounding the lives of these young men. One such model, referred to as the ‘susceptibility’ model, suggests a combination of feeling alienated and low self-worth can be catalysts for the vulnerability of a person entering prostitution (Cobbina & Oselin, 2011).

Yet another theory, referred to as the ‘differential association,’ describes those who have regular contact with others who share like values and attitudes can also lead to an individual realizing activities not previously considered (Cobbina & Oselin, 2011).

#### *Children and Prostitution – The Scope*

It is not disputed that economic necessity and survival is among the strongest of motivators for the boys and young men in the masseur and escort industry. Munir & Yasin (1997) suggest the exploitation of children through prostitution is devastating to the lives of girls and boys in both rich and poor nations. In 1995, UNICEF estimated that the number of child prostitutes in India was between 400,000 and 500,000.

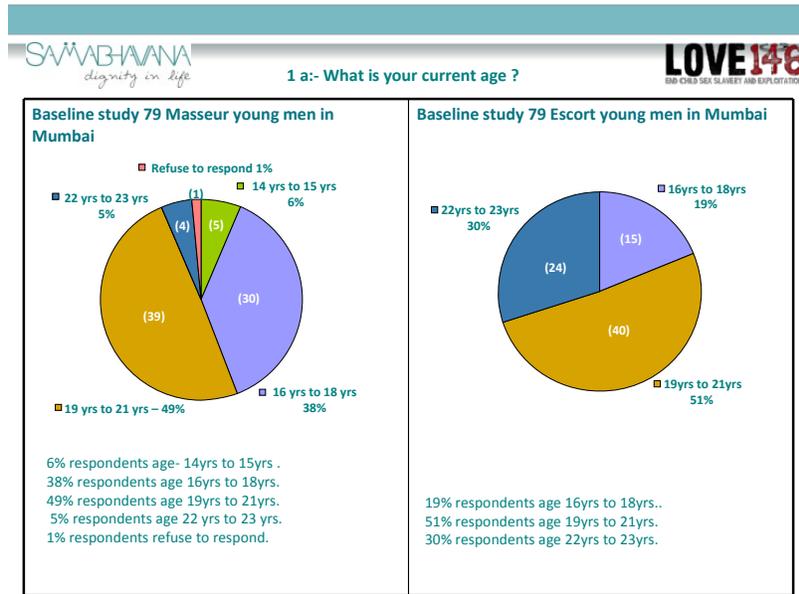
Citing studies that have not made the distinction of juveniles who enter prostitution and those that stay in the sex industry for long periods of time, Hwang & Bedford (2004) suggest once entering the industry, juveniles adapt attitudes and lifestyles facilitating motives for remaining in the industry.

Identifying the reasons for entering prostitution has been addressed in an attempt to identify the risk factors and, in turn, design programs geared toward the intervention of young people who

are selling their bodies for money. However, little research has been conducted to identify the most advantageous paradigms in which to integrate those who have prostituted back into mainstream society (Hwang & Bedford, 2004).

**Results and Analysis**

*Demographic Data*



**Table 1: Comparing Age of Participants at time of starting survey; Masseuse vs. Escorts slide 1a**

The participant masseur young men totaled 79 volunteers. Forty nine percent consisted of young men between the ages of 19 years old and 21 years old. Thirty eight percent were between the ages of 16 years old and 18 years old. The youngest of the volunteers were between the ages of 14 years and 15 years and totaled 6% of the participants while 5% were the oldest participants ranging from 22 years to 23 years. One percent of the volunteer participants refused to answer as to their present age.

The majority, at 51%, of the escort young men was between the ages of 19 years and 21 years. Thirty percent were between the ages of 22 years and 23 years and the remaining 19% presented between the ages of 16 years old and 18 years old. There were no participants of the escort young men who refused to answer the question of their present age.

The majority, 72%, of the masseur young men identified themselves as Hindu. The remaining 28% identified as being Muslim. Of the escort young men, again, the majority (70%) identified with being Hindu while the remaining identified as Muslim.

The Castes of each group were diverse, hailing from both high and low. The majority, at 22%, of the masseur young men participants identified themselves as part of the HN caste. The majority of the same amount, 22%, of escort young males identified with the HN caste as well. The castes least represented of the masseur young men consisted of 1% Hindu Rajput and 1% Hindu Prajapathi. Of the escort young men participants, the lowest percentage of representation identified as Muslim Pathan at 1% and Muslim Saha at 1%.

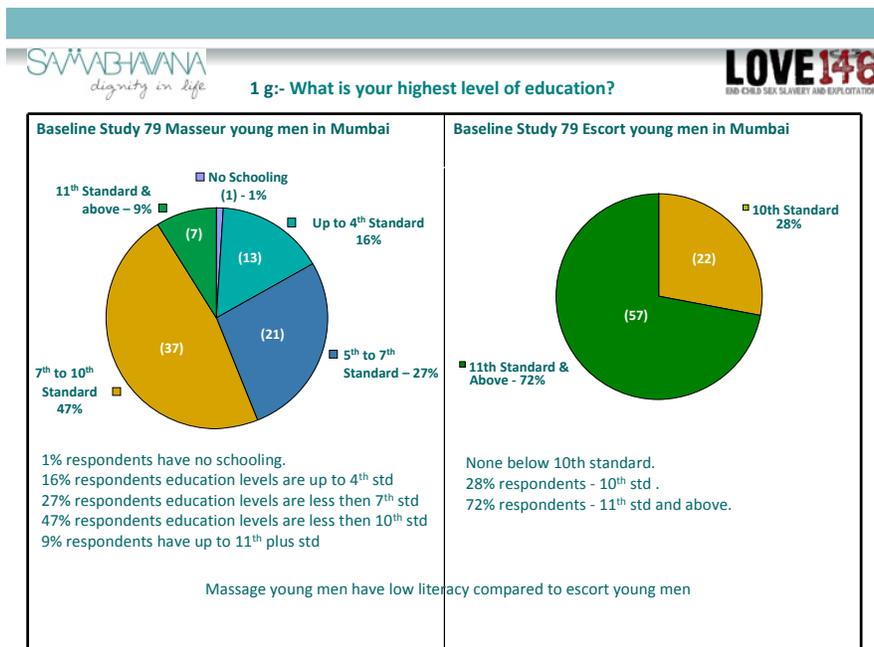
When asked how long they had been living in the Mumbai area, 58% of the masseur young men responded between one and three years. Fewer (25%) responded living in Mumbai for between three to six years while 11% stated they had lived in Mumbai for less than a year. The escort young men had all (100% of participants) lived in Mumbai since birth. The majority, 81%, of the masseur young men hailed from Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) while 19% originated in Rajasthan. One hundred percent of the escort young men respondents originated in Mumbai.

The highest level of education obtained by the masseur young men participants was noted as 47% with levels of education less than 10<sup>th</sup> grade standard. Twenty seven percent stated their education level as less than 7<sup>th</sup> grade standard and 16% responded their education level is 4<sup>th</sup>

grade standard or below. One percent of these participant volunteers stated they have no education or schooling.

Of the escort young men, the majority (72%) responded they have had at least an 11<sup>th</sup> grade standard or above education. The remaining respondents had obtained at least a 10<sup>th</sup> grade standard education. None of the respondents identified as having below this grade of education.

When asked with whom they resided with in Mumbai, 48% of the young men masseurs responded they live with relatives. Twenty four percent indicated they live with peers and 18% indicated they live with friends. Eight percent of the young men masseurs stated they live with immediate family.



**Table 2: Comparing the education of Masseuse vs Escort young men**

The majority (87%) of the escort young men resided with immediate family. Thirteen percent of the participants lived with distant relatives.

The father's education level of the masseur young men ranges from 39% with no schooling or education to 3% with an 11<sup>th</sup> grade standard education or above. Thirty percent indicated their father's education level to be up to the 4<sup>th</sup> grade standard level.

Slightly more than half of the escort young men indicate their father's education level to be between 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade standard. Thirty six percent indicate their father's education to be between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade levels.

The number of family members earning varies throughout both groups with 51% of the masseur young men stating two family members earn wages. Eighteen percent indicate a single member of the family earns and 16% indicate four to six members earn in their family. One percent indicate that more than six family members earn wages.

Fifty eight percent of the young men escorts indicate two members of the family earn wages while 34% indicate a single family member earns. The remaining 8% identified three members of the family as wage earners.

An overwhelming majority (72%) of the masseur young men state that their family owes debt, whereas 82% of the young men escorts state their families owe no debt. The amounts of debt remaining unpaid vary. Twenty four percent of the young men masseurs indicate their family owes an unpaid debt ranging from \$420.00 to \$840.00 USD. The most remaining owed, as indicated by 4% of the young men masseurs, is between \$2104.00 and \$4208.00 USD.

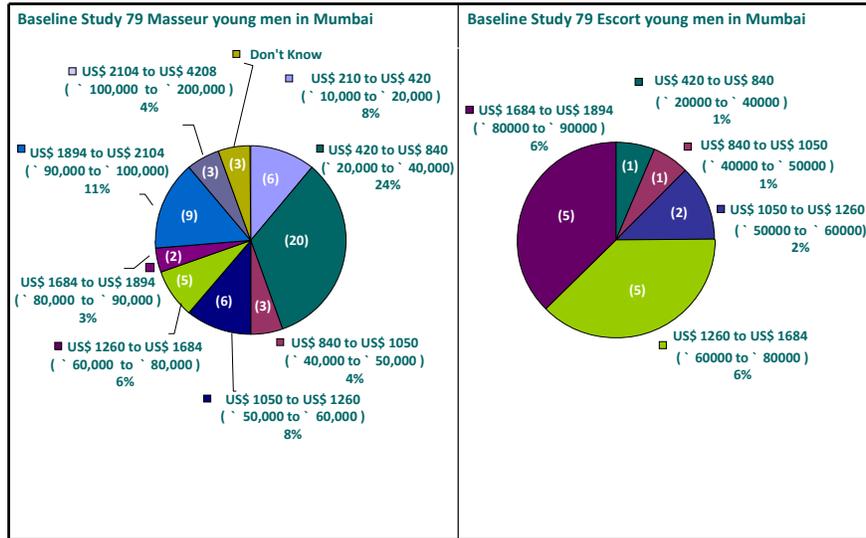


Table 3: Comparing Family Debt of Masseuse vs. Escorts at base-line survey.

Divided at 6% for each group, the escort young men indicate their family's unpaid debt ranges between \$1,260.00 and \$1,684.00 or a total of between \$1,684.00 and \$1,894.00 USD.

The majority (61%) of masseur young men indicate their family does not have any savings. One hundred percent of the young men escorts indicate their family has savings.

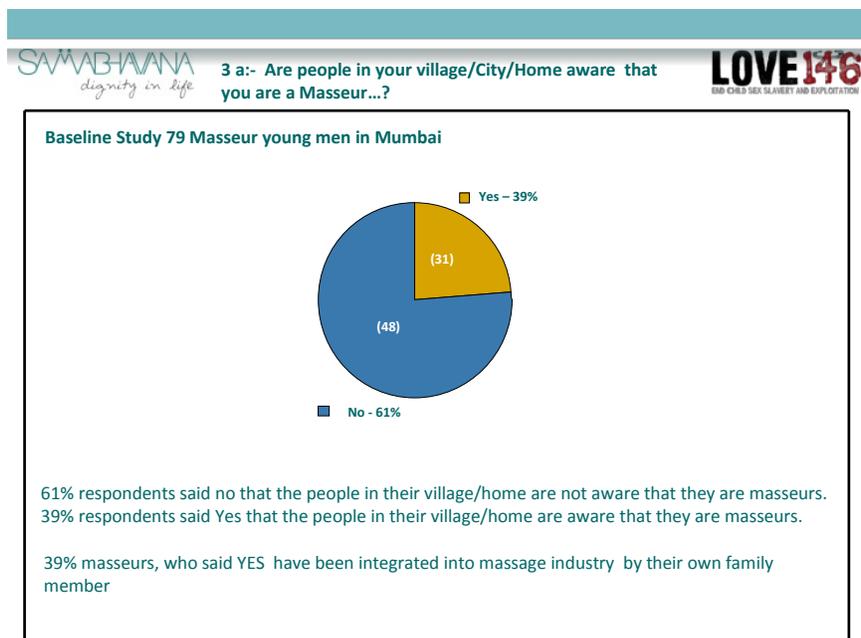
### Relationships

The young men were asked if the people residing in their village, city, or home were aware of their work. Sixty one percent of the young men masseurs stated no people in their village or home are aware they are masseurs. Thirty nine percent indicated yes. It should be noted that of these 39%, all indicated their own family member had integrated them in the massage industry.

One hundred percent of the escort participants indicated that there are no people in their village or home that are aware of their work. They indicated that their families believe they are doing

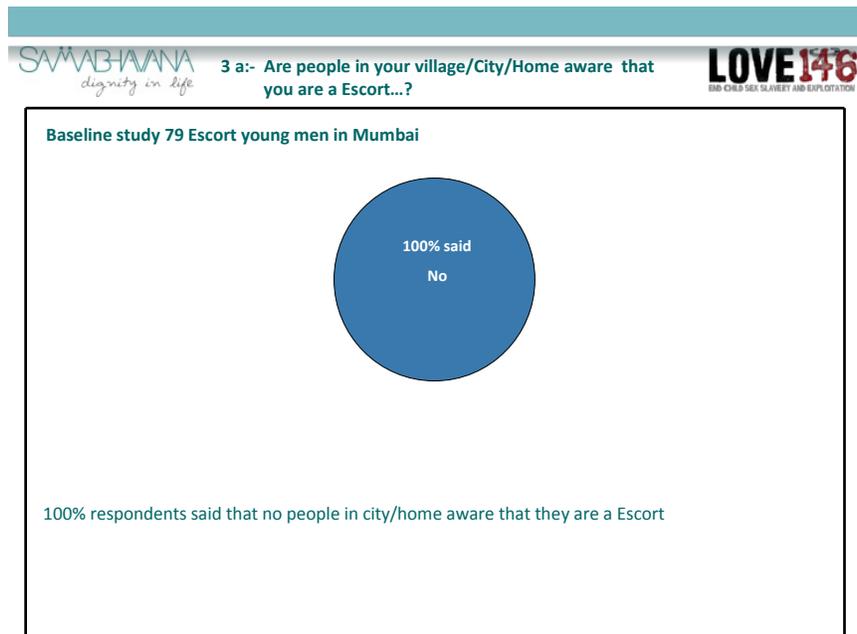
some kind of part time job that keeps them long hours in the night, specifically the work of a waiter.

The young men masseurs in Mumbai were asked if those in their village or home were aware of the line of work they are in and if not, the reason. Thirty of the participants shared their family would lose respect, they would be ostracized, and they would get a bad name. A slightly smaller number of young men, 27, stated they, themselves, would lose respect and be made fun of. They also stated that they would be humiliated. Fourteen of the masseur young men fear their family would hate them and they would be humiliated. Fourteen of the masseur young men feared their family would hate them and be angry. The same number feared that their family would hate them and that would cause them not to return their calls; 17 participants responded with this answer. Six of the young men interviewed feared their sisters would not be able to get married.



**Table 4: Awareness of village community/home to participants working as Masseuse.**

Of the escort young men, who were asked the same, 30 feared their family would call them names such as ‘homo’ or ‘whore’. Twenty seven stated they feared they would be rejected, made fun of, and humiliated. The eleven remaining young men stated they felt they were not doing a ‘good thing’ and they cannot be proud and tell their families.



**Table 5: Awareness of urban community to participants work as Escorts slide**

When asked if they had ever pretended not to be working as masseurs or escorts, 68% of the masseur young men and 73% of the escort young men answered no. When asked if their line of work affected their personal relationships, 27% of the masseur young men responded, ‘very much’. A total of 1% said their line of work did not affect their relationships in any way.

Thirteen percent of the young men escorts responded that their line of work affected their relationships ‘very much’. A large percentage, 73%, stated it did not have an effect on their

personal life at all. Earlier in answering the same question, 27% of those responded that working as escorts did affect their personal relationships.

The young men were asked to describe, in detail, if and why their personal intimate relationships were affected. Of the masseur young men, the reasoning was divided almost evenly. Four of five groups answered that their intimate relationships were affected by the fear of losing the respect earned by their family. They feared their family would feel cheated in not having a son who led a life of legitimate means, both by employment and engaging in a relationship with a woman, so they reported lying to them, or attempting to avoid meeting anyone from the village. Five respondents feared that the news would spread to their village. Five other respondents felt very low about themselves and wondered how they would ever reveal the truth about their work.

A significant number of escorts, 79, feared their family would lose credibility and respect. The remaining young men stated various reasons including fear that their mother would commit suicide, they would be disowned, or killed, or their girlfriend would leave them. One answer included the fear that no girl would like a man who sleeps with other men for money; the respondent continued on to state, 'she-girls' cannot get married.

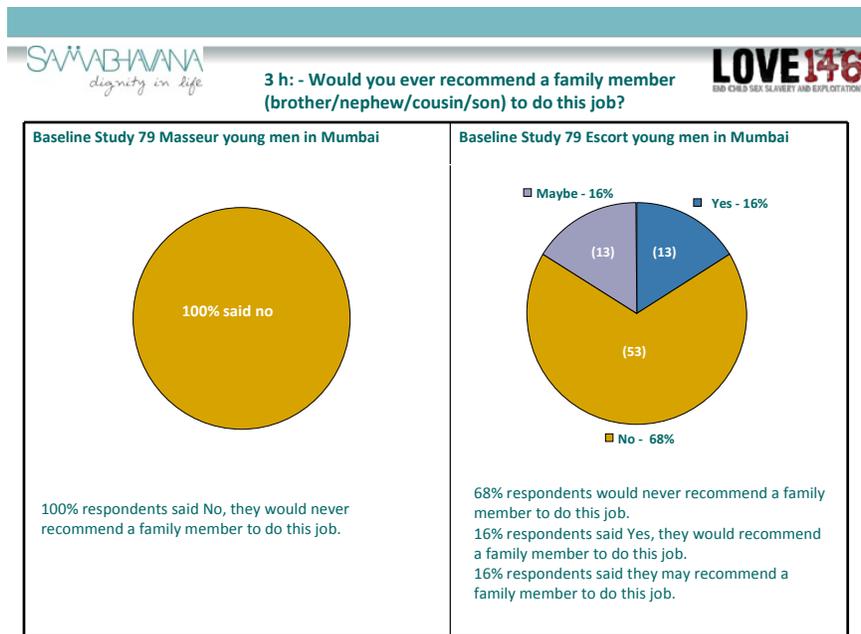
Friendships resulting in a best friend were nearly equal in both groups. Young masseur men who claim to have a best friend totaled 61%. Those escort young men who claim the same totaled 76%.

Of the young men masseurs, 46% indicated their best friends are masseurs, 42% replied that their best friends live in the village, and 12% replied that their best friends fit into neither of these categories. Over half (52%) of the escort young men replied that their best friends are also

escorts. The remaining 48% indicated that their best friends were not best described by these categories.

***The Job as Escorts and Masseur***

When the masseur young men were asked if they would ever recommend a family member, such as a brother, nephew, cousin, or son to become a masseur, 100% of the participants answered no. The escort young men were divided in their answers to this question. The majority, 68%, said no, while 16 % answered yes, and 16% answered maybe.



**Table 6: Comparing Masseur with Escorts attitude to recommending family member to do their job**

The participants were asked if they would recommend their job to an acquaintance such as a friend or neighbor from the village. The results differed somewhat from the question regarding the recruitment of a family member. Eighty-five percent of the masseur young men said they would not recommend becoming a masseur, 14% indicated the possibility of recommendation,

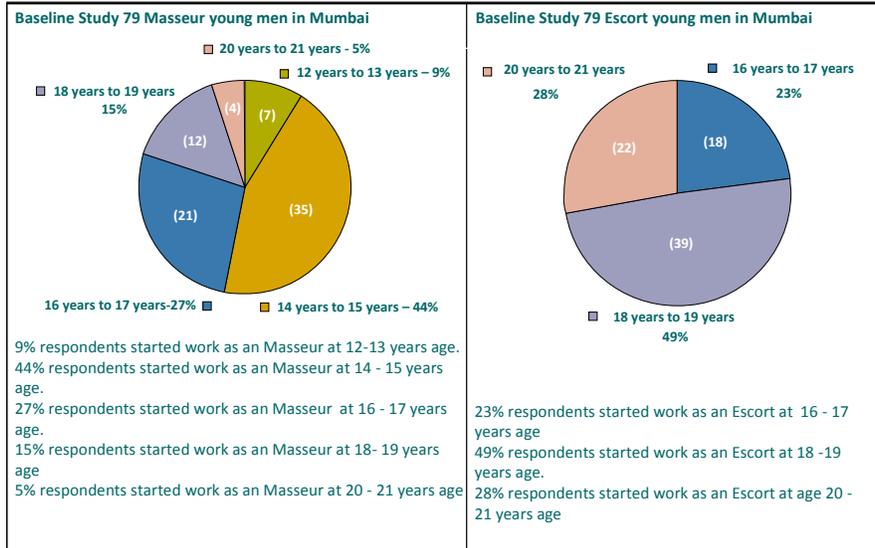
and 1% indicated they would recommend the job. The escort participants were very closely divided in answering the same question. Forty percent indicated they would not recommend becoming an escort to their neighbor or an acquaintance from the village, 33% indicated yes they would, and the remaining 27% answered that they would not recommend the escort job.

The young men respondents ranged from ages 14 years to 23 years. When asked at what age they considered it acceptable to begin work as a masseur, 76% did not respond. Fourteen percent responded between 21 to 40 years of age was acceptable, while 10% of the masseur young men indicated between 14 years of age and 21 years of age.

Almost half of the escort young men responded that it was okay to begin work as escorts between the ages of 17 and 19, 36% responded between 19 and 21 years old, and 16% chose not to respond. A total of 1% of the participant escort young men indicated between 21 and 23 years of age is the age one should begin working as an escort.

When asked at what age they had begun working in the masseur industry, 44% answered between the ages of 14 and 15 years old, 27% between the ages of 16 and 17, 15% between 18 and 19 years old, 5% between the ages of 20 and 21, and 9% between the ages of 12 and 13 years old.

The escort young men's answers to the same question indicated a slight increase in beginning age. Forty seven percent claim their ages ranged from 17 to 19 years old at the time they began escorting, 36% indicated between 19 and 21 years old, 16% did not respond, and 1% indicated between 21 and 23 years old.



**Table 7: Comparing age of entry into masseuse and escort trade**

Young men masseurs were asked what brought them to the city of Mumbai. Seventy-one percent indicated for work and to earn money, 21% indicated to visit friends and/or relatives, 8% indicated for fun and/or pleasure. One hundred percent of the escort young men indicated they have lived in the city since birth.

Over half, 51%, of the masseur young men indicated they entered the trade through being trafficked by a friend or immediate or distant relative. Forty eight percent indicated that they desired to earn money. A significant number of the escort young men were introduced to the trade through a friend or immediate or distant relative. Forty eight of the participants indicated they entered the trade due to a desire to make money. Four percent were introduced through immediate family members.

Many reasons were given by the masseur young men as to why they became masseurs. The majority, 37 respondents, indicated they were unable to find other work or they needed to earn money to support their family. Fifteen of the masseur young men stated a friend promised them assistance in getting a job, yet when their friends were unable to help, they became masseurs. Eight of the young men indicated they had relatives doing the same job. Seven respondents indicated they never wanted to participate in the job but were enticed by the money they saw their friends making. However, these seven also indicated that they were shocked once they got into sex.

Five of the young men claim to have been promised a job in a hotel and were then forced into the masseur industry. Two more indicated that they convinced their parents to send them to Mumbai with a relative to work in a hotel as the relative had indicated. However, this was not the case and the participants indicated they were forced in the masseur industry. Three of the young men indicated that their fathers, who were also in the trade, were aging and unable to earn the same amount of money as previously earned, so they entered themselves. Two of the participants stated the masseur industry offered easy money. Two others stated they could not do what they wanted in the village and after seeing friends earn a lot of money, they thought they would do the same, however, they were saddened that they had gotten into the sex trade. Two of the participants indicated they are lost and do not know how or why they got into the trade.

To earn money was the most indicated answer of the escort young men at 37, while the same number indicated it was easy money. Two of the escort young men stated they had failed in school and a friend helped them to enter the business. Two had attempted to get many other jobs but had failed and were introduced to the trade by a friend.

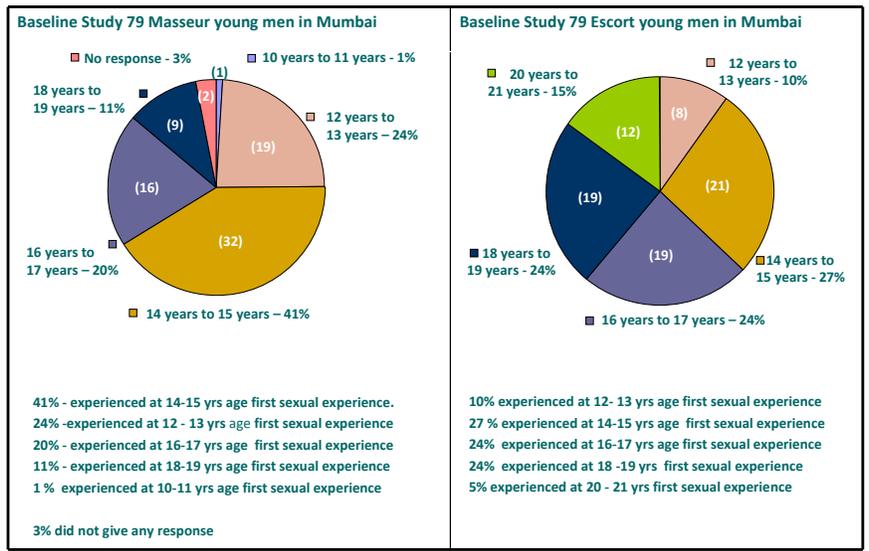
### ***Sexual Identity and Experience***

Sexual self-identification was addressed by asking how the young men felt about themselves sexually. They were also asked who they enjoy having sex with. Of the masseur young men, 45% of the participants indicated they only have sex with men for financial reasons. Forty five percent indicated they prefer to have sex with women only, 6% prefer both men and women as sexual partners, 3% prefer men only, and 1% prefers hijra.

Of the young men escorts, the majority, at 58%, prefers to have sex with women only, 18% prefer men, and 24% prefer both men and women.

First sexual experiences occurred at varying ages. Of the masseur young men, 41% indicated their first sexual experience occurred between the ages of 14 and 15 years old, 24% between 12 and 13 years old, 20% between 16 and 17 years old, 11% between 18 and 19 years old, and 1% between 10 and 11 years old.

The escort young men were relatively evenly split. Twenty seven percent stated their first sexual experience was between 14 and 15 years old. Closely following this was 24% of the young men who stated their first experience occurred between 16 and 17 years old and the same percentage of respondents stated between 18 and 19 years old. Fifteen percent indicated that they were between 20 and 21 years old when they first experienced sex.



**Table 8: Comparing Masseuse with Escorts first sexual experience**

When asked who this first experience took place with, a majority (58%) of the young men masseurs indicated it took place with a female. The remaining 42% stated it took place with a male. The escorts were identically divided.

Of the 32 young masseur men who responded that their first sexual partner was a man, 36% indicated it was with a male client, 5% with a male relative, and 1% with a male friend.

Of the 35 respondent young men escorts, 20% stated their first sexual experience took place with a male client, while 13% indicated it took place with a male friend. Eight percent of the respondents indicated it was with a male relative and 1% indicated it was with a male neighbor.

If the first sexual experience took place with a woman, 21% of the young masseur men answered she was a female friend. Fourteen percent indicated she was a female client, while another 14% indicated she was a female relative. Nine percent indicated she was a female neighbor.

Of the escort young men who experienced their first sexual encounter with a woman, 30% indicated it was with a female client. Sixteen percent indicated it was with a female friend. Six percent of those responding indicated it was with a female relative, while the same number, at 6%, indicated it was with a female neighbor.

The locations of the first sexual experience of the young men were slightly varied. Of the masseur young men, 57% stated Mumbai and 43% indicated it took place in their village. One hundred percent of the escort young men indicated their first sexual experience was in Mumbai.

When asked if coercion was involved or if the encounter was consensual, 84% of the masseur's indicated it was consensual as most were paid. They indicated they may not always see payment as a form of coercion. Sixteen percent said they were coerced and were required to perform acts against their wishes.

Seventy five percent of the escort young men indicated their first sexual experience was consensual for the reasons as indicated by the masseur young men. Twenty five percent indicated they were also coerced into performing acts they did not want to perform.

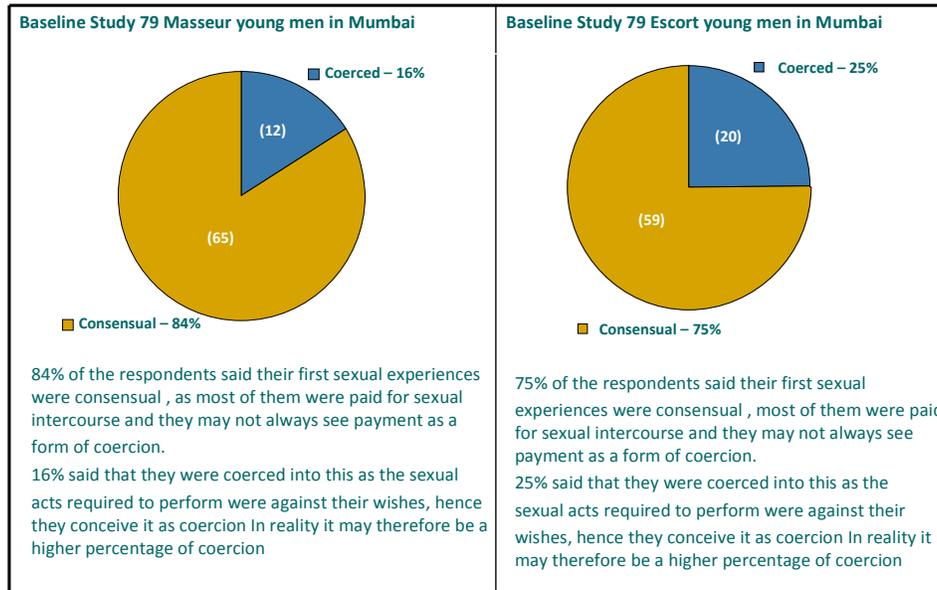


Table 9: Comparing Masseuse and Escort coercion/consensual first experience of sexual

### Health Status

The majority of both groups indicated they do not have any rashes, ulcerations or lumps in the genital area, anus or mouth and have not had any within the past six months. Seventy three percent of the masseurs and 80% of the escorts indicated this to be the case. However, 27% of the young men masseurs indicated within the past six months they have had rashes, ulcerations or lumps in these areas. Eighty percent of the escort young men indicated they have not, while 20% indicated they have.

Regarding urethral discharge, difficulty urinating, or experiencing pain in the testicles, 74% of the masseur young men indicated within the past six months they have not. Twenty six percent

indicated yes, they have. The majority of escort young men, 85%, indicated they have not, while the remaining 15% of participants indicated they have.

Illnesses other than these were at times present in the preceding six-month period. Sixty three percent of the young men masseurs indicated they had not been ill in any other way, while 37% answered yes, they had. Of the escort young men, 58% indicated they have been ill within the last six months and 42% indicated they have not.

Of those who answered yes, when they were asked about the illness or symptoms they had experienced, 65% of the masseur young men stated they suffered from fever, 11% stomach aches, 13% had difficulty passing urine, and 11% experienced mucous in their stools.

Of the escort young men indicating they had been ill, 54% stated they suffered from fever, 23% stated they experienced stomach pains and 14% indicated they had difficulty in passing urine. Nine percent of the respondents indicated they had experienced mucous in their stool.

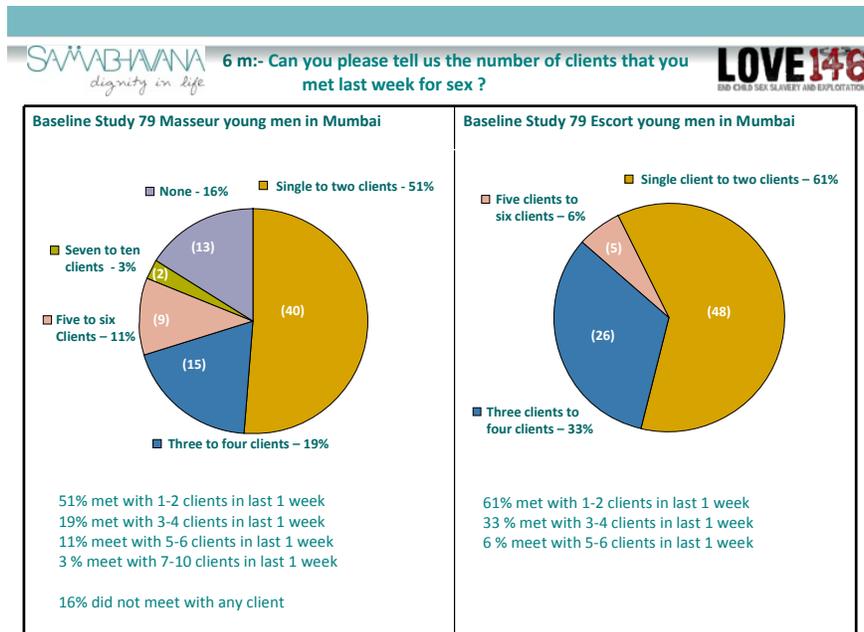
An overwhelming majority of both groups stated unprotected sex was the cause of HIV/AIDS. Ninety five percent of the masseur young men indicated this, while 100% of the escort young men indicated the same. Five percent of the masseurs indicated they did not have any knowledge of HIV/AIDS. They were asked if they know anyone with HIV/AIDS and 70% of the masseur young men stated they do not, while 30% indicated they do. Eighty-seven percent of the escort young men do not, while 13% indicated they do know someone with HIV/AIDS.

### ***Clients***

When asked the number of clients met with in the previous week, 51% of the masseurs met with between one to two clients. Sixty one percent of the escorts had met with the same number.

Nineteen percent of the masseur young men had met with three to four clients and 33% of the escorts had met with the same. Eleven percent of the masseurs and 6% of the escorts had met with five to six clients. Sixteen percent of the masseur young men indicated they did not meet with any clients the previous week.

They were also asked how many clients they had met the day prior to the interview. Sixty eight percent of the masseurs had not met with any and 24% of the escort young men had not met with any. Thirty two percent of the masseurs met with one or two clients while 68% of the escorts had met with the same number. Eight percent of the escorts met with three or four clients the previous day.



**Table 9. Comparing Masseuse vs Escorts number of clients in the past week**

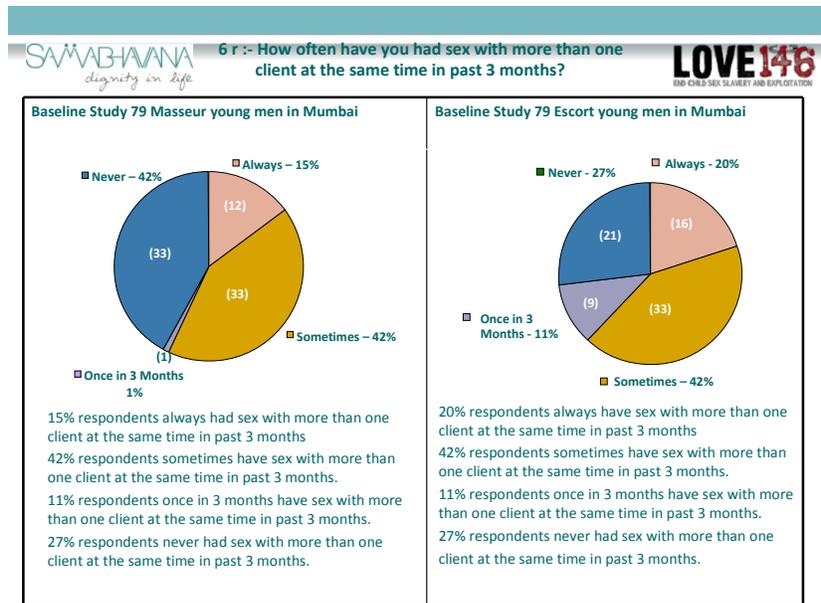
Respondents were asked about condom use. When asked what condoms were used for 100% of the young men masseurs indicated they were utilized to practice safe sex. The same amount of

100% of the escorts answered the same. Ninety six percent of the masseur young men in Mumbai have used condoms while 4% have not. One hundred percent of the escort young men stated they have used condoms. When asked about condom usage in the last week, 81% of masseur young men stated they had used a condom while 19% stated they had not. Eighty two percent of the young men escorts had used a condom in the previous week, while the remaining 18% had not.

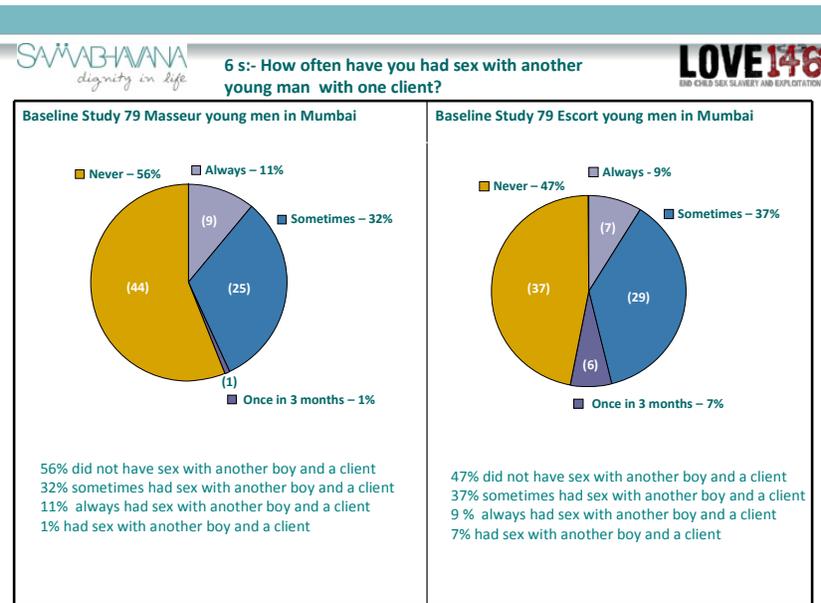
Issues that were also addressed included having multiple clients at the same time and the frequency of this within the previous three months. Forty two percent of the masseurs indicated they sometimes had sex with more than one client at the same time within the last three months. Fifteen percent responded they always had sex with more than one client in the previous three months. Eleven percent responded they had done so once, and 27% indicated they had never done so.

The escort young men were asked the same and 42% indicated they sometimes have sex with more than one client at the same time, while 20% indicated they always do. Eleven percent indicated this has taken place once, while 27% indicated that it has never happened.

When addressing the issue of engaging in sex with another young man with one client, 56% of the masseur young men stated they did not have sex with another boy and a client, and 32% indicated they sometimes had sex with another boy and a client. Eleven percent answered they always have sex with another boy and a client and 1% answered they had sex with another boy and a client. Forty seven percent of the escorts did not have sex with another boy and a client. Thirty seven percent answered they sometimes do while 9% indicate they always do. Seven percent had sex with another boy and a client (See Table 10 and Table 11).



**Table 10: Masseuse vs Escorts multiple Clients and one boy**



**Table 11: Masseuse vs Escorts multiple boys and one Client**

Seventy three percent of masseur young men have not visited a female sex worker and 27% have. Of the escort young men, 100% have visited with a female sex worker.

### ***Drug and Alcohol Consumption***

When asked about the prevalence of substance abuse, 70% of the young men masseurs and 100% of the young men escorts indicated they have abused substances.

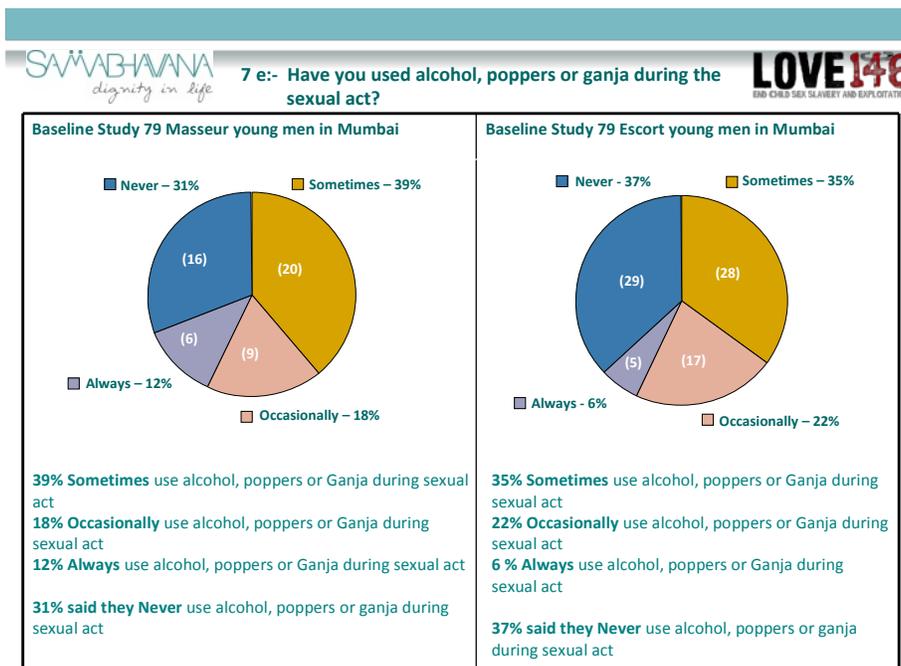
Those indicating the use of drugs or alcohol within the past three months numbered at 37% of the masseur young men while an almost equal percentage, 39%, of young men escorts indicated the same. Thirty two percent of the masseur young men and over half, 55%, of the escorts use cigarettes. Twenty five percent of the masseurs used gutka and 6% have used ganja, also known as marijuana. Seven percent of the young men escorts had used ganja in the previous three months.

Drug use within the previous week was addressed. Thirty six percent of the masseurs had consumed alcohol while a total of 38% of the escort young men had also done so. Fifty nine percent of the escorts smoke regularly while 32% of the masseurs do. Twenty six percent of the masseurs chew gutka on a regular basis while 3% of the escorts either smoke or chew ganja regularly. A total of 6% of masseur respondents claimed to be smoking or chewing ganja regularly.

When asked how much alcohol or drugs the participants had consumed in the previous week, 32% of the young men masseurs indicated between one and three alcoholic beverages, 16% indicated they have consumed seven or more gutka, and 12% answered they have consumed between one and three cigarettes.

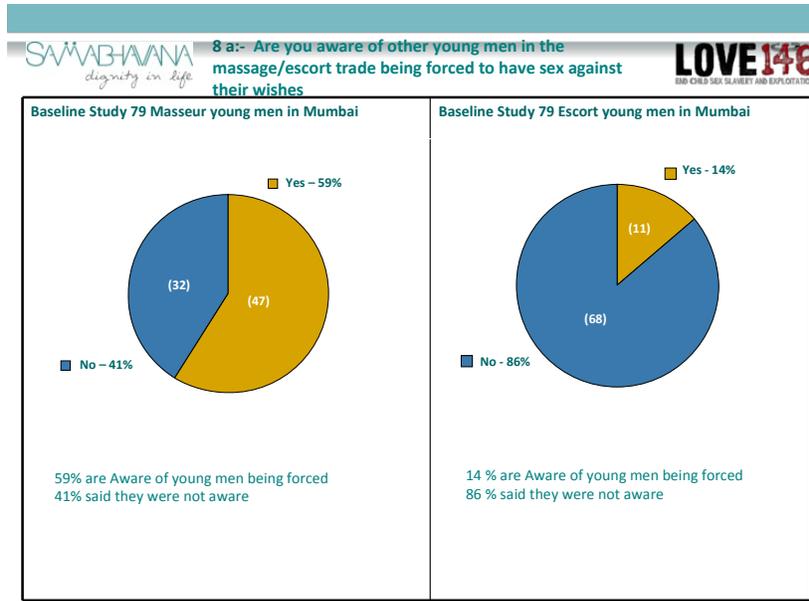
Thirty seven percent of the escort young men had consumed between one and three cigarettes while 35% indicated they consumed between one and three alcoholic beverages.

Thirty nine percent of the masseur young men have sometimes used alcohol, poppers, or ganja during a sexual act whereas a slightly lower percentage (35%) of the escort young men have. Eighteen percent of the masseurs and 22% of the escorts occasionally use alcohol, poppers, or ganja during a sexual act. Twelve percent of the masseur young men and 6% of the escort respondents indicated they always use these substances during a sex act, while 31% of the masseur young men and 37% of the escort young men answered they never do so.



**Table 12: Masseuse vs. Escorts use of alcohol, ganga or poppers during the sexual act.**

When asked if they were aware of other young men in the massage or escort trade who have ever been forced to have sex against their wishes, 59% of the masseurs and a significantly lower percentage (14%) of the escort young men answered yes.



**Table 13. Masseuse vs Escorts awareness of other young men being forced to have sex against their wishes**

The participants were asked if they personally had ever been forced into sex against their wishes and 58% of the masseurs answered they had not. Eighty nine percent of the escorts answered they had not. Twenty nine percent of the masseurs answered they had sometimes been forced into sex against their wishes while 11% of the escort respondents indicated the same. Thirteen percent of the masseur young men indicated they are always forced. (See Table 14.)

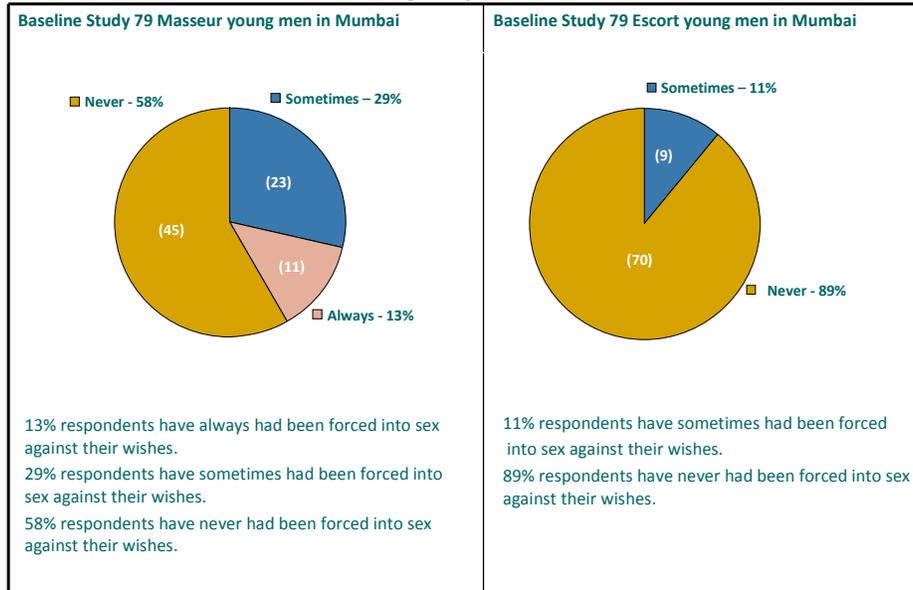


Table 14: Masseuse vs Escorts experience of being forced to have sex.

### *Experience of Violence*

The participants were asked if they would mind sharing about these experiences. Recognizing this may be painful, 79 of each group still shared stories with the interviewer. The masseur young men shared stories of being asked to strip and dance prior to being forced to have sex with a woman in front of the male client. Some respondents told of being ill with a high fever and being forced into sex with a client. The fear of losing the client and his source of good food was a catalyst.

Going in place of his ill friend, a young man told of an incident in which the male client forced him to have sex without a condom and to include two of his friends. This same young man was on a visit to Mumbai and accompanied his cousin to see a client. Asking if the client desired a

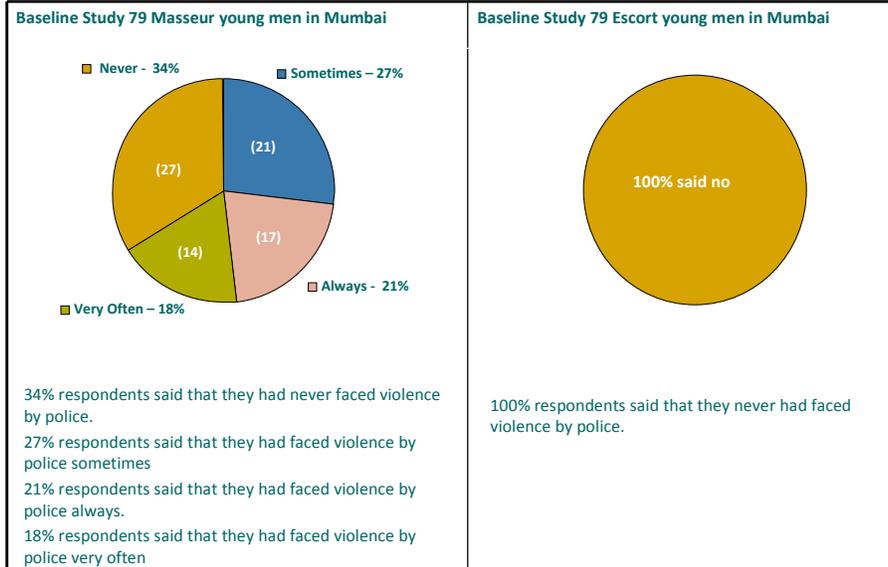
massage, the client then raped the young man and paid him 1000Rs. The young man described that he searched for work for 15 days prior to “ending up in this mess”.

Physical abuse and force were mentioned from many of the young men. One shares a story of being physically injured by a client after being forced to have sex with three of his friends who were very rough with him.

Several young men spoke of being forced to have sex without condom use and of being threatened.

Some of the escorts spoke of being forced to have sex with clients’ multiple friends who were rough and caused physical harm. They also spoke of being forced to have sex without the protection of condom use.

The groups were asked if they had ever experienced violence at the hands of the police. Thirty four percent of the masseur young men responded this had never happened, 27% said they had been faced with police violence sometimes, 21% responded they had always faced violence at the hands of the police, and 18% stated they are faced with police violence very often. This needs to be understood in the context of the city often being in “red alert”. This means that people are not supposed to be on the streets in groups as this is seen as suspicious after the 2009 bombing incident in Mumbai. However, masseur boys need to work at this time and prefer to be in groups for security and are, therefore, at risk.



**Table 14a; Masseuse vs Escorts experience of violence by the police**

One hundred percent of the escort young men stated they have never faced violence at the hands of the police (See table 14a).

Participants who have experienced violence at the hands of bullies and goons garnered a 46% total of the masseur young men who responded they have never experienced this. Thirty two percent stated sometimes they have, while 11% stated they have always experienced violence from bullies and goons. Similarly, 11% of the respondents very often face this sort of violence.

This figure may be more inflated than usual because, at the time of the survey, some older boys acting as pimps did not want the boys to enter the program and so were more violent than usual.

The young men escorts face this type of violence at a lesser number. Ninety percent stated they have never encountered violence from bullies or goons, while the remaining 10% stated they sometimes experience this.

After asking if any of the young men had ever experienced violence at the hands of community members, 100% of the escort young men stated they had not. The masseur young men, however, had experienced this. Although 81% stated they had not, 11% stated they very often experience violence at the hands of the community while 8% stated they always experience this.

### ***Opportunity to take a new job***

When asked if given the chance, would the young men participants take up a new job, 47% of the masseur young men stated they would definitely do so if given the chance. An equal number of 47% stated they may or possibly might take up a new job, while the remaining 6% stated they are not interested in taking another line of work. The escort young men answering were nearly equally divided in their responses. Thirty seven percent responded that they would definitely take up a new job if given the chance, 30% of the young men stated they may and 33% stated they were not interested in doing so. In spite of these above figures, when the opportunity was presented all the boys took up the opportunity to do training for a new job. This could indicate the strength of peer support and encouragement in a group setting.

The job of a male sex worker, whether he is a masseur or an escort, is primarily dependent upon the availability of the client and in a single day, the escort may be limited to servicing one or two clients for sexual purposes. They have been known to seek clients on the internet, whereas the masseurs may also provide services of massage only where more clients may be accessed. The hours spent engaging in the trade was divided, as a majority by a slight margin of the masseur young men responded that they spend between 18 to 21 hours a week in the trade. Twenty four percent answered they had spent 21 to 24 hours in the trade during the week prior to the interview. Twenty percent reported spending 24 to 30 hours doing the same. A smaller

percentage of 5% reported spending 12 to 15 hours and 5% also reported spending no time engaging in the trade the week before.

Of the escort young men, slightly more than half, or 51%, spent one to two hours during the previous week working in the trade. Thirty five percent reported working three to four hours while 10% spent five to six hours. One percent of these young men reported working seven or more hours.

The prior week's earnings range varied throughout the two groups. Of the masseur young men, 26% earned between \$4.00 and \$8.00 USD. Twenty percent of those interviewed reported earning between \$8.00 and \$10.00 USD the previous week. A slightly smaller amount at 18% of the young men earned between \$10.00 and \$16.00 USD. The highest amount reported being earned in the previous week was between \$20.00 and \$81.00 USD and 15% of the masseur young men reported making this amount.

The escort young men, 39%, reported earning between \$40.00 and \$81.00 USD and a slightly smaller number of 37% earned between \$20.00 and \$40.00 USD the week prior to the interviews. Twelve percent of the young men earned between \$81.00 and \$122.00 USD and 5% reported an income of between \$122.00 and \$162.00 USD. The largest amounts reported were between \$162.00 and \$305.00 USD and 7% of the respondents reported this as their income for the previous week.

When asked what the money earned is used for, 30% of the young men masseurs indicated they spend it on food and lodging, while 25% stated the money is sent home. Fifteen percent responded they save their earnings and 13% indicated they use their income for substance abuse purposes. Four percent of the respondents indicated they spend their earnings on women.

Seventy five percent of these participants indicated their money is kept in a bank account while 3% give their money to peers for safekeeping. One percent save their money in a box.

Ninety percent of the escort young men save their money, and keep it in a bank, while the remaining indicated they give it to a family member.

The job of a male sex worker, whether he is a masseur or an escort, is primarily dependent upon the availability of the client and in a day at the most, the young men may be able to see only two clients for sexual services. Whereas masseurs render the service of massage, which could be and often is more time consuming, the escort young men appear to spend more time on the internet seeking out clients.

When narrowing down the time frame to time spent the day before the interviews, the majority of masseur young men, 86%, reported they spend between three and six hours working. Nine percent worked between one and three hours and 5% reported they did not work the previous day.

Of the escort young men 74% spent between one and three hours working the day prior and 12% spent between three and six hours working. Fourteen percent of these young men reported not working the day before the interview.

The daily earnings reported by the masseur young men were almost equalitarian in division. Forty three percent reported earning between \$2.00 and \$4.00 the previous day while 47% reported making no money the day prior. Of the escort young men well over half, 65%, made between \$20.00 USD and \$40.00 USD the day before while 24% made no money.

The young men, both masseurs and escorts, were asked if they had any other jobs other than working in this trade. Eighty percent of the masseur young men do not while 20% reported they do have another job as well. Seventy five percent of the respondent escort young men reported they do not and 25% reported, yes, they do have jobs other than being an escort.

Of those second jobs, the masseur young men reported some being in the field of housekeeping, working as a night watchman, housekeeper, goods loader or day laborer, and office boy. One reported he helps care for an elderly ill man.

Fifty percent of these young men spent 24 hours during the previous week performing their second job. Twenty five percent reported they spent 48 hours, while 13% state they spent 36 hours working the second job. Six percent reported they worked 36 hours the past week and six percent reported they worked 42 hours at their second job during the previous week.

Those escort young men answering they had another job reported being a gym instructor, BPO Staffer, courier, extra in the film industry, and waiter in a nightclub. Forty percent of those reported working between 36 and 48 hours, 35% spent between 20 and 36 hours, and 25% reported working between 48 and 72 hours at their additional job the previous week. As all receive pay monthly, the question of how much was earned the previous week was null and void.

Those that had worked the day before reporting four hours of work totaled half of the masseur young men. Twenty five percent had worked eight hours the prior day and 19% had worked six hours. Six percent reported working the previous day at their second job for a total of nine hours. Of the escort young men, the hours varied with most reporting they had worked for eight hours the previous day, this answer was reported by 30% of those interviewed. Twenty five percent reported working four hours, 10% reported working for six hours and 15% reported

working nine hours. Ten percent of the young men reported working the previous day for 11 hours, and 10% reported working for 12 hours. Again, as all are paid monthly, the daily wage question was null and void.

### ***Religion***

One hundred percent of the escort young men reported believing in God, while 89% of the masseur respondents reported the same. The remaining 11% reported not believing in God.

When asked which god the young men worship, 28% of the masseurs reported worship to Krishna, 20% reported Khuda, and 15% reported Devi. Twelve percent reported worship to Ganeshji, 12% Shiva, and 8% Saibaba. The remaining 5% reported worship to Hanumanji. The young men reported totals of 80% being Hindu and the remaining 20% being Muslim.

The escort young men reported the god worshipped being Khuda at a 27% response rate, while the others were noted to be closely related to the masseur young men. These young men interviewed reported as 73% being Hindu and 27% being Muslim.

The reasons for worship varied among the masseur young men. They include: having faith, feeling peaceful following prayer, and being relieved of their tension. Others stated they pray to become successful, as well as possess the ability to tell only their higher being their feelings, and be relieved of their sins. Others stated they feel happy after they pray and stated everyone they know believes in him.

The escort young men reported having faith as a reason for worship as well as praying being a habit, believing he is everything and everybody known to them believes in him. Praying to become successful was also reported.

Seventy two percent of the masseur young men pray daily, while 28% reported they do not. One hundred percent of the escort young men responded they pray daily. Over half of the masseur young men, 51%, visit the temple/mosque/church occasionally, while 28% visit once a week, and 11% visit once a month. The escort young men who reported visiting their temple/mosque/church occasionally totaled 45% of the participant responses. Forty two percent visit once a week and 13% visit monthly.

The participants responded with various reason as to how they feel following visiting their place of worship. The young men masseurs and escorts responses included feeling relaxed, satisfied, peaceful, and happy. There were responses of feeling confident following prayer and being able to talk to their god as he will listen. Both groups had responses of which visits to their place of worship were done out of habit. There were those escorts that answered they feel more faithful following a visit.

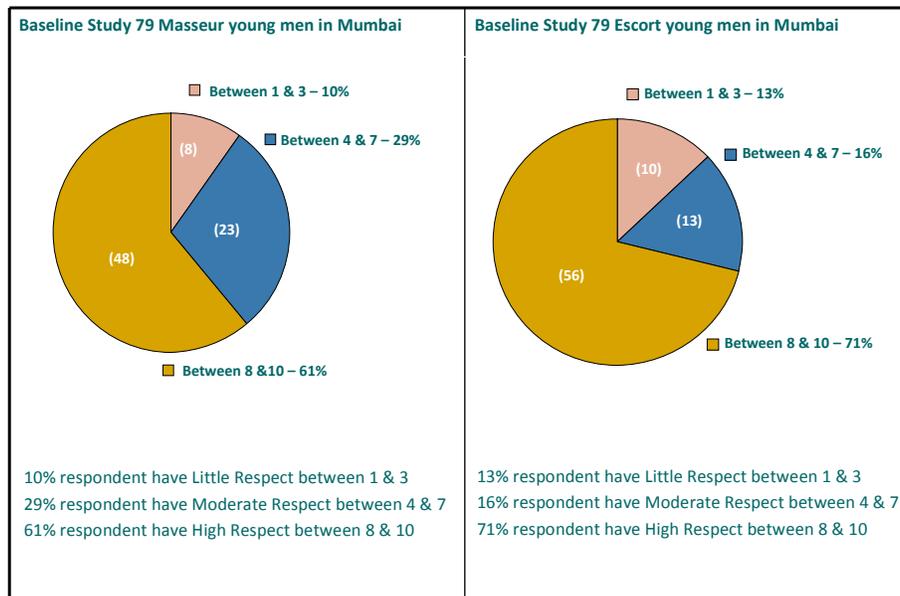
When asked if they go alone to their temple, mosque, or church, 61% of the male masseurs reported they do, while the remainder stated they go with peers. The escort young men going alone totaled 72% of the responses, while the remainder attends with peers.

### ***Respect***

The participants were asked their thoughts on the meaning of the word 'respect'. The masseur young men responded with definitions including, respect is everything and money is respect. There were those that felt credibility respect, or felt it is subjective dependent upon the work you do. Other responses included: behavior towards another person is the way to earn respect, I feel like a complete man, and when I get respect from anybody I feel very happy.

Impact study 79 Masseur	Impact study 79 Escort
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Respect for me today is doing hard work, and my neighbors see me going to work on time and coming back on time tired and they are telling my family about it (43)</li> <li>• The money that I earn due to hard work is respect (79)</li> <li>• I feel now I am settled (79)</li> <li>• I feel more confident to plan on doing savings (79)</li> <li>• I feel like a complete man now (61)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I feel good when someone treated me equally (45)</li> <li>• My responsibility is key element for respect I am getting (27)</li> <li>• My performance at workplace gives me respect (68)</li> <li>• Now I understood well about giving and receiving respect (18)</li> </ul>

The escort young men responded with answers such as, money is respect, respect is something given & taken, credibility is respect, and respect is something given to parents (see Table 15).



**Table 15: Masseuse vs. Escort respect of themselves as a person**

Sixty one percent of the masseur young men in Mumbai answered they have a high level of self-respect. Twenty nine percent responded they have a moderate amount of self-respect and 10% feel little respect for themselves. Seventy one percent of the escort young men feel a high level of self-respect while 16% feel moderate and 13% feel they have little respect for themselves.

When asked to rate from one to ten how much respect the young men have as masseurs and escorts, 80% of the masseurs feel that working as a masseur they have a low amount of self-respect and 15% feel they have a moderate amount of self-respect. Those who feel they have a level of low self-respect as a result of being escorts totaled 73% and 14% feel they have a moderate amount of self-respect.

The participants were asked to suggest ways to increase the amount of respect they have for themselves. The responses included those who feel returning to their family would help increase their self-respect, while others thought about studying or working in an office, or doing something different than being a masseur. Respondents answered they would like to set up a beauty shop in order to increase their self-respect, and those that desire to set up a shop and to save a lot of money in order to look for another respectable job.

The escort young men suggested that getting another well-paying job would increase their self-respect as well as doing anything different from the present job. Studying and the desire to leave the escort business were also mentioned.

All participants were asked where they might see themselves in two years' time. The masseur young men suggested good respectable jobs in Mumbai, with their family in their own village,

becoming a driver or owning a massage clinic were also mentioned. Some had high hopes of rating themselves the highest level possible in the next two years and those who felt at one point they were below ground level, now feeling at ground level, had a desire to reach the sky. Others desire to earn a lot of money, while some mentioned having no idea and stated they need time to think about their futures.

The escort young men mentioned various goals and visions. Included are those that wish to be in a good respectable job in Mumbai, completing their education and being a successful person who has lots of money. There were also some that felt they needed time to think about it as they, at this time, have no idea where they see themselves in two years.

The young men were asked how they thought they might reach those goals and aspirations in two years time. Many of the masseurs expressed the need to be trained for a better job and those who feel studying from an open university, even though they would forgo sleeping, would help them attain their goals. Some felt they would have to learn the skills to open a beauty salon and others felt they would need to own a shop to have a lot of money. Still there were those who responded they had not thought that far ahead and did not desire to offer suggestions in front of the interviewer, nor were they in the mood.

The escort young men suggested obtaining their goals through getting better jobs and learning new skills. Equally as many felt they would like to set up their own massage clinic and work with someone in order to understand work better. Although less those who felt, even though they would forgo sleep, they should study at an open university. As with the masseur young men, there were those who felt they did not have a plan in place nor had they begun to consider any plan.

## Impact

On completion of the training internship and job placement phase, the survey was repeated to determine whether the young men were impacted by the services provided to them.

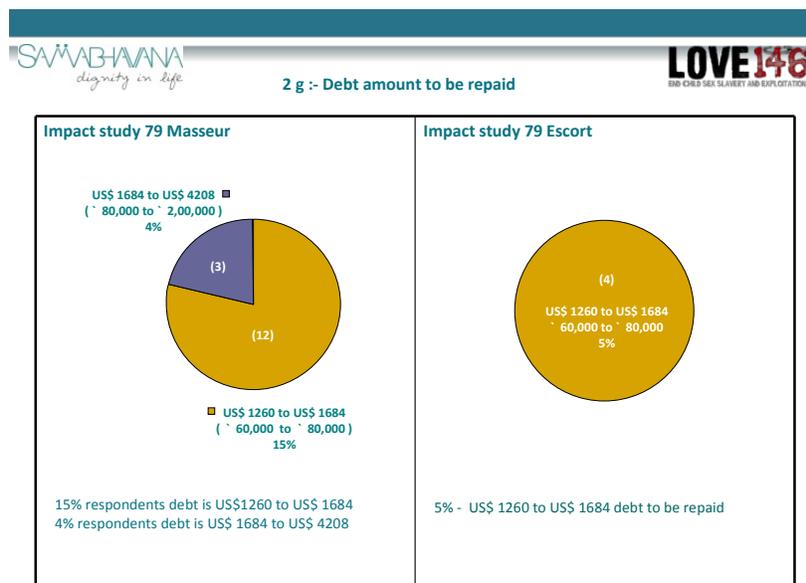


Table 16- Debt

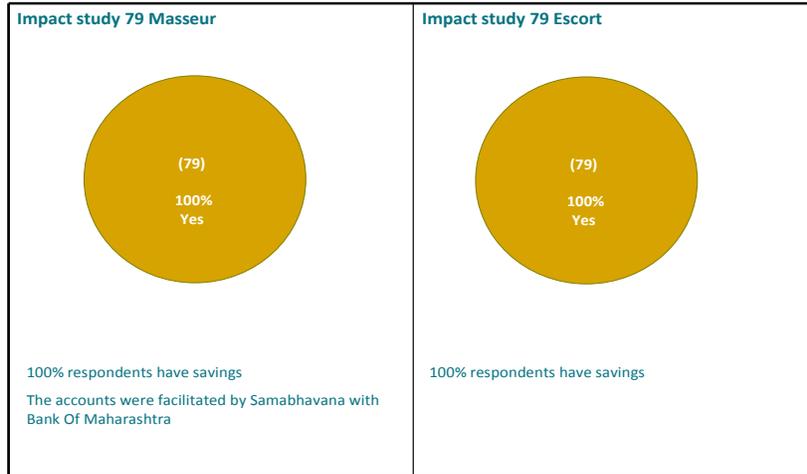


Table 16a- Savings

### ***Violence***

One hundred percent of masseur young men no longer worked the street and they are out of influence of community members, hence no longer face violence by police, goons and community members. One hundred percent of the escort participants stay at their homes and are more secure.

### ***HIV Protection and Condom Use***

One hundred percent of the masseur young men were informed and are aware, due to soft skills training, of STI/HIV education. One hundred percent of escort young men responded that unprotected sex is the major cause of spreading HIV.

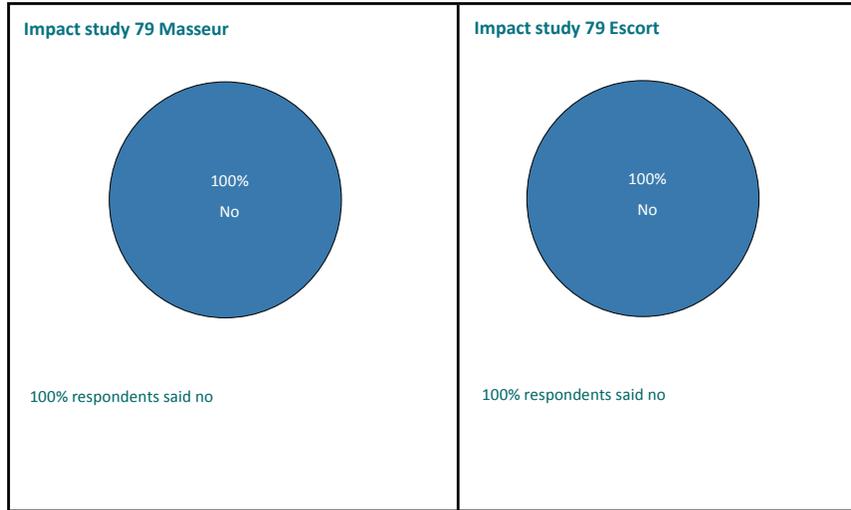


Table 17 -Sexual history

*Self-Dignity*

Impact study 79 Masseur What has made it change?	Impact study 79 Escort What has made it change?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The work that I do now as an Auto Mechanic can proudly tell my family, friends and community ( Village) (79)</li> <li>•The fact that I don't have to use my body anymore and beg to clients to call me, means a lot to me as I have a respectable job which I go in the morning and come in the evening gives me a lot of respect &amp; dignity (64)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The work that I do now as Cafe Coffee Day boy can proudly tell my family, friends (34)</li> <li>• Now here is no body selling for money and a commodity for client, my job is now mirror image of my work and lots of respect now(79)</li> <li>• Yes feel like complete man(59)</li> </ul>

Table 18 – Dignity and Change

## Recommendations

### *Donors*

Funding is needed to develop model programs to provide alternative work for young men in the massage/escort industries as well as improved social and health care programs. This would assist in the lowering or alleviation of poverty of the young men and their families and would encourage savings, relieve debt, and assist in creating an income-earning generation. Donors need to recognize the importance of funding strategic programs that prevent sexual exploitation and address demand.

### ***Non-Government Organizations***

It is necessary to educate the NGO community who mainly work with girls to also address the needs of the young men. To do this, the myths surrounding sexual abuse and exploitation of young men, needs to be understood. Cultural understandings will need to be further researched and taught. Research is currently being done in an attempt to understand the supply and demand of young men. An attempt to understand who the client is and who those are that solicit these young men must be made. NGOs should understand the importance of providing realistic alternative sources of income generation to young men which is fundamental to their healing and restoration into significant members of society as well as reducing family debt and facilitating savings. NGOs should learn from Samabhavana's experience in working with the corporate sector in providing training and work that is financially remunerative for today's standard of living.

### ***Government of India and Society***

The Government of India and society need to recognize the existence of this population and consider the development of programs at source and destination in income generation to assist in reducing migration/trafficking. Samabhavana has pioneered the approach to development and training at source after they found that a large number of masseur boys came from one district. The law and implementation of the law regarding male child exploitation must also be reviewed and advocated for. Samabhavana has advocated for more social workers addressing the issue of sexually exploited boys at the TATA Institute of Social Sciences. They have also worked with 55 schools in Mumbai to instruct school children in gender sensitive child protection and

responsible behavior. The [www.good-touch-bad-touch-asia.org](http://www.good-touch-bad-touch-asia.org) flip chart program was used as part of this program.

### ***Future Research***

There is a need for action research into the vulnerabilities and issues of sexually exploited boys and young men in other Asian cities which have to date, been severely neglected. Young people desiring the option of bettering their psycho-social health and position in life were prevalent among the participants of this study (see Table 19).

The image shows a survey question: "12 a :- Where do you see yourself in two years time?". It is divided into two columns of responses. The left column is for "Impact study 79 Masseur" and the right column is for "Impact study 79 Escort".

Impact study 79 Masseur	Impact study 79 Escort
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To have got promotion in the current job (65)</li> <li>• To have saved money to get sister married and to build house (57)</li> <li>• I was below the ground level. Now I am at least earning and want to go to the sky level in future (68)</li> <li>• To become a owner of a mechanic shop (27)</li> <li>• Repay the family loan (50)</li> <li>• Get married (51)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To have got promotion in the current job (79)</li> <li>• To have saved money (79)</li> <li>• To become a owner of a café shop (franchisee) (54)</li> <li>• Repay the loan (3)</li> <li>• To have complete graduation by correspondence (2)</li> </ul>

Table 19 – Future Aspirations

As witnessed in this study the participants have aspirations and goals (see Table 20). Yet without future research addressing the variety of factors of which boys are exposed, vulnerable to, and that place them at risk to become workers in the sex industry, the issue cannot be addressed to the full extent that the pending ramifications deserve.

Impact study 79 Masseur	Impact study 79 Escort
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•To have a motor mechanic shop (27)</li> <li>•To get promotion in current job (65)</li> <li>•To have got sister married (31)</li> <li>•To have built home for family (18)</li> <li>•To have reduced debt (50)</li> <li>•To study more and get degree (34)</li> <li>•I have to go in the ladder slowly but steadily. I will have to seek help of people like you (14)</li> <li>•I have to earn a lot more to set up a shop (11)</li> <li>•I want to become an expert mechanic. I have to work hard to understand the job. (55)</li> <li>• For that I have to identify my talents &amp; find a suitable position in current job accordingly (39)</li> <li>•I will do earn money by saving and hard work, earn enough to go back to village (18)</li> <li>•Would like to go to Delhi &amp; work in a workshop there so that I can be in touch with my parents, Have to work for it (29)</li> <li>•I have to mentally prepare myself (58)</li> <li>•I have to repay my family loan by more savings(44)</li> <li>•I have to start changing my attitude &amp; start thinking that this is what I want to do.(37)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To get promotion in current job (79)</li> <li>• To have reduced debt (2)</li> <li>• To study more and get degree (2)</li> <li>• To become an owner of a café shop (franchisee), I have to learn a lot of managerial skills to become confident (55)</li> </ul>

### **Conclusion**

This study is intended to shed light upon these boys and young men in an attempt to increase awareness of the need for training for alternate vocations and empowering these boys through intervention, advocacy, and empowerment that encourages independence, dignity and growth psychologically and spiritually. This research on sexual vulnerability was conducted as part of a program over a three year period in an attempt to obtain psycho-social data pertinent to their lives before and during their work as masseurs.

The results of this study highlight the vulnerability of boys and young men to sexual exploitation through their work as masseurs and escorts. The multitude of factors that are found to be contributory to the boys' exploitation include their lack of skills in order to secure gainful employment and training. In an attempt to eradicate the exploitation of these boys and young men, it is imperative that the acknowledgment of this industry and these communities exist. The

finding that the boys and young men are in hazardous and consistently violent situations and are continually exposed to multiple partners significantly increasing the risk of HIV/AIDS and trauma related injuries and illness makes an additional call for awareness and action.

The majority of both sets of young men suffer from low self-esteem and are exposed to an industry that is on the receiving end of ambiguous laws and legalities, these become increasing ambiguous with the age increase of the young men and for those over the age of 18 years old. Programs designed with this in mind might include early psychological intervention, trade school training, as well as preventative health care information.

Although there are abundant ideas and recommendations proposed in an effort to identify, locate, and protect male victims from being in the position where sex work is thought to be the only option, it is clear that local awareness, program implementation, and local officials play a vital part in the implementation of such.

There is little understanding as to the ramifications of male sex work on a psycho-social level as well as the area of sexual health. There is much to be gained from an interdisciplinary approach addressing future developments in the understanding of the issue of male sex work.

*Appendix 1*

Note: Example Questionnaire presented to young men ‘escorts’. Similar questionnaire presented to young men masseurs with minor context appropriate changes.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BOYS IN MUMBAI

Operational Definition of the Respondent: Men (**Escorts**) who have Domicile in Mumbai and have been integrated into Escorts trade and may also have provided sex in exchange for money from a male or female client at least once during the past 6 months.

INTRODUCTION: “My name is ... .. I’m working for Samabhavana Society. We are interviewing people who are in trade of Escorts in Mumbai.

This study result will help us to plan a program with boys like you who are working in the Escorts trade, in the future.

CONFIDENTIALITY AND CONSENT—I am going to ask you some very personal questions that some people find difficult to answer. Your answers are completely confidential. Your name will not be written on this form, and will never be used in connection with any of the information you tell me. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. However, your honest answer to these questions will help us better understand what people think, say and do about certain kinds of behaviour. We would greatly appreciate your help in responding to this questionnaire. However, if you feel uncomfortable at any point of time, you could discontinue the proceedings. The interview will take about 60 minutes to ask the questions. Would you be willing to participate?

Yes  1 No  2

*Signature of the interviewer certifying that informed consent has been given orally by the respondent.*

A. Place: MUMBAI

Respondent Nos.

B. Site Name \_\_\_\_\_

Site Number

Interviewer Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Supervisor Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Interview (DD/MM/YY)

Accompanied by: \_\_\_\_\_

/ /

Back-checked by: \_\_\_\_\_

Back-checked

Scrutinized

Coded

Data Entered

Survey began: _____ : _____ AM/PM	Break began (if any): _____ : _____ AM/PM
Break ended (if any): _____ : _____ AM/PM	Survey ended: _____ : _____ AM/PM

Recruitment method (circle one):

(1) Self-referral	(2) Participant referral	(3) Outreach at bar	(4) Outreach on street
(5) Agency referral (specify agency):		(6) Other (specify):	

<b>1. Profile of boys</b>		
a. What is your Age? (please incorporate specific number in #1)	1.	
	2. Don't know	
	3.	Refused to respond
b. You can speak- (multiple responses)	1. Hindi	
	2. Marathi	
	3. English	
	4. Other	
c. What is your Religion		
d. What is your Caste?		
e. How long have you been living in Mumbai? (please incorporate specific number)	.....Years &..... months	
f. What is your place of origin?		
g. What is your highest level of education? (only one answer)	1. schooling	No
	2. standard	up to 4 <sup>th</sup>
	3.	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup>

	<p>standard</p> <p>4. 7<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> standard</p> <p>5. 11<sup>th</sup> standard and above</p>
<p>h. With whom do you stay in Mumbai? (only one answer)</p>	<p>1. Family (immediate)</p> <p>2. Friends</p> <p>3. Relatives (distant)</p> <p>4. Peers</p> <p>5. Others (Specify)</p>
<p><b>2. Family Background (General) &amp; Income</b></p>	
<p>a. How much was your income in the past 3 months? (put the figure in Rupees)</p>	
<p>b. How much was your income in the past week (put the figure in Rupees)</p>	
<p>c. What do you do with the money you have earned? (multiple answers &amp; ask them in rupees and to be calculated in percentage by the interviewer)</p>	<p>1. % that you send home</p> <p>2. % that you save</p> <p>3. % that you spend on food, lodging,</p> <p>4. % that you spend on clothes</p> <p>5. % that you spend on alcohol, cigarettes, drugs and gambling</p> <p>6. % that you spend on women</p>
<p>d. If, you save money! Where do you save your money? (multiple answers)</p>	<p>1. Keep it with Peer</p> <p>2. Give it to family member who you live with to look</p>

	<p>after</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Keep it in bank</li> <li>4. Any other</li> </ol>
e. What type of family do you come from?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Joint family</li> <li>2. Nuclear family</li> <li>3. Single parent</li> </ol>
f. What is your father's educational level?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. No schooling</li> <li>2. up to 4<sup>th</sup> standard</li> <li>3. 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> standard</li> <li>4. 7<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> standard</li> <li>5. 11<sup>th</sup> standard and above</li> </ol>
g. How many of the family members are earning? (please incorporate specific number)	
h. Does the family owe any debts?  (if yes then ask "h" or skip and go to "i")	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol>
i. What is the amount of debt left to pay?  (please incorporate specific number)	
j. Does the family have any savings?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol>
k. What is the monthly family expenditure?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Less than 2000</li> <li>2. 2000-5000</li> <li>3. More than 5000</li> </ol>
l. What is the family monthly income?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Less than 2000</li> <li>2. 2000-5000</li> <li>3. More then 5000</li> </ol>
<b>3.Prejudice, Stigma &amp; Discrimination</b>	
a. Are people in your city/home aware that you are an	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> </ol>

Escort?	2. No
b. If not then why? Please tell us in detail.	
c. Do you remember ever pretending that you were not an Escort? (if yes then ask “d” or else go to “e”)	1. Yes 2. No
d. Does being an Escort affect your intimate personal relationships? (if more than little ask “e”)	1. None 2. Little 3. Moderate 4. Very much
e. If yes, then please explain in detail why.	
f. Have you got a best friend?	1. Yes 2. No
g. If so he is	1. Escorts 2. Boy in City 3. Someone else
h. Do you think a member of your family such as brother/nephew/ cousin/ son should work as Escort? (if no then ask “i” only)	1. Yes 2. No 3. Maybe

<p>i. Do you think a person who is your friend/ neighbour/ acquaintance or from the city should work as an Escort?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> <li>3. Maybe</li> </ol>
<p>j. At what age should boys start working as an Escort? (please incorporate specific number )</p>	
<p>k. At what age did you start working as an Escort? (please incorporate specific number)</p>	
<p><b>4 Reason for Migration</b></p>	
<p>a. What brings you to the city? (multiple response to be probed for)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. For Pleasure</li> <li>2. For Fun</li> <li>3. For Work</li> <li>4. To earn money</li> <li>5. Visiting a relative</li> <li>6. Visiting a friend</li> <li>7. To be an escort</li> </ol>
<p>b. How did you come into the trade of Escort?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To earn money</li> <li>2. Because my friends were earning good money</li> <li>3. Because my immediate family member was an Escort</li> <li>4. Just came for a visit and then became an Escort because friends/relative were also</li> <li>5. My village friend got me into this trade</li> <li>6. Other</li> </ol>
<p>c. Why did you become an Escort?</p>	

(probe)	
<b>5 SEXUAL IDENTITY</b>	
a) How would you identify yourself? (multiple responses if need be)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Men who likes to have sex with other men</li> <li>2. Men who likes to have sex with women</li> <li>3. Men who likes to have sex with Men and women both</li> <li>4. Men who likes to have sex with Hijras</li> <li>5. Men who likes to have sex with men, women or Hijra</li> <li>6. Men who only has sex with Men for financial reason</li> </ol>
<b>6. SEXUAL HISTORY, NUMBER AND TYPES OF PARTNER</b>	
a. At what age did you have your first sexual experience? (please incorporate specific number)	
b. With whom did you have your first sexual intercourse?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> </ol>
c. If male was he	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Relative</li> <li>2. Neighbour</li> <li>3. Friend</li> <li>4. Client</li> </ol>
d. If female was she	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Relative</li> <li>2. Neighbour</li> </ol>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Friend</li> <li>4. Client</li> </ul>
e. Where did you have your first sexual intercourse?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Village</li> <li>2. Mumbai</li> </ul>
f. The first time you had sexual intercourse it was	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Coerced</li> <li>2. Consensual</li> </ul>
g. In the past 6 months did you have any rashes, ulcerations or lumps in the genital area/anus/ mouth?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ul>
h. In the past 6 months have you had any urethral discharge, difficulty passing urine, pain in your testicles?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ul>
i. Have you been sick in any other way in the past 3 months?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ul>
j. What sickness/symptoms? (list all of them)	
k. How is HIV/AIDS passed from one person to another?  (ask modes of transmission and if the first answer is sex then stop there)	
l. Do you know anyone with HIV/AIDS?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ul>
m. Can you please tell us the number of clients that you met last week for sex?  (please incorporate specific number)	

n. Can you please tell us the number of clients that you met yesterday for sex?  (please incorporate specific number)	
o. What is a condom for?  (multiple responses)	
p. Have you ever used a condom?  (if no then go to “s”)	1. Yes  2. No
q. Have you used a condom in the last week	1. Yes  2. No
r. How often have you had sex with more than one client at the same time in the past three months? Have you ever had sex with more than one client?	1. Always  2. Sometimes  3. Very often  4. Once in 3 months  5. Never
s. How many times have you and another boy(s) had sex with a client at the same time in the past 3 months?	1. Always  2. Sometimes  3. Very often  4. once in 3 months  5. Never
t. Have you visited a female sex worker in the past 3 months?	1. Yes  2. No
<b>7. Substance Abuse</b>	
a. Do you do substance abuse?  (if yes then ask “b” & “c” or else go to “e”)	1. Yes  2. No
b. What alcohol or drugs have you used in the past 3 months?	

c. What alcohol or drugs have you used in the last 1 week?	
d. How much alcohol or drugs have you consumed in the past week?  (please incorporate specific number)	
e. Do you use any alcohol or intoxicating substance during sex?	1. Sometimes 2. Occasionally 3. Always 4. Very often 5. Never
<b>8. Sexual violence and Abuse</b>	
a. Are you aware of other boys in the Escort trade being forced to have sex against their wishes?	1. Yes 2. No
b. In your experience has there ever been a case, where you have been forced to have sex against your wishes?	1. Sometimes 2. Occasionally 3. Always 4. Very often 5. Never
c. Would you mind sharing about these experiences even though it may be painful?	1. Yes 2. No
d. Can you please tell us what happened?	

<p>e. Have you faced violence in the past 3 months by police?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sometimes</li> <li>2. Occasionally</li> <li>3. Always</li> <li>4. Very often</li> <li>5. Never</li> </ol>
<p>f. Have you faced violence in the past 3 months by goons or others?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sometimes</li> <li>2. Occasionally</li> <li>3. Always</li> <li>4. Very often</li> <li>5. Never</li> </ol>
<p>g. Have you faced violence in the past 3 months by community members?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sometimes</li> <li>2. Occasionally</li> <li>3. Always</li> <li>4. Very often</li> <li>5. Never</li> </ol>
<p><b>9. Income Generation</b></p>	
<p>a. If given a chance to do some other job that pays 5000 Rs a month, would you take it?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Maybe</li> <li>2. Possibly</li> <li>3. Definitely</li> <li>4. Not interested</li> </ol>
<p>b. How many hours did you spend in the last week as an escort?  ( please incorporate specific number)</p>	
<p>c. What did you earn as an escort in the last week?  (please incorporate specific number in rupees)</p>	
<p>d. How many hours do you spend as an escort yesterday?</p>	

(please incorporate specific number in rupees)	
e. What did you earn as an escort yesterday? (please incorporate specific number in rupees)	
f. Do you have any job other than as an escort? (if No then go to 9)	1. Yes 2. No
g. If yes, what? (get correct responses and list all)	
h. How many hours did you spend in the last week in your other job? (please incorporate specific number)	
i. What did you earn in your other job(s) in the last week? (please incorporate specific number in rupees)	
j. How many hours did you spend yesterday in your other job(s)? (please incorporate specific number)	
k. What did you earn in your other job(s) yesterday? (please incorporate specific number in rupees)	
<b>10. Spirituality</b>	
a. Do you believe in God? (if No then go to 11)	1. Yes 2. No
b. Which god do you worship?	
c. What is the reason of your worship?	
d. Do you pray daily?	1. Yes 2. No

e. How often do you visit the temple /mosque/church?	
f. How do you feel after you have prayed or visited the temple/ mosque/church?	
g. Do you go alone to the temple/mosque/church? (if Yes then go to 11)	1. Yes 2. No
h. Do you go with peers to temple/mosque/church?	1. Yes 2. No
<b>11. Dignity</b>	
a. What is the meaning of word “respect” for you? (probe for responses)	
b. How much respect do you have as a person on the scale of 1 to 10?  (need to measure the depth of his number without spelling it out)  0 to 1 is no respect 1 to 2 somewhat respect 2 to 3 is little more than somewhat 3 to 4 is less then moderate 4 to 5 is moderate 5 to 6 is little more than moderate 6 to 7 is somewhat more then little moderate 7 to 8 is better than moderate 8 to 9 is little less then complete 9 to10 is complete respect	1. 0 to 1 2. 1 to 2 3. 2 to 3 4. 3 to 4 5. 4 to 5 6. 5 to 6 7. 6 to 7 8. 7 to 8 9. 8 to 9 10. 9 to 10
c. How much respect do you have as an escort on the scale of 1 to 10?  (need to measure the depth of his number without spelling	1) 0 to 1 2) 1 to 2

<p>it out)</p> <p>0 to 1 is no respect</p> <p>1 to 2 somewhat respect</p> <p>2 to 3 is little more than somewhat</p> <p>3 to 4 is less then moderate</p> <p>4 to 5 is moderate</p> <p>5 to 6 is little more than moderate</p> <p>6 to 7 is somewhat more then little moderate</p> <p>7 to 8 is better than moderate</p> <p>8 to 9 is little less then complete</p> <p>9 to10 is complete respect</p>	<p>3) 2 to 3</p> <p>4) 3 to 4</p> <p>5) 4 to 5</p> <p>6) 5 to 6</p> <p>7) 6 to 7</p> <p>8) 7 to 8</p> <p>9) 8 to 9</p> <p>10)9 to 10</p>
<p>d. What is that you can do to increase that respect? (write in details all that he says)</p>	
<p><b>12. Future Planning</b></p>	
<p>a. Where do you see yourself in next two years' time? (help him map that with Past, Present and Future exercise)</p>	
<p>b. And how do you plan to reach that point? (help him map that with Past, Present and Future exercise)</p>	

We thank you for having taken the time for talking to us and your information was very valuable to us and we shall share the information with you once the questionnaire is completed and the report is ready.

We also promise and assure you that your name will never be disclosed and the data will be used to develop specific intervention that will try and give you a better life, if you are seeking any other information, please ask and we shall answer.

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