

**Communities, Tradition and Politics of Risk :
A Study of HIV/AIDS in Coastal Andhra**

Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad for the award of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled "Communities, Tradition and Politics of Risk. A Study of HIV/AIDS in Coastal Andhra Pradesh" prepared by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr. N. Purendra Prasad, Reader, Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology has not been submitted to any other degree either in part or in full to this or any other university.

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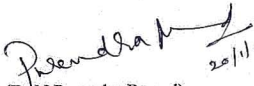
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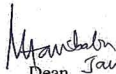
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Abbreviations

ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwives
APSACS	Andhra Pradesh State AIDS Control Society
ARVs	Anti-retroviral drugs
ART	Anti-retroviral therapy
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CDA	Contagious Diseases Act
CDC	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
CI	Circle inspector
DFID-	Department for International Development
DWCRA	Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas
DMSC	Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee
VAMP	Veshya AIDS Muqabla Parishad
GAIL	Gas Authority of India Limited
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVK	Name of a company owned by GVK family
GIET	Godavari Institute of Engineering and Technology
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
IDU	Intravenous Drug User
INDIRAMMA	Integrated Development in Rural Areas and Model Municipal Areas
IPC	Indian Penal Code
ITPA	Immoral Traffic Prevention Act
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MPTC	Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituency
MSM	Men Who Have Sex with Men
MRO	Mandal Revenue Office
MSW	Male Sex Worker
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NACO	National AIDS Control Organization

NACP	National AIDS Control Programme
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
OBC	Other Backward Communities
BC	Backward Castes
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
PDDA	Prohibition of Devadasi Dedication Act
PLWHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
RTI	Reproductive Tract Infections
RIL	Reliance Industry Limited
RMP	Registered Medical Practitioners
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SANLAAP	An organization which works for sex workers in Calcutta
SANGRAM	Sampada Grameen Mahila Parishad
SHG	Self Help Groups
SITA	Suppression of Immoral and Traffic Act
SI	Sub-Inspector
SP	Superintendent of Police
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TB	Tuberculosis
NH	National highway
TDP	Telugu Desam Party
VAMBAY	Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana
VCTC	Voluntary Counseling and Testing centre
ZPTC	Zilla Parishad Territorial constituency
WHO	World Health Organisation

Local Terms Used*

Ammayilu- Literally, girls; but in the sex trade, it alludes to sex workers

Anna- literally means 'elder brother' but 'Brokers' are also called as 'Anna' by the sex workers

Arogyam- Health

Bhogum- Literally means the women who provide sexual pleasure on demand. It also means 'women keeps', mistress, a concubine (especially a category of Kalavanthulu who dance at the court) or a prostitute

Bhogum melam – Congregation of Devadası or Bhogum troupes

Candidates – English word used in common parlance to refer sex workers

Chinna illu- Literally means small house but in local usage it denotes the upper caste men's association with the informal family relationship; a socially recognized institution but it is illegal

Chowdhurygaru- Implying agricultural land owner usually belonging to Kamma caste

Cutlet- It's a one type of snack but respondents who are sex workers refer it to as an euphemism for vagina

Daily customers- Regular clients

Divanam - Palace

Ganta- It literally means 'bell' but respondents who are sex workers used this term to denote 'pennis'

Guddisetty- Literally means those who stay in the huts. However, it is used in the context where a Kalavanthulu woman refers to a woman from lower caste participating in the transactional sex.

Hafta - Informal bribe which is collected periodically by the police

* Although I have translated lot of the words which are used in sex trade, but in local usage there is a different way of expressing. For instance, many of the expressions are couched in different language. Another point is that although in the text I argue that there is a certain level of tolerance towards sex work and the region had the history of Devadası culture, people do not carry out sex work publicly nor refer or use the term related to 'sex work' 'sex' multiple partner relationships etc directly. For instance, in a typical situation if a customer approaches a broker for a sex worker or if a broker looks for a deal with a customer for a sex worker, both of them would use the word either '*amayı*' or '*candidate*' instead of 'sex worker'.

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Intilo manusi- Literally means person in the house, insider, but it is used in the context of referring to temporary husband by the sex worker who is different from the client. On the other hand, client uses this term to differentiate their wife who is different from the sex workers.

Javali- Telugu poem that discusses menstruation or love poem

Kalavanthulu- Literally means torch-bearers of art forms but it refers to a performing community in the Devadasi system in the region.

Kannerikam- A ritual to initiate first menstruated girls into the sex work, among the traditional sex workers. The paternal aunt (*menatta*) usually ties the *Mangalasutram* (Bridal thread consists of black colour) around the neck of the girl. A group of rich clients are invited to this ceremony and the highest bidder from this group gets to initiate sex with the girl for the first time.

Kojjawallu- one of the transgender community and are generally referred as hijras in India.

Line lo untamu- Literally means 'I am in the line', but the respondent means that doing sex work, more applicable in the case of street sex workers

Majalu- Entertainment

Mejuvani- This word is derived from the Parsian word which means 'feast'. But this word would mean a feast which is followed by a dance performance performed for a host, generally for a rich landlord or zamindar.

Mezuvaani art - Chamber style abhinaya with dancer in seated position

Nirodh- Name of a condom company which is very popular and is distributed by the government free of cost. However, respondents do not use the word 'condom' instead use 'nirodh' to refer any category and brand of condoms.

Owneramma- Referring to brothel madams or owners

Paakalu- Huts and it is used as a hotspot for sex transactions

Paari povadadam- Literally means girl eloped with a boy however here it is used to refer the girls as spoil girls or to indicate that a girl has multiple partners.

Padams- Romantic moods depicted by the hero and heroine

Peddaillu- Literally means big house but it is referred to as the legal family

Palaasa - A collective grain storage system in the village

Pallelu - Fisherman community

Passengers- In the sex trade, this term is used for clients.

Padukuntamu- Literally means 'sleep with' but sex workers indirectly refer to having sex as they do not use the word 'sex' directly.

Pedda operation- Hysterectomy

Pānduga- Festivals

Raktum marpichandi- Indirect way of expressing that somebody is HIV positive. Literal translation is transfusion of blood.

Unchukuna vadu- Concubine form of relationship in the *Kalavanthulu* tradition *Ronkamogudu / temporary husband / lover*- sex workers refer to their male partners whom they maintain financially for social protection.

Sangam- Organization or association

Stages- Raised platform or dias

Tirugewallu – It refers to the secret sex work that is carried on by some of the women in the pretext of some work (attending meetings, family functions, watching cinema etc) They do not inform to their near ones in the family or neighbourhood that they engage in sex work but are constantly on the move. However, people have suspicious eye on them but difficult to get any evidence about their sex work.

Tirtham- Sacred water given in the temples on festive occasions but here it is referred to as attending large gathering during festivals like korukonda tirtham

Turpu kapu- Literally means kapu caste from eastern part of Andhra Pradesh, one sub caste recognized as backward community among the kapus and accorded the OBC status

Unchukunavaru- The man who maintains a keep, generally from the Kalavanthulu community.

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Chapter- I

Introduction

Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is recognized as a public health discourse as well as a developmental issue. The growing prevalence of HIV/AIDS poses a serious social and economic threat. It is estimated that about 57 million people live with HIV infection in India and one of every eight people with HIV infection [Steinbrook 2007: 1089]. Given India's large population, HIV/AIDS can assume threatening proportions. The other co-related factor is that it affects the country's economic development and growth since more number of youth are increasingly getting affected by the disease. It is in this context, that one needs to examine how Indian state responded to the emergence of HIV/AIDS in India, how policy decisions with regard to HIV/AIDS were made and the role played by the international donor agencies since the inception of the disease in India.

During the 1980s when Africa was the negative centre of attention with respect to AIDS, India took refuge in postures of denial, on the grounds that AIDS was a foreign disease. It was believed that the traditional socio-cultural norms of monogamy, universal marriage and, therefore, heterosexual relations and virtual non-existence of homosexual behaviour that India represents would prevent its populations from the risk of HIV infections. Also mother goddess worship, and societal proscriptions against an explicit focus on sex and sexuality in public social interactions and discourse in India, supposed to have provided the necessary shelter from a predominantly sexually transmitted disease (STD). Hence the Indian

Government many a time went out of its way in the initial period to deny the presence of epidemics (Csete 2004:83, Ramasubban 1998: 2865, Steinbrook 2007 1090).

During this period (early 1990s) Government's initiative did not concentrate on health programs, instead, it drafted stringent laws. These laws include deporting the sex workers to their state of origin, strictly following anti-trafficking laws, screening all foreigners for AIDS at the air ports and introduction of AIDS Prevention Bill (1989) which provided policing power to health authority to force high risk groups (essentially implying sex workers) for mandatory testing, prosecuting MSM (Men who have sex with men) in the name of upholding national values or Hindu values. All these things brought scientifically discredited, abstinence approaches to the fore front of the policy agenda (Csete 2004:87, Kotiswaran 2001:174) In the political sphere when religious fundamentalism became predominant in the early 1990s, there was an inevitable backlash against the rapid spread of western ideas such as the use of condoms (Csete 2004:87) These stringent laws were translated into the abuse of human rights of various social groups. However, much before the Government took cognizance of HIV/AIDS, international agencies put pressure on the Indian Government to take action against HIV/AIDS. As Ramasubban (1998) explains,

'Much of the Indian AIDS policy's evolution has been a process (albeit a slow and contradictory one) of responding to pressures both from outside the country and from within, to move in a more coherent and integrated direction The former have been mainly international donors, who have been an important impetus for policy change, and who have also been bringing in new scientific

knowledge and technical skills, and methodologies for research in both the medical and social and behavioural sciences (ibid. 2866)

This policy impetus was quite evident if we examine the expenditure of India on HIV with most of the funding coming from outside the country i.e World bank, Department for International Development (DFID), Ford Foundation, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) through its *Avahan*—India AIDS Initiative (Steinbrook, 2007:1091 and 2007:1197, Chandrasekaran et al 2006:508, Blanchard et al 2005: S139). Expenditure on HIV/AIDS has been steadily increasing. For instance, it was \$129 million in 2006 whereas between the year 1986 and 1991, it was \$ 6 million to counter the spread of AIDS (Dube 1992. 757). In 2004, BMGF itself funded \$ 200 million budget (for 2004-2009) for the initiative that focused in high risk groups (Sengupta and Sinha 2004:4). Although donor countries influenced the Government to focus on the AIDS intervention, these interventions were largely on biomedical and public health framework. For instance, The National AIDS Control Programme (NACP) was started in 1987 and focused mainly on surveillance in perceived high-risk areas, blood screening and subsequent programmes focused on treatment (free provision of Anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs), provision of STI (sexually transmitted infections) treatment to the sex workers and their partners and health education. The outcome of these programmes manifested in the pigeonholing of certain groups and target specific zones such as red-light areas or settlements which are known as the houses of the *Devadas* communities. For instance, many of the HIV interventions on sex workers available from India include largely brothel based sex workers, and very few non-brothel based sex workers. The latter are actually the majority in the country. However, donor

countries selectively avoided addressing structural problems or gave soft shift to human rights concerns. As Csete (2004) puts it,

‘The World Bank has devoted hundreds of millions of dollars to AIDS programmes but not used its leverage to address related human rights issues (ibid. 88)

In fact, in order to control the epidemic and to move these groups away from high risk behaviours, protection of these marginalized groups in terms of their human rights to that of health security, dignity and freedom of choice, equality with other citizens is necessary (Ramasubban and Rishyasringa 2005 3 & Dube 1992:757). It is because the occupation in which these groups are engaged such as use of drug, sex work and homosexuality are outlawed and stigmatized in the country. According to the new public health perspective, it is the illegality and stigma attached to the profession that deters the very HIV prevention programme. For instance, people who choose to have sex in return for money, are not only subject to more brutal, legal and police treatment than who sell other commodities, but their lack of access to health care services also make them much more vulnerable to HIV infection and early death (Mishra and Chandiramani 2005:13). In addition, the spread of HIV/AIDS too has increased discrimination against these groups in terms of reproachment of conduits of the virus.

Ironically some of the policies of donor agencies actually contributed to weakening the health structure that augmented the spread of the disease. For instance, World Bank¹ puts increasing sums of money into AIDS work in countries such as Brazil and India where the Bank’s own policies had helped weaken the health structures

(through escalating the interest rates and stringent repayment policies which indirectly push the poor to entrap into the vicious circle of poverty) that might have actually helped prevent the spread of HIV (Altman 1999).

On the other hand, social science and academia too did not develop its own conceptions of HIV or critical perspectives on AIDS. In the academic scenario too, the utilitarian framework (the premise on which public health was developed) dominated the discussion. However, social scientists critiqued public health programmes only when their object of study was stigma and discrimination. The social science's quest for social factors such as tradition and poverty as the cause of the disease complimented the public health initiative. However, in social science studies, these social factors have never been problematised and individual subjectivity has not been emphasized.

In these studies, the identities of the risk groups get fixed to a singular role and get treated as a discreet category rather than looking at their multiple roles. This way of categorization elude us from looking at how these groups manage their identity construction in holding multiple identities in which their roles traverse from risk zone and non-risk zone. The Indian social science literature has not so far critically looked at how public health initiative or HIV/AIDS discourseⁱⁱ reproduced the national discourse on morality, its implications on various communities and how these communities adopt strategies to avoid HIV/AIDS discourseⁱⁱⁱ. The latter aspect would actually reflect on the conditions in which these women are sustained within sex work that is sensitive to both 'agency' and 'structure' (Phoenix 2000:38).

In the national discourse on morality, a conscious distinction is made between a good woman and a bad woman. A bad woman generally alluding to a sex worker or *Devadasi* (who do not comply with the monogamous marriage) was depicted as a threat to the society and moral order. The present HIV/AIDS discourse has actually been adding another layer to that distinction in the sense that these women as health risk to the society (D Cunha 1992: 37, Rajan 2003. 119).

Once we frame the HIV/AIDS discourse in terms of reproducing national discourse on morality, it would be easier to explicate 'politics of risk' despite the claim of the scientists of it as value-neutral. As Annandale (1998) encapsulates,

'Science, which includes medicine, reflects and reproduces the dominant ideas of the society of its time. It illustrates how far from being objective and value free, medicine relies in its operation upon general cultural ideas in society. Medicine cannot be understood in its own terms as an objective science, since it also incorporates social values into its practice. This has particular significance for the discipline of epidemiology and the implementation of preventive public health measures which involve the identification of risk groups, largely in order to protect the general population (ibid 8)'

The problematic issue in the HIV/AIDS discourse is about how it castigates one form of sexuality- that is the commercial aspect of sex work and also through this process how it provides legitimacy to other forms of sexuality, which also holds exchange value. For instance, truckers who are categorized as one of the risk groups are disciplined only to curtail their association with sex workers but their variances in relationship with different kinds of women are not subjected to scrutiny. However, it was felt that both the biomedical and public health perspectives on

HIV/AIDS lack a broader framework of analysis of risk since their focus in many ways limits to individualized risk patterns and HIV/AIDS risk. Thus the existing scholarly works miss out how the affected community perceives risk and construct a continuum of risk (not just risk from HIV) which prioritizes certain types of dangers in their mundane activities (Sanders 2004: 557) It is in this context that we undertook research on HIV/AIDS in order to analyze the social conditions and context under which risk gets produced Taking into consideration the above research problem, the following objectives have been formulated:

Objectives

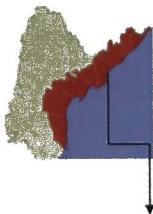
- To understand the politics of defining the boundaries between risk and non-risk groups within HIV/AIDS discourse
- To assess the affinity between the popular culture industry and risk culture in the context of HIV/AIDS
- To examine the notions of sexuality of women and its linkages with that of 'risk' as well as the potential risk situations particularly in the context of HIV/AIDS Efforts will be made to understand the social setting, dynamics of region, caste and religion vis-à-vis everyday experiences, focusing on various communities in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh
- To analyze the sociological dimensions of existing power relations, particularly intra and inter-caste relations, livelihood options, dominant culture of propertied classes and law enforcement agencies that contribute to risky populations. This is to examine the socio-political and economic conditions under which risk gets produced within a region.

Field site:

In order to understand some of these issues, an ethnographic study was carried out in East Godavari district (see also the map 1.1) especially in Rajahmundry focusing on various communities for about thirteen months during 2006-2007. In this study I focused on different communities instead of studying a single community because it would exonerate the bias of targeting certain groups of people for research. In addition, the multiple roles or complex social profiles of the respondents helped me to see the linkages of various communities with the entertainment sector. *Kalavanthulu*, a performing community has been the main focus of the study. However, other communities have been covered in order to grasp the complexity of the community dynamics of the region. A total of 500 *Kalavanthulu* households exist in the district. Of them 360 households are spread over in the four subdivisions of the district -Mandapeta, Kadlam, Peddapuram and Rajahmundry which have been covered for this study.^{iv}

I used the concept “communities” in sociological sense mostly referring to castes and occupational groups. The concept of community refers to the social entity or unit that binds (through collective or integrative principle) as well as segments (through hierarchy and internal divisions) the Indian society and its populations (Singh 1986:2). We prefer the term community to caste as *Kalavanthulus* do not belong to specific sub castes rather they are occupational groups. The term ‘tradition’ indicates historically well entrenched views along with the contentious views. I seek to problematise the concept of tradition through divergent ways, for

p1.1. East Godavari District Map

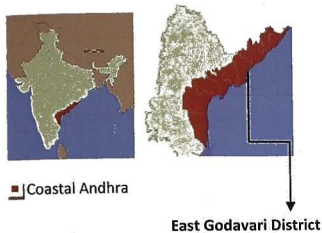


Coastal Andhra

East Godavari District



Map1.1. East Godavari District Map



instance, in this study how *Kalavanthulu* and non-*Kalavanthulu* re-invented, appropriated and emulated a particular tradition.

Rationale for the Selection of the Field Site

1- East Godavari has been one of the highly vulnerable districts identified by the state based on the health indicators (HIV/AIDS prevalence rates). As a result, international public health institutions initiated a model project of HIV/AIDS in this district so that the project would be emulated in rest of the country East Godavari district was ranked third, as the HIV prevalent rate was 2.75 in the year 2006 and it was ranked as seventh in the year 2007. In the official discourse the increase in the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS was attributed to the magnitude of trafficking of girls in sex trade. East Godavari is one of the transitory points for trafficking of girls to Mumbai, Chennai, Delhi and Gulf Countries.

2- This district also has distinct historical and regional accounts such as temple culture, presence of performing community and economic development that experienced during the colonial period itself. This aspect was explored after selecting the field site. These specificities of the region re-affirmed my conviction to pursue research in this district. These heuristic activities in the field led me to look at the different forms of rituals and their self representations of the community through their community associations, mobility of different social groups in the framework of HIV/AIDS discourse.

Methods

In order to infer imminent dynamics and the inner world of the communities (Wacquant 1998) I decided to follow qualitative methods including feminist research techniques (Harding 1987). That helped me to grasp what people think, experience and their ideas behind the action. Ethnographic methods also made me to pay attention to what causes people to contradict themselves (Sennett 2006 10). This study relies on two sources of data i.e. primary sources and secondary sources. The techniques of primary data collection include. case studies, observations, and interviews with the key informants, in depth interviews with the various communities and folk tales or narratives from the field.

As I was not a native speaker of Telugu, I had to learn the language and frequent the houses of the *Kalavanthulu* which helped me pick up their colloquial accent and specific terms which they used in their day to day conversations and sex trade. Four female emigrants' (including a woman from the *Kalavanthulu* communities) case studies have been used to analyze the patterns and processes of female emigration. Similarly, case studies of 11 *Kalavanthulus* have been used to illustrate the kind of representations in the community association, patronization of the performances etc. As part of observations, I frequently witnessed the religious festivals which were carried out in the streets, 'hot spots' where sex transactions, cinema shootings and policing practices take place. Repeated visits to the houses of the sex workers helped me to understand the actual and fictitious kinship relations. I unraveled their involvement in multiple occupations, the internal dynamics of street

economy/ lower class neighborhoods and some of the popular conceptions within the neighborhood.

Various folk tales, which were narrated to me, focused on the emergence of *Devadası* system, the symbolic meaning of the custom and the development of these communities as a sub-caste. The purpose of using local tales and popular conceptions is to focus on people's ideas about the systems in which they operate (Das 1982:4). Following the words of Aristotle these myths serve to reinforce a continuum of group identity (Mclesih 1998 9)

My presence in two of the situations (the death of a *Kalavanthulu* woman and marriage of a *Kalavanthulu* girl- who is the daughter of an older *Kalavanthulu* respondent) were significant for the *Kalavanthulus* to accept me as an insider For instance, initially the questions regarding some of the community ceremonies brought apprehensions among the respondents as they suspected that I may disclose some of their illegal practices to the police Thus, they began by saying that they have stopped following some of the earlier customs or some other times they avoided responding to it or diverted my attention to other issues. However, after these two episodes they did not hesitate to speak openly with me In addition, whenever the clients mistook me for a sex worker and tried to negotiate a price with the pimp, I was rescued by the sex workers

My presence unintentionally interrupted sex workers' business several times and they were very patient in giving their time to me For instance, they lost their

business hours while conversing with me. At other instances, some of their potential candidates of sex workers particularly school and college students ran away from the hotspot when they saw me since they felt ashamed of themselves in frequenting sex workers. This instance explains the problem of research relations. Although feminist discourse advocates for a science that minimizes the harm to the women participants and control the research process (DeVault 1996:33), my own field experience implies that this method is very hard to accomplish.

I kept a detailed diary of my protracted novitiate, recording meticulously every night my observations and impressions on the myriad events and activities that weaved the fabric of everyday life. Having established myself as an insider, I collected the case studies of several women. The study altogether covered 111 respondents. The distribution of respondents indicate relatively more non-risk groups (57) compared to the risk groups (35) not withstanding the other informants (15) and key informants (4). The distribution of risk groups is provided below.

Table 1.1: Distribution of the Risk Groups

S. No.	Type of respondents	Actual number
Sex workers*		
1.	<i>Kalavanthulu</i>	11 (including the key informant)
2	<i>Non-Kalavanthulu</i>	8
3	Other caste groups (Kapu, Settybalja, Mala and Madiga)	10
Total		29
Other identified Risk group *		
1	Truck drivers and truck owners	6
Total		35

* Sex workers and truck drivers are known as risk zone actors or risk group in the public health discourse

I classified the respondents from the risk zones particularly the sex workers as *Kalavanthulu*, *Non-Kalavanthulu* and other caste groups so that it would fit the analytical purpose of the study. I define non- *Kalavanthulu* women who identify themselves as *Kalavanthulu* and follow some of the occupational practices of the *Kalavanthulus* but they are actually from different castes. Apparently these women also follow some of the rituals, life styles and work patterns (including sex work) of the *Kalavanthulu*. 'Sex workers from other castes' refer to women who do not identify themselves as *Kalavanthulu* nor do they belong to or follow any of the *Kalavanthulu* community practices. The distribution of non-risk groups is provided below:

Table no.1.2 Description of Non-risk groups

SL No	Type of Respondents	Actual Number
Non- Risk Groups *		
1	Vegetable vendors	4
2	Street children	4
3	Domestic help	4
4	Plantation workers	6
5	Law enforcement agency	2
6	Temple priests	2
7	Auto drivers	16
8	Construction worker	1
9	Rickshaw pullers	2
10	Railway employees	2
11	Security staffs in the residential apartments	2
12	Washerman	1
13	Employees from shops	2
14	Businessmen	2
15	Junior artist	1
16	Viewer of the recording dance programme	2
17	Older women (who are the	2

* While the rest of the respondents (except the informants and key informants) are eclipsed by the public health intervention and categorized as non-risk groups, we concentrate on them since these actors oscillate between the risk and non-risk zone, witness the risk in the public space and becomes the agents of sex trade.

	resident of the village from where gulf migration takes place)	
18	Relative of the female migrant	1
19	Auto driver who could not succeed in acquiring VISA	1
Total		59

The distribution of the other informants and key informants is provided below:

Table 1.3: Distribution of Other informants and Key informants

SL No.	Type of Respondents	Actual Number
Other informants		
1	Bank employees	4
2	Personnel from Municipal Revenue Office	2
3	Personnel from Municipal corporation	1
4	RMP doctors	2
5	Homeopathy doctor	1
6	STD specialist in Rajahmundry Govt. hospital	1
7	Counselor from a VCTC	1
8	Journalists	1
9	Telugu Writer	2
Total		15
Key informants		
1	NGO personnel in HIV project	2
2	Retired lecturer from SKVT college	1
3.	Counselor (in an NGO)	1
Total		4

The selection of the respondents has been deliberate keeping in mind the research objectives of the study. The social composition of non-risk groups is quite varied and this helped me to understand the intricacies in the non-risk zone. Although the risk groups are covered in the study, the field data indicate fluid identities of these sex workers. For instance, two of the sex workers are engaged in aqua-culture, four

of them (the other category of sex workers) work as agricultural workers during the harvest season in their residential place and one of them works as a domestic servant. Also among the category *Kalavanthulu* and *non-Kalavanthulu*, all of them work as junior artists or 'extras' in Telugu films and perform in record dance programs^{vi}. Some of the *Kalavanthulu* perform in *Bhogum melas*. Among the 11 *Kalavanthulu* women, two are in politics (women representatives of the *BJP Mahila Morcha*), and two of them are ANMs (Auxiliary Nurse Midwives) and four women are part of DWCRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas) groups. The above profile confirms with the findings of Agrawal (2008) that even the members of this community who have secured coveted Government jobs, have continued their former activities with the tacit support of their well-placed kin. Similarly, the members (the male members or relatives of the women) who have been able to secure such positions have not turned around to do their bit for the community and often were keen to distance themselves from their roots. Among the category – sex workers from other caste- one is the elected member of the ZPTC (*Zilla Parishad* Territorial Constituency) as well as a member of DWCRA, one is a bangle and cosmetic seller in the villages, two are involved in aquaculture and fishing, one is a domestic servant and four of them are agricultural workers.

Although I was familiar with two other *Kalavanthulu* girls, I did not incorporate their responses since they did not experience the ritual nor practiced sex work or adhered to the cultural performances. These two girls have got married and stayed with their in-laws' family. Although I interviewed 11 *Kalavanthulu* women, it implied 11 households rather than treating them as discrete individuals. A case of a

Kalavanthulu woman who was formerly married but at present practicing sex work was incorporated in the study as she is the daughter of one of the interviewed *Kalavanthulu* women.

The category 'auto driver' in this study does not indicate only one single occupation, that is driving auto. In fact, two of the young drivers performed in record dance programmes, regular viewers of record dance programme, agents in the sex work and agents in the record dance programme Similarly, rickshaw pullers, security staff in the residential apartment and police constable, all witness the transactional sex in public spaces as well as act as agents in the sex trade. From the two business men who were interviewed for the study, one is the owner of a poultry farm and the other is the owner of a grocery shop These actors play multiple roles in the sense that they too visit sex workers.

Four bank employees too worked in the movies and had connection with the film producers.

As part of secondary data, I scrutinized census reports, record dance from the internet, district gazette reports (including those which were drafted in the colonial era), historical accounts, journalistic, literary, scholarly work on the development of the district and *Devadasis*, autobiographies and biographies of *Bharatnatyam*, *Kuchipudi* and *Carnatic* art form dancers which mentioned about the plight of *Devadasis*. Two of the Telugu literary works by the reformers such as Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu's *Veshyakanthala* Upanyasam and Gurujada Venkata Appa

Rao's Kanyasulkam were reviewed to trace the shift of sacred sex workers to profane sex workers and the concept of *Chinna illu* /promiscuous relations Thus, I had to rely on two kinds of translations – translation from recorded interviews and translation from the Telugu literary works. Reviews of unpublished documents of the various public health programmes and social welfare programmes (including reporting of the local NGOs and APSACS (Andhra Pradesh State AIDS Control Society) have contributed towards my understanding of HIV/AIDS discourses

Study Limitations

Although my respondents mentioned about record dance programmes, *Bhogum mela* and their ritual such as *Kannerikam* ceremony, I could not be the direct observer of these performances due to the illegal and clandestine nature of these performances^{vii} On top of it, as a female researcher, I had to face three kinds of personal threats which turned out to be the limitations of the study In brief, the recording dance programs are held in the late night, men are the only audiences of these programmes and the possibility of police raid and arresting all women including me on false charges such as escorting woman, etc, prevented me from becoming to be the direct observer of these performances Nevertheless, I could observe some of the religious festivals which were carried out in the streets, in which *Kalavanthulu* women also performed Similarly, I had the access to the recording dance programmes through the internet which one of my key respondents has suggested.^{viii} Another limitation of this study is the non-inclusion of the clients who admitted their visit to the sex workers except the truckers This aspect would have brought different dimension to the study. Many of the respondents of the non-

risk zone (such as viewers, garbage collector, business men etc) speak of others who frequented sex workers. However, they did not disclose their own sexual relationships.

Chapterization

The second chapter on HIV/AIDS Discourse attempts to review the existing literature available on HIV/AIDS to understand the discourse it generates or to explicate politics that governs the discourse on HIV/AIDS especially in India. Our attempt here is to grasp the range of sociological theories or perspectives, social constructivists (that includes feminists' critique), dramaturgical, structural, critical and political economy perspective that help analyze 'risk'. In addition, the right based approach in public health, its complexities and ambiguities have also been critically examined.

The third chapter provides the description of the district and its social location within a region. This chapter uses risk culture as an analytical tool and through this, it traces the invariant conditions in the region. This chapter also describes socio-spatial dimensions of different social groups, their interactions and appropriations in time and space and explains the complex nature of the nexus or alliances with the propertied classes which sustained sex work.

The fourth chapter explains the changing forms and appropriation of cultural performances, rituals and the lived experiences of the *Kalavanthulu* women from the ethnographic work and historical accounts. It looks at how a particular type of image was created by the two forms of popular culture (record dance programme

and *Bhogum Mela*) and the process through which *Kalavanthulu* women use their bodily dispositions in these two types of popular culture. In the process, this chapter notes the politics of becoming classical or 'cheap dance' and the attempt to separate these two dance forms in labeling these terms whereas it is actually the continuum of classical, devotional and erotic and obscene dances. In explaining various forms of community associations, it explains how these associations adjust and absorb in the AIDS discourse and accordingly fabricate their community agenda. I discussed the agential aspect that some of the actions of *Kalavanthulus* resort to and their public representations which are not simply due to the internalization of these dominant discourses but the strategy which benefited them in their daily life.

The fifth chapter maps out mobility patterns of different social groups and explains how the risk situations are produced in the gray zone or space which is not referred in the public discourse as risk zone. Combining the economic/social mobility among the *Settybalijas* and husbands of female emigrants, I seek to explain the creation of the new forms of risk culture in the region. The second part of the chapter focuses on the supply side of the entertainment culture by way of looking at how women from the informal economy too occasionally get involved in the sex trade which addresses the new demand of the sex trade and entertainment culture of the patrons. This is coupled with the aspect that sex workers keep moving out of the entertainment to domestic sector as part of their coping mechanism from the problem created by the law enforcement agencies.

In the final chapter, summary of the findings and discussion is provided

ⁱ The popular approach held by World Bank and other international funding agencies is the liberalization of the economy through new economic policy such as bringing structural adjustment measures. Some of these measures include devaluation of the rupees, increase in import, increase in interest rates, reduction in public expenditure and investment, reduction in public sector food and fertilizer subsidies. This approach has the inverse relationship with the populace in the third world countries in terms of further marginalizing the lower caste and poor women which directly impacted on the health conditions of these groups.

ⁱⁱ HIV/AIDS Discourse in this context implies the scholarly work on issues related to HIV/AIDS as well as the attempts made by the intervention agencies.

ⁱⁱⁱ The implication of HIV/AIDS discourse is at two levels – one in terms of legal policing practices and the other is health surveillance.

^{iv} In this study the exact enumeration of the total number of *Kalavanthulu* women and households from conventional sources such as governmental records was not possible since these records do not include the distribution of the performing communities. However, one can see the enumeration of *Kalavanthulu* women in the colonial records by the then ethnographers. Therefore, I had to rely on the alternative sources such as NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) which work with this community and base their mapping of the communities. Some of the temple places which still hold the continuation of dance during the religious festivals. These communities do not reside in those places. For instance, the *Kalavanthulu* who dance during the religious festivals in Korkunda, reside in Peddapuram and they are brought to this administrative block during the festive season. Although in the present day *Kalavanthulu* community is spread over/reside in several administrative units such as Mandapeta, Kadiam, Tadipaka, Antarvaveedi, Rajolu, Peddapuram, Samarlakota, Anapthy, Rajahmundry, and Amlapuram, for the practical purposes four of these administrative units were covered for this study. It was not possible for me to identify what percentage of the women engages in temple dedication as no such data are available in the official document given the illegal nature of the system and the tendency of the members of the community to conceal their involvement in this practice – *Kannerikam* ceremony do as not allow it to be of much use for the present inquiry. This mapping exercise which was done by NGO was also cross-checked by some of the older *Kalavanthulu* women from those regions.

^v According to APSACS, (Andhra Pradesh State AIDS Control Society) the declining rate of HIV/AIDS incident rate is due to the visibility of the international and national NGOs.

^{vi} Record dance programme is not the traditional performance of *Kalavanthulus* but it evolved in the course of time when their traditional dance forms lost royal patronage. *Kalavanthulu* (both court and temple dancers) entered into a new cultural form where they perform to the tunes of popular film songs and enact the roles of popular film stars with scanty outfits.

^{vii} Despite the prohibition of dedication to the God in the official literature of 1988 for Andhra Pradesh (not to mention the attempts of anti-nauch movement during the colonial period), field data indicated that these communities continue the system.

^{viii} Posting of these performances in the internet caters to two kinds of audiences such as men from the non-coastal Andhra as well as the Telugu Diaspora. www.masalatalk.com/masalaboard/snowthread.php was used for the analysis of the record dance program.

Chapter- II

HIV/AIDS Discourse: A Review of Literature

This chapter intends to review the existing literature available on HIV/AIDS to understand the discourse it generates or to explicate politics that governs the discourse on HIV/AIDS especially in India. Our attempt here is to classify these studies in terms of the major sociological theories -social constructivists, dramaturgical, structural, critical and political economy perspective. Feminist approach cuts across in all the perspectives. This chapter not only reviews the health policy but also the legislations related to Contagious Diseases Act, *Devadasi* practice and trafficking. In this chapter, the sociological perspective has been deployed to understand critically the way HIV/AIDS is represented in the public discourse. In addition, the right-based approach in public health, its complexities and ambiguities have also been critically examined.

I

Biomedical Model

Bio-medical model in the context of HIV/AIDS stresses that individual lifestyles (especially multiple partner sex) result in people becoming sicker and risky (Cornish 2004:282, Lupton 1993 425 & White 2002 3). Biomedicine, through its doctrine of specific etiology of disease and ontological theory, views that disease is a specific entity and a thing in itself, unrelated to the patient's bodily constitution (Armstrong 1995:394). This approach proved useful historically in focusing medical attention on the immediate causes and expressions of disease and

contributed to the emergence of modern biomedical treatments, some of which have been enormously successful (Singer et al 2006.page). Hence, this doctrine led to the growth of curative medicine and technological fixes independently as the solution to the disease. However, Bio-medicine through its physiological model looks at disease as an abnormal state that is due to imbalance experienced by the individual organism at a given point (Kalitzkus & Twohig 2006.1) Despite the tremendous success of the ontological biomedical approach, the physiological model with its emphasis on psychosomatic theories and relationships of individual to the environmental milieu has also been given importance Through physiological model, by focusing on the individual as the sole locus of risk, bio-medicine fixes the responsibility of health on the individual This analytical framework in a way leads to the stigmatization of certain groups that are believed to practice risk behaviors and in turn to victim blaming approach The emergence of biomedicine replaced the two dimensional model of illness which views illness as coterminous with symptoms, by a three dimensional framework involving symptom, sign and pathology In this perception, the clinical picture as drawn by both symptom and sign enabled the pathology that existed beneath the experience to be inferred This led the physician to infer from symptoms and signs, the underlying pathological lesion within the patients' body and clinical examination-inspection, percussion, palpitation This justified the surveillance of the normal populations or problematization of the normal (Armstrong 1995:395 & Mckie 1995:442).

Sociology of Health: Different Perspectives

It is this nature of the biomedicine that provoked the sociologists to critically understand the medicine and the way it treats the disease¹. There are five sociological perspectives (social construction, dramatology, structural, critical and political economy) that deal with the disease and are particularly brought here to analyze the AIDS discourse.

Social Construction

1) a-As a way of critiquing biomedicine and its behavioral approach as being reductive (Holland *et al* 1994:22), sociology of health perspective advocated that the disease has to be understood in the contextual and social- historical perspective (Becker 2007, Bloom & Griffiths 2006, Campbell 1999, Crystal and Jackson 1992, Holland *et al* 1990, 1994 & 1998, Pallikadavath 2005, Prasad 2006, Gysels *et al* 2002, Rhodes *et al* 2005, Schneider 1992 & Singer *et al* 2006). This social constructivist approach moves in the direction of opposing essentialism and argues that bodily practices are socially constructed. This is reflected in their explanation of the HIV/AIDS that it is not the lack of the knowledge on safe sex but confirming to the notion of disembodiment of femininity or socially structured carnal ignorance, the women avoid their bodily experience in the sense of confirming to the conventional sex, which puts them at risk (Farmer 1993, Holland *et al* 1994; O'Neil 1998; Ramasubban 1998; Ramasubban and Rishyasinga 2005, Sen 2008 ; Wermuth *et al* 1992). There is a need to identify the contextual and social factors that influence behaviour among the risk groups. Holland *et al* (1998) argue that the conventions of heterosexual masculinity and femininity powerfully contribute to sexual risk taking and the instability of safer sexual practices and how

sexual risk taking and sexual safety were being constituted in social relations of heterosexuality. These authors bring power relations in the analysis to explain that these power relations have to be addressed in the AIDS interventions rather than the sex education or behaviour change (Akbar 2008, Arunkumar *et al* 2004, Bear *et al* 1997, Corman *et al* 2007, Sen 2008 & Holland *et al* 1990 & 1998, Ramasubban & Rishyasinga 2005, Santhya and Jejeebhoy 2007). Like Holland *et al* (1998), White (2002) explains individual life styles as being socially produced. Sociology of health framework provides an understanding that individual life styles are socially shaped. A focus on individual lifestyles does not explain the cause of disease but misses the social factors involved in producing individual actions. Rather, there are a wide range of mediating social factors that intervene between biology of the disease, individual life style, and the social experience shaping and producing the disease (White 2002: 2).

b) The other contribution of the sociology of health framework is the shift from a focus on the expert knowledge to the patients' perspective or lay people's understanding of the disease (Williams and Popay 2001, Nettleton 1995, Annandale 1998, Farmer 1999, Holland *et al* 1990). This particular methodology helped sociologists to challenge the biomedicine as being insular and esoteric in jettisoning the lived experience of the patients and overemphasizing the mind-body dualism. Through this methodology of lived experience, they could emphasize the sociological issues, social and structural factors. The patients' perspective was also developed in response to the varied nature of the disease which diminished the dominance of the medicine by questioning its efficacy since there is no scientific

discovery to cure the disease or vaccine against HIV/AIDS (Campbell 1999, O'Neil 1990 & Grover 2005).

Taking the clue from the social constructivist approach, scholars looked at the social and structural factors (culture, religion, caste, ethnicity etc) that shape the risk producing situations through social actions by actors. For instance, the available literature on performing communities or *Devadasis* in the context of HIV/AIDS focuses on how macro structures such as culture/institution shape or reinforce certain risk practices. The public health practitioners or the scholars in public health treated the women from the *performing* community as traditional sex workers and a particular category of the risk groups. Their concerns for the community are evident through tracking the disease producing situations i.e. through multiple partner sex transaction or HIV as their occupational health hazards (O'Neil *et al* 2004, Sheshu 2007, Blanchard *et al* 2005 & 2007, Orchard 2007, Basu *et al* 2004 and Becker *et al* 2007). In particular, medical anthropology points out the cultural factors like ritual/customs as the cause of producing HIV/AIDS situation (Taylor 2007:966). When public health interventionists target *Devadasis* as one of the risk groups, they do not blame them as of acting beyond culture or social norms like sex workers but succumbing to their own culture. As a contrast, sex workers or intravenous drug user or homosexuals are targeted since they act beyond the social norm/culture i.e. heterosexual monogamous relations. A critique emerged against this kind of understanding on two grounds. Firstly, these scholars undermine the broader social contexts and macro perspective of that cultural practice but overemphasize or cliché the cultural practice/micro practices/

patterns of social intercourse (Taylor 2007:970). Secondly, when these approaches explore the connection between sexuality and culture in explaining the reasons for higher prevalence in certain regions, there is a danger of reinforcing the claims of essentialism or negative stereotype and it excludes other groups of people referring that they are not at risk for HIV/AIDS since these groups do not associate with the rituals (Bibeau and Pedersen 2003)

On the contrary, scholars who are signatories of the cultural studies (Antez 1998) treat these women as commercial performers rather than 'pure performers' despite their acknowledgement that these women were the preservers of the art and heritage in the past. Jensen (1987) states,

"The two concepts- that of a dance of the female dancer or performer, whether ostensibly employed in sacred service or not, and prostitutes- who so linked in nineteenth century colonial India that one missionary simply wrote- a dancing girl is invariably a harlot (cited in Seizer, 2007) "

Another way of looking at cultural studies is in terms of the way they treat the performances as compared to the anthropologists. The former is known to be looking at great traditions and high culture as the object of study and therefore undermining the little traditions and communities attached to the little traditions- in this case the Kalavanthulu community (Subramaniam 2006 and Vijaisri 2004 8). Anthropologists treat these performing communities/ *devadasis* differently through their critical theoretical framework by linking custom with the cultural and religious symbolism of the communities- little tradition. But they need to further investigate that the ideal of sacred prostitution/feminity itself got transformed and

underwent decisive change on its incorporation into the greater tradition (Vijaisri 2004:8).

Sociology of health perspective proposes that the technological solution (condom centric approach, provision of diagnostic facility etc) is not a sufficient condition for containment of HIV/AIDS (Campbell 1999, Pallikadavath *et al* 2005, Rhodes *et al* 2005, Adam 1992). They argue that AIDS prevention was medicalized and the international public healths effort privileged medical knowledge even though it was ineffective in the absence of an understanding of social relations and culturally significant meanings. Without deliberate and concrete policies for economic empowering of marginalized groups, HIV/AIDS will still pose a significant public health problem (Campbell 1999)

2) Another view point of the social constructivist school is that, science which includes medicine, reproduces the dominant ideas of the society of its time and hence it is a mistake to view medicine as value free and objective (Annandale 1998, Waldby 1996 and Freund *et al* 2003). For instance, a popular mode of understanding risk zone within the HIV/AIDS discourse is to categorize it in terms of social actors such as the sex workers, the truck drivers or the migrants and the poor into it. However, this way of categorization holds the essentialist mode of thought 'which characterizes common sense and which is inclined to treat the activities and preferences specific at a certain moment as if they were substantial properties, inscribed once and for all in a sort of biological or cultural essence. This approach has faulty assumptions whether one is comparing different societies

or successive periods in the same society (Bourdieu 2002)'. The designation of groups as 'high risk' is itself problematic because no one is at risk of HIV infection because of their membership in a group but because they engage in certain risky practices (Freund et al 2003). Another point is that technically everybody is at risk of the infection (Ramasubban and Rishyasringa 2005) When we say 'risk group or zones' from a sociological perspective, however, it implies the social characteristics which traverse through the status groups, social arrangements, specific social groups or the issue of relative poverty, migration, the consumer culture and implications and adjustments in the institutions of marriage etc In this sense our analytical framework of risk is as objective and scientific when one defines risk as unsafe sex

Beck's (1992) work owes more to social constructionism, similar to those developed in the sociology of scientific knowledge. Wynne's work too emphasizes on the relational character of risk, which is equally central to Beck's thesis By taking a relativist position, these authors attempt to explain why AIDS has been taken up publicly in the particular ways that it has. This view follows with the claims of labeling theory that deviant behaviour (in this case 'risk behavior') is not a quality of act a person commits but rather a consequence of the definition applied to that act by others (by the people from above or public health specialists) (Cockerham 2000, Edelman 1994, Holland *et al* 1998 & Lupton 1993) Scholars in sociology of health view that medical ideas of the body, its conceptions of risk and its discussion (including scientific knowledge about AIDS) are seen as socially constructed reality which are subject to social biases and limitations (Freund *et al.*

1999, Waldby 1996, Wiltson 1997 & Wills 1992). Thus, sociologists critique that public health advocates (which is a branch of biomedicine and known to be associated with the preventive aspect of the disease) interpret biomedically based information within the context of pre-existing system of meanings (Adkins 2002) but hardly question the very idea of intervention on particular groups or the way bio-medicine in the name of public health program actually reconfigures the social hierarchical relationships/naturalize the existing social order. Similarly, Turner (2003) states that sexually transmitted diseases have forced the society to rethink about the policies towards infectious diseases, but they also demonstrated once more that medical understanding can never be easily separated from moral assumptions about normal behaviour. This point actually explains why public health scholars frame 'risk' as something 'beyond culture' or 'which deviates social norms'. This has particular significance for the discipline of epidemiology and the implementation of preventive public health measures which involves the identification of risk groups, largely in order to protect the general population (Annandale, 1998:8). This shows how risk is conceptualized in terms of medical, legal or administrative perspectives. It is in this process, that epidemiology and the public health offer scientific justification for popular prejudices. This specific target approach has also negative connotation since it reproduces stigma and makes the already vulnerable groups more vulnerable.

Beck's (1992 and 2000) framework of 'risk society' explains that risk emerge from the collapse of inherited norms, values, customs and traditions. Beck argues that although the late modern society liberate the individuals from rigid social rules and

provide conducive environment for making choices, at the same time this late modern society can generate isolation, alienation, fragmentation and discontent. However, projecting a more optimistic view, Lash (2000) argues that with the collapse of a social solidarity and coherence based on tradition and religion, communities have not disappeared; rather they have reformed around risk and safety (Lash 2000: 48, Ekberg 2007:346 and Tulloch and Lupton 2003).

3) The other contribution of sociology of health through social constructivist framework has been a critique of the public health approach, which proposes a surveillance/screening program through a victim-blaming approach in order to address utilitarian issues" (Waldby 1996, Oppenheimer 1992, Treicher 1997, Lupton 1993 and Ghosh 2004 and 2005). This way of interpretation is particularly derived from the Foucaultian analysis of 'governmentality' and 'docile body' What biomedicine refers as three dimensional approaches (sign, symptom and illness) is viewed as surveillance or disciplining the bodies. According to this school, if bodies are to be subjected, used, transformed and improved, then the spaces they occupy, the time they utilize and the activities they engage in must be closely supervised and controlled These scholars direct us to critically understand the prevention programs that are operationalized through testing and screening of the HIV/AIDS virus Scholars in the social constructivist perspective view that on one hand epidemiologists offer scientific justification for popular prejudice, particularly against the sex workers and homosexuals, and on the other hand, epidemiological approach gave HIV/AIDS a human face. By defining the behaviours and the multiple social experiences of groups as risk factors for disease,

epidemiology countered attempts to reduce the etiology of HIV infection to a virus alone. In addition, epidemiology offered the possibility of primary prevention in the form of health education and follow up, particularly in the absence of a vaccine or a successful therapy (Oppenheimer 1992 and Thorogood 1996) In this way surveillance and management of the body is central to much of health promotion and in particular screening services Foucaultian Scholars argue that labeling and classifying populace into risk and non-risk itself is the instrument of social control and disciplining and lead to medicalisation of the risky and the unhealthy In fact, risk have been equated with immorality and deviant (Watel and Mobati 2006) This surveillance aspect also explains how biomedical approaches change due to the nature of the disease i.e AIDS itself. As AIDS has been relatively new and no vaccine or drug is available for it, the approaches of biomedicine changed from cure to prevention but with the technological fixes such as condom use, testing or screening of all sick people etc that led to surveillance of the populations (Chahabra 2006, Oppenheimer 1992 and Thorogood 1996)

Structural Functionalist Framework

Many of the scholars use the structuralist framework to understand the way public health programmes are being implemented i.e how sex workers are treated as the virus and the polluted body or how 'risk' has been framed For instance, Mary Douglas (1966) argues that the category 'purity' and 'polluted/danger' serves to maintain social hierarchy and are linked to a system of morality (Cited in Tober 2002: 138) The public health's concern has been the polluting bodies because they have the possibility of polluting others (Douglas 1966 and 1992, Sontag 1989,

Walker 1991(check the year), Edelman 1994 & Wladby 1996) These scholars viewed that these representations served as a social function and specific communities have been targeted on the utilitarian grounds. Their argument is that biomedical constructions are confused as 'real' or 'biological' For instance, Sontag (1989) compares the AIDS with cancer, plague and syphilis through metaphors and metonyms associated with the disease, whereas Malan (2004) Waldby (1996) and Walker (1991) compare the disease with war and public health response to HIV/AIDS as militaristic Susan Sontag (1989) suggests that AIDS shares with medieval plague the notion of an invasion, but it is also organized around notions of pollution resulting from personal perversity (cited in Turner (2003). Similarly, Edelman (1994) critically examines the equations in the public health promotion activities that silence =death and Small (1993) examines the equations that AIDS= death The most famous equation perhaps is Douglas and Wildavsky's (1982) "*risk and culture*" in which risk is being conceptualized in terms of its social function Douglas and Wildavsky argue that risks operate in a socio-political process, in which the selection and definition of particular hazards as risks has immediate implications for the regulation of social order. The coupling of risk and blame, which Douglas has followed up in a more recent publication, reflects concerns in her later work about the regulation of pathologies and the problem of boundaries. By focusing on the social functions of risk Douglas and Wildavsky were able to shift the attention away from the nature of probability calculations, towards the cultural framing of perceptions of risk, Douglas and Wildavsky convincingly argue, however, that social, political and cultural processes take precedence over information about scientific facts (Joost 2002: 7)

Dramaturgical Framework

Dramaturgical perspective pioneered by Goffman has been used to illustrate the stigma and discrimination in the context of AIDS. Goffman was concerned with the deviant or stigmatized bodies and their social acceptability. Work in the stigma tradition has been more concerned with processes driven by enforcement of social norms and disease avoidance. Researchers conceptualize stigma and prejudice as psychological stress in the lives of the marginalized people. Sometimes when researchers refer to stigma as a stressor they are referring to the anticipation of negative treatment by members of dominant groups or expose the annihilated subject positions (Stuber et al 2008 & Adam 1992, Paul and Paul 2008). Scholars who explain stigma in the HIV/AIDS context focus on the institutional and societal responses towards the disease or highlight the interaction between the non-marginal and marginalized groups (Stuber et al 2008, Akavı 2008). For example, Grover (2006) explains how stigma and discrimination deprived people of their rights to dignity, health care, employment and security of life as in the case of HIV/AIDS. Small (1993), Robinson (1998) and Adam (1992) focus on stigma and hostility towards the AIDS patients and suspected groups which was evident in media which led to blaming the victims as constructing the 'other' than self. Campbell (1999) reiterates the impacts of AIDS on the AIDS patients by way of experiencing trauma themselves. Dramaturgical approach becomes the lucid way to situate discrimination and stigma which include mandatory testing of HIV/AIDS by sex workers, homosexuals, and People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) (Narayana 2003), by ostracization of the family members, employers and medical

community against the PLWHA and refusing or denial of state and corporate health insurance plans.

This perspective explains that the purpose of the dramaturgical definition of the risk (risk and non-risk, polluted and pure) is teleological and it is more important to know what is not (Stuber et al 2008) This dramaturgical definition and imagery creates public fear about being afflicted, and more so with an incurable and fatal disease (Lichtenstein 2008). Through structuralism we learn about the enduring patterns of behaviour within the social system and the classificatory systems based on the levels of proximity to the social norms which is teleological in nature However, through dramaturgical approach we learn that these classifications have been dramatized through attaching negative treatment or taboos in order to maintain social order. These authors argue that these ways of dramatizing and representing the disease- HIV/AIDS led to stigmatizing and blaming certain groups of population (Watel and Mobati 2006) Another point is that since the stigma (of death and immorality or promiscuity) is attached to the disease, 'defence', both in metaphorical terms and political terms, is inextricably and distinctively inscribed in the discourse on AIDS (Eldeman 1994 & Small 1993). For instance, Joffe (1994) and Edelman (1994) Adam (1992) explain the people's response to risk (HIV/AIDS) in terms of referring as 'not me' or defend them against contact with the disease. Similarly, Ramasubban (1998), Pigg (2003), Kleimann *et al* (2005) and Farmer (1993) show how some political class and nations in order to defend against political opposition deploy the AIDS issue (India's initial response to AIDS

as a foreign disease is an instance) strategically to ensure their own political survival.

In the latter section we describe how the precedents of this approach (dramatization of stigma through the lived experience or subjectivity) stimulated AIDS movements or rights movements which was based on the identity politics.

Critical Sociology Perspective

The growth of critical sociology encouraged an alternative view of medicine as a dominating profession, monopolizing the provision of health services or responding to the requirements of the economic system or market (Kelleher *et al* 2006:page no). This sociological perspective also critically examines the new forms of movement and right based approaches (Robins 2006). This perspective is elaborated in the latter section

Political Economy Perspective

AIDS has been explained by the political economy and the globalization perspectives (Altman 1999, Holland *et al* 1990, Karnik 2001). The roots of political economy approach lie in Engels' work on the condition of the working class in England. The central tenet is that there is a contradiction between the pursuit of health and the pursuit of profit. Medicine is enmeshed in the constant search for profit by finance and industrial capitalists, both contributing to and bolstered by capitalist system and girded by the activities of the state. Crucially this tripartite relationship operates in the interests of the capitalism largely in the

interests of medicine, but definitely not in the interests of the health of the population (Annandale 1998:12) This perspective emphasizes that globalization influences the approaches towards the disease as much as the nature of the disease that influences the process of globalization

1-Karnik (2001) explains how the categories of risk groups in the context of HIV/AIDS traverse across nations. For instance, based on the internationally accepted categories, research in India looked initially at the sex workers for evidence of disease and thus their theses proved when evidence of the disease was found (Karnik 2001: 328)

2-a) Another proposition in this perspective is that the political and economic forces that spurred such globalised development, however have also brought new globalized sources of infection, disease and death (Freund *et al* 2003 et al). Farmer (1993) talks about the development of the west at the cost of underdevelopment of the developing countries that produced AIDS via migration and poverty. Upadhyay (2000), Wilson (2000), Mahal & Rao (2003), Mitra and Schaffer (2006) and Sengupta (2003) highlighted the impact of structural adjustment programme and globalizations or the process of modern economic development in the production of AIDS among the poor and women. In these studies, economic development is correlated with the spread of HIV, by illustrating the implications of economic development which includes rural-urban migration and international migration, urbanization, increase in unemployment, sex work and trafficking It is viewed that the socio-economically disadvantaged groups have higher rates of disease than

others, who are not hampered by such constraints. This reflects that the poverty and social marginalization eventually lead to risky situations and risk groups.

The most enduring features of marginalized group that get emphasized are unemployment, poverty, sex-work, and unequal gender relationship in sexuality. It has been widely reported that most of the sex workers endured homelessness, physical violence and dependence on male users. The phenomenon of sex-work has the sexual double standard, poverty and an unequal labour market as prerequisites (Cusick 2002). Hence, a simplistic assumption being made in this context is the positive correlation between the poverty, trafficking, lower economic status of women and risk of HIV/AIDS through critique of the neo-liberal economic policies and attributing these policies as the cause of trafficking and the spread of HIV/AIDS (Pateman 1983, Prasad 2006, Wilson 2000 and Sassen 2002, Sangera 1998, Troung 2003). These authors view this aspect of globalization as “femmed menial economy of sexualized, radicalized service involving intimate activities’ so that in the absence of availability of women in industrialized countries for reproductive labour, women from the third world are being exported for this purpose through the wage contract or marriage contract. However, we argue that the problematic aspect of this categorization about these writings apart from stereotypical definitions of risk groups has also confused the female migration with trafficking. Also, these scientific models justify the issue of trafficking through using misleading statistics creating a moral panic around sexual slavery (Chapkis 2003 & Jana *et al* 2002)

2- b) In the earlier proposition, the impact of globalization has been looked at as the cause of the disease by examining the supply side of this sector. The basic premise of the other proposition of globalization is that market economy is emphasized to explain how it patronizes the sex industry or how there is a demand for entertainment sector. The idea of commodification of the body as an object for consumption- where the legitimate leisure activity of the client is serviced by the legitimate business activity of the prostitutes. Here the focus is what an individual consumes and the choices women make from the free/liberal market economy (Brewis and Linstead 2000). This is explained that globalization and its liberal market economy, sex industry proliferates sex industry under the rubric of the service industry and entertainment industry (O'Neil 1990 & Shukla 2007). We have brought this discussion here since this perspective would help us to understand the right-based perspective of sex workers (that influenced public health approach), since it shapes this ideology. The distinction between these two propositions of globalization has been discussed here to examine how certain social groups have been implicated in the globalization discourse. For instance, the earlier perspective treats women and the migration of the poor as forced condition whereas second perspective treats women and the migration process as voluntary and a free choice.

3- Another way of understanding the process of globalization or transnationalization is how HIV/ AIDS leads to the containment of border and curtailment of the movement of people, which, in fact, obstructs the globalization activity (O'Neil 1990, Crosby 2007, Joshi 2004). In this perspective, migration is

seen as a flood, an unstoppable torrent, or a threat to the privileged in their protected places. These discourses bring therefore, the notions of gendered bodies and sexuality, migration and work, transnational boundaries and capital and the virtual circulation of media representations (Joshi 2004). Movement of certain groups is looked upon as a security threat, particularly migrants are increasingly equated with terrorists. International health regulatory framework is being used to prevent particular people from crossing borders. This brings forward the conservative politics- abolition of sex trade on the one hand, and the practice of monogamy on the other (Crosby 2007). We see the paradoxes in the globalization processes- that in the economic side there is the constant flow of capital, which encourages the demand and supply of labor from the developing countries (as they would gain profits); but in the political side there is containment and stringent policy to stop the labor flow because of the fear of AIDS, terrorism etc.

AIDS has also indicated that the future development of human health will inevitably and inextricably be part of a more general process of cultural globalization. In the previous centuries, while plague and epidemics were spread by migration and trade in the world, diseases were somewhat specific to geographical niches. With the growth of world tourism and trade, the global risk of infectious disease has spread rapidly (Turner 2003). Earlier perspective, that is, globalization is the cause of the HIV/AIDS propose for closure and containment in the border (Shamir 2005). However, what is missing in the existing literature on migration is how the gender relationships change as well as a sexual adjustment is done in the absence of these women. These studies did not take into consideration

the different social spaces which create different forms of migration which do not necessarily imply forced migration and the implications of female migration in these source places. The other criticism that is viewed against these approaches is that in India, the sex industry largely forms part of the informal sector (Kotiswaran 2004).

4- Another issue which is highlighted in the political economy perspective is the inaccessibility of essential drugs to the HIV/AIDS patients in developing countries by analyzing inequality and the implication of globalization (Mahal and Rao 2003, Holland *et al*, 1990 and Petchesky 2003, Adam 1992) In this perspective it is argued how the drug industry makes huge profits from the AIDS epidemic, by way of lobbying patent rules in its favour while undermining the necessity of generic drugs for the poor, by increasing the price of life saving drugs such as ARVs and setting aside the public health emergencies etc (Altman 1999, Arunkumar *et al* 2004, Kulkarni 2005; Gill 2007 and Bhat & Saha 2005, Jesani *et al* 2007, Holland *et al* 1990, Petchesky 2003, Sen 2008, Sengupta 2003 & Swartz 2008). Thus AIDS is explained in terms of inequality perspective that it is the poverty which prevents them from maintaining good health in terms of not having access to ARVs and generic drugs (Farmer 1999, Priya 2002 and Bhat and Saha 2005) For instance, six million people currently need anti-retroviral therapy in developing countries, but fewer than 8% are receiving it (Bhat and Saha 2005 & Jesani *et al* 2007). Globalization itself, in the sense of unregulated privatization, opens market for pharmaceutical companies, health sector cutbacks, and a weakening of concern for health equity poses enormous barriers to the fledging reproductive and sexual

rights agenda. Political economy demands that we situate our analyses within struggles over wealth, inequity and a range of other issues that unfold on local, national or international levels (Kalitzkus and Twohig 2006). This perspective advocates that treatment should be provided based on the distributive justice (Slack 2005)

5-Another context in which political economy perspective is applied is in terms of looking at the vaccine trials for AIDS (Sahay and Mehendale 2007 & Macklin 2007) Several scholars highlight not only ethical issues involved in these trials but also expose the political issues. Political issues imply that the trials are imposed on the poor and vulnerable people from the third world countries, the nations which are resource constrained (and where public sector HIV treatment is limited may be heightened by the urgent need for interventions) whereas the sponsors belong to the developed or first world country. Scholars argue that because of the wide gap prevalent among these countries, the sponsor country dominates in the major decisions of the trial process which has more severe consequences on trial participants as there is low level of awareness among politicians and the community.

The other approach within HIV/AIDS discourse highlights the contestations on several issues such as whether one should prioritize prevention (and subsequently research) or treatment (Priya 2003 and Sahay and Mehendale 2008), over disease priority - AIDS vs. other major diseases, clash between the public health priorities and law enforcement agencies (Chhabra 2006, Bhat and Saha 2005, Natrass 2004

and Priya 2003) etc. These approaches can be termed as 'conventional perspectives' since the common line of their analysis is critique of the health policies or institutional policies but do not have any substantial ideological positions. Each of these approaches has been elaborated below

1- This contestation on prioritizing treatment or prevention has assumed its significance at a period when ARVs were provided by NACO (National AIDS Control Organisation) to a selected group of people and in the selected states as designed by the global health policy and NACP-III (National AIDS Control Program) which plans to emulate the 'sonagachi model'¹¹¹ in other states. Looking at the cost of the ARVs, it is argued that although ARV is urgently required for the poor, prevention is more effective to curtail the AIDS prevalence rate and is more pragmatic (Natrass 2004, Priya 2003, Bhat and Saha 2005). Another benefit of introducing the ARV therapy is that it will relieve the fear of AIDS as an incurable fatal disease, thereby decreasing the stigma and social suffering (Priya 2003). The opponents of the ARV treatment explain the risk-benefit analysis of these drugs by citing side effects (Priya 2003 and Vijaykumar 2007). Also they bring out the possible barriers (stigma and discrimination) in receiving the treatment, ART education, support from the immediate family members, communication challenges encountered when dealing with physicians etc which make the free provision of the ARVs as debacle. However, the advocates of treatment (Chhabra 2006) critique the inadequate allocation of funds to provide ARVs to selected groups and overemphasizing the condom promotion programme.

Radical feminists (Kiswar 2008) who advocate the abolition of the sex work, critique prevention saying the condom centric public health which is superficial, does not address the structural and social issues. Chattopadhy and Mckarg (2004) point out that there is no mention about how sociocultural barriers faced by sex workers will be able to handle and promote the acceptance of regular condom use among the poor sex workers. Similarly Ramasubban (1998 and 2005) critiques the health policy because it targets sex workers and migrants in the promotion of condoms but excludes general population. This condom promotion program, does not get included in the reproductive health programme, in which the targets of condom promotion are the sex workers and migrants but it excludes general population and does not comprise in the reproductive health programme. Similarly, Mustafa and Sufayar (1998) blame the Indian health policy for not taking serious measures to curb transfusions. Improper use of syringes and needles are a major means of AIDS transmission.

2- Several studies indicate how HIV/AIDS has become a developmental issue than a public health issue because it affects the economy of the nation and affect the young population who are in their productive age (Mahal and Rao 2003). The Epidemic has a major economic impact on the third world societies (Turner 2003 and page no). AIDS interventions in the non-western societies are increasingly channelised through the international development apparatus, and one consequence of this is depoliticization of the stakes in defining community values (Pigg 2003).

3-Another debate on HIV/AIDS discourse is the contestation between prioritizing the public health approach versus empowering the police powers through legal actions against the sex workers, MSMs and IDUs. For instance, ITPA which criminalizes commercial aspect of sex work, Indian penal code (IPC) section 377 homosexuality and there is penalty against the needle sharing and drug intake etc (Baer et al 1997, Jayashree 2004 and Chatterjee 2006, Chatterjee 2006, Chhabra 2007 and Harcourt et al 2005: 121)

Jayashree (2004) explains the problem of mis-interpretation or misuse of ITPA by law enforcement agencies and in the context of HIV/AIDS prevention, where sex workers get collectivized to fight for their rights, this legal approach becomes problematic as it criminalizes the sex workers who practice even safe sex. Harcourt et al (2005) argues that these anti-prostitution laws actually discriminate sex workers. Grover (2005) and Chatterjee (2006) explain that the vulnerable groups (sex workers and people of alternative sexual orientation) that are affected by AIDS are currently governed by criminal laws that are in complete violation of their human and fundamental rights. Hence, these authors advocated the prevention through education, compassion and empowerment that can bring about enduring behavior change rather than criminal sanctions in the context of AIDS. Similarly, Baer et al (1997) argue that the laws against needle sharing become the hindrance to public health programme of HIV/AIDS. It is stated that as long as laws against purchasing needles or opposing needles without a prescription exist and are enforced by the police, drug injectors are forced to make use of previously used needles if those are the only needles they can get their hands on

4-A few scholars question the disease (HIV/AIDS) priority advocated by the Govt. or the health policy using the political and economic perspective (Deodhar 2003, Malan 2004, Ramasubban 1998 and Shreedhar 2004, Times of India 2004, Mitra and Scahaffer 2006, Jesani et al 2007). They object to the manner in which AIDS incidence rates are exaggerated and hence the justification of more fund for research, development of new drugs, free provision of ARVs and other programmes that target AIDS control programmes at the cost of other disease priorities such as TB and Malaria. The problematic question they raise is that why TB and malaria medication is not a basic human right. Because of the incentives attached with that global pressure and the funding from the international agencies, HIV/AIDS is justified. Public health measures are normally prioritized based on the mortality and morbidity rates of the disease, economic and social loss, availability of cost effective and feasible preventive and control measures. However, it is surprising that high priority is accorded to HIV when these criteria, especially even the latter ones, are not satisfied. Global pressure and panic around the disease seems to justify the priority accorded to AIDS (Sreekumar 2007:43).

5- A few other scholars explain the reasons behind the projection of certain states as high prevalent states whereas others as low prevalence states (Shreedhar 2004 and Ramasubban 1998). These authors state that a probable explanation is that the states that appear to have serious HIV epidemics are those that were quick to move out of the denial mode, were not squishy but instead tried to assess the magnitude of the epidemic as honestly as possible. Most have better infrastructure for health delivery and are hence able to detect more cases. There is no evidence to

indicate that rest of the states are somehow 'different' or less vulnerable to HIV. Meanwhile, the epidemiological categorization of states into 'high' 'moderate' and 'low' prevalence had undesirable repercussions. It has bred a false sense of complacency among the so called low prevalence states resulting in inadequate governmental and NGO responses even while the virus continues to spread silently. In contrast, high prevalence states have managed to attract lion's share of funding from NACO because of their demonstration of absorptive capacity. While in the case of low prevalence states where public health delivery system is in urgent need for upgradation and expansion, the funding they receive from NACO is insufficient. Pallikadavath *et al* (2005) explain the positive correlation of the low levels of awareness among the populace where the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS is low.

II

Public Health

In responding to the critique made by sociology of health a new public health framework has developed. The interest in the 'social circumstances' is informed by the movement in public health towards locating the factors that constitute an individual's risk for sexually transmitted disease within the specificities of social relationships (Goodfellow 2006). By including contextual factors to understand the disease causation they propose 'social change' to control the epidemic. This new group of public health advocates to provide critical support to those vulnerable to the virus by helping them organize themselves, develop a sense of community and reposition themselves in relations to the rest of the society. Public health specialists

aspire to address health through exogenous conditions along with the medical interventions. These exogenous conditions include addressing the issue of affordability, reaching to the poor, and addressing stigma through legal intervention or creating local environment conducive to and supportive of individual and community level behaviour change, advocacy or counseling or claiming human rights or citizenship rights, etc. These exogenous factors aspire to reach to the philosophical foundations of the public health i.e. social justice and equality (Jacob 2007)

So this new approach is termed differently as “structural interventions” or ‘right based perspectives’, ‘community health interventions’, ‘community led structural interventions’, harm reduction programme, health rights movements, AIDS activists etc (Cornish 2004, Gruber and Caffrey 2005, Nath 2000, Treichler 1997, Robins 2006, Rhodes et al 2005, Shesu 2005). This approach is projected as different from the traditional public health approaches^{iv} in the sense that, it is community oriented. Public health specialists define these interventions as community orientated as projected since it is the community participate and make decision in the intervention as well as intervention aimed to address the needs of the community rather than imposing the needs of the intervention towards the community (Gruber and Caffrey 2005). Since this public health orientation defines itself to be community oriented and through this community organizes itself, this approach claims to move closer to people’s understanding rather than the expert knowledge. Although there is some overlap between the bio-medical and public health approaches, advocates of public health critique bio-medicine only to the

extent that it leads to the commodification of health. The common criticism held by the public health proponents^v is that biomedicine was responsible for creating demand for its services by medicalizing everyday life. These claims about commodification of health have been in principle countered by the state's welfarist agenda and hence the justification of public health activities.

Two different forms of interventions developed in the public health perspective whose ideological moorings vary from liberal framework to the anti-trafficking framework. In this public health framework, one finds two diametrically opposite approaches primarily because of the panic surrounding HIV/AIDS. At one level, fear of AIDS produces stringent policies such as renewed interest in anti-trafficking laws which means the control and containment of the border. At another level as we have discussed in the dramaturgical perspective that since the stigma attached to the disease is severe, it is the groups which are affected by the disease that unite themselves to fight for their rights over health and for their livelihoods (Robins 2006). Thus, two major approaches in this new public health intervention that is right based perspective and anti-trafficking perspective emerged in terms of radical and liberal stance on the question of prostitution.

A-Liberalists defend sex work as work within the health rights perspective (Kempadoo 1999, Jennes 1990, Pheterson 1996 & Doezema 2001, N Veena 2007). The new public health approach recommended that sex workers are at their best to prevent AIDS and this view indirectly meant sex workers to bear the onus of the HIV/AIDS prevention programme (Gangoli 1996, Evans 2000, Marten 2005).

Sanders 2006). It is through this responsibility that public health activists advocated for decriminalization of the profession, and defined sex work as work and supported the liberal feminist position on sex work. Hence, in this perspective sex workers are represented not as victims or vectors like the radical framework but as fighters or agents and this portrayal of fighters relieved them from the societal stigma. Although this right based perspective supports the view that capitalism or neo-liberal policy shapes the actions of the poor and vulnerable women, nevertheless, they do not view that these policies constrain or compel these women to join sex work. Rather, through this perspective, it is viewed that women have the choice of being pragmatic in entering into the profession (N Veena 2007 and Lock and Kaufert 1998) Liberals believe that it is the right of the individual to choose whether to be gay or heterosexual or to choose any occupation. Within the liberals, there is a certain section of NGOs or public health specialists, who work for the protection of these people in the context of management and prevention of HIV/AIDS (Nagaswamy 2008) They view that sexual labor in itself is not abusive or violent. It is the social conditions surrounding it that make it violent and abusive. Hence, White (1990) argued that

Prostitution is a capitalist social relationship not because capitalism causes prostitution by commoditizing sexual relations but because wage labor is a unique feature of capitalism' Capitalism commodifies all labor, including sexual labour (cited in N Veena 2007)

Right based approach does not believe in the penalization aspect rather decriminalization in the sense of leaving the space for the social groups to decide their own action or tolerate the actions (sex work, homosexuality or drug use) but only intends to minimizing the harm/infection through health services. They

advocate the human rights of all vulnerable groups to be treated like that of any other citizens and not as criminals. In fact, these rights, include the right to affordable medicines and treatment when they are sick.

There are other factors that led to the changing nature of the public health approach apart from the critique made by the sociologists. 1) As we have discussed in the dramaturgical approach, the illness experiences such as the stigma and discrimination against the HIV/AIDS patients or suspected groups by the medical community and society dramatically alter their lives to struggle 2) The emergence of private sector non-profit organizations devoted to AIDS, reliant on volunteers from the lesbian/gay community or sex work community, partially masked the failure of, or virtual lack of health care delivery (Schneider 1992 & Lock et al 1998). In the literature, this new public health approach is also equated with counter hegemonic forces and creates new kinds of subjectivity These counter hegemonic forces fight against the dominance of the medicine, expert knowledge which target/stigmatizes the community In this process, it creates a strong political voice for women and identities that enable them to address the AIDS epidemic effectively. The prevailing literature demonstrates the social movements led by the sex workers to combat HIV/AIDS and the success cases depicted such as Sonagachi and Sanlaap and SANGRAM where the AIDS movement was organized by the sex workers themselves. (Ramasubban and Rishyasringa 2005, Evans 2000, Shah 2004, Mishra and Chandiramanı 2005, Nag 2002, Cornish 2004, Mcleod 1981, Shukla 2007).

Two kinds of rights are conflated as well as separated. Right to live and health when affected by HIV/AIDS and access to civil rights (livelihood, decriminalization of drug use, homosexuality and sex work, right to maintain a dignity and protection from violence- from medical community by symbolizing them as risk group or medical threat) while working for the prevention of HIV/AIDS (Mishra and Chandiramani 2005 and Shah 2004) The basic tenet of this approach as Alice M Miller (2001) has pointed out, is that, not all the demands of sexuality can be addressed by a focus on health. Although health has been a useful vehicle for raising awareness of sexual rights and in some cases, for implementing them, there are many other areas where an individual's sexuality leads to infringements of rights. Although it appears politically tempting, Miller argues,

'To claim more aspects of sexual rights through this approach (as it sidesteps certain condemnations based on religion, culture, or morals, we should be wary of over medicalising constellations of social and biological processes that encompass domains of imagination, expression and communication, law, religion and economics as well as the body (cited in Mishra and Chandiramani 2005: 20).

By using law as an instrument of social change and protecting the rights of those infected and most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, an environment can be created where by stigma, violence and inequity will be lessened This will bring the problem into the open and make it easier to control. This is widely accepted and established right based approach which promotes several inter related rights, including 'informed consent' to testing, the guarantee of confidentiality, non-discrimination,

and access to services including travel, insurance and treatment (Divan and Bhardwaj 2007: page no)

A few scholars note the success stories and positive impact of the right based movements (Jesani *et al* 2007, Mcleod 1981, Bhat and Saha 2004, Priya 2003) But one needs to account for the support provided by NACO and its free provision of ARVs to those without the financial capability and that of high risk groups. Hence, these scholars articulated the success stories of the right based approach not only in terms of the medical benefits (provision of ARVs) but also the social benefits For example, positive effects of these right based movements have been stated as the ban of the HIV/AIDS Bill (Grover 2005), proposed amendment to decriminalize sex work, and proposal for the legalizing homosexuality and changing or reviewing section 377 of IPC which criminalizes men who have sex with men For the latter issue the Union Health Minister has promised to help them with reviewing section 377 of the IPC (Sinha 2008 and Nagaswami 2008) The other positive results are related to the welfare schemes by the Govt. such as announcement of Kerala State AIDS Control Society to reserve a vacancy in its office for HIV positive candidates with the hope that the presence of such a person will improve coordination with groups at risk and ensure effective prevention (Ananthkrishnan 2008, Rao 2008), provision of Pension and house allotment scheme in Andhra Pradesh (Nath 2000), promise by the central Govt to provide them with job cards and employment under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and ART receiving patients will benefit from the BPL category (Mohapatra 2008)

Critique Against the Right Based Approach

1- At one level, this new public health perspective brings forward the utopian idea of reaching out to the poor and marginalized sections in resource poor settings, where health services are inaccessible to a large majority of poor. Also, it argues for more provision of generic drugs at lower cost (Kulkarni 2005:5378, Gill 2007: 90) and resists the systemic denials of adequate health care and at other times legitimizes cost effective approach through propagating prevention programs (Mckie 1999 & Natrass 2004:13). Public health specialist identifies itself with the political economy perspective. At another level, these utopian ideas get translated into programs which are premised on utilitarian ideas that of targeting and controlling the marginalized population for the public good (Mooney and Sarangi 2005, Mackie 1995 & Lupton 1993). For instance, in HIV/AIDS situation, this approach persuades people to face minor inconvenience such as sex workers' adhering to the safe sex practices and complying with Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) management program for the greater public cause. 'Governmentality' was the term Foucault coined to identify both the ways in which power guides the conduct of individuals and the modern rationality which demands that everything and everyone be 'managed' (Moss 1998:3).

At the same time, it placed the responsibility for transmission on the actors themselves in a not too subtle form which amounts to victim blaming (Taylor 2007). The assignment of responsibility for the transmission and prevention of the disease occurs within the moral parameters valorizing opposing positions taken

over gender, sexuality and reproduction (Adam 1992, Ghosh 2004, Lupton 1994, Sathyamala and Priya 2006) Acting to help prostitutes and protect themselves may be one laudable goal of determining risk, but a sizable amount of blame has also been leveled on them in this same process (Karnik 2001 328) This reflected the way public health specialists target the so called 'risk groups' who are ostensibly from the marginalized population and whose disease status is generally perceived as a threat (pathological phenomenon) to the social order In this way, it is the homosexuals rather than the heterosexuals, sex workers and lower class migrants who are perceived to be in 'multiple partner' relationships rather than those who comply with the principles of monogamy and hence these specific groups are regulated in the name of high-risk groups In this way, the 'othering process' takes place classifying certain social groups as high risk groups within the public health strategy Hence, it is viewed that this approach is ambiguous since it doubly essentializes or stigmatizes the community or putting responsibility on the marginalizing communities As Joan Scotts argues,

'Grounding exclusively on experience and experience renders invisible the historicity of experience and reproduces the very terms and conditions upon which that experience is in fact founded- and therefore cannot contribute to transformation In other words, given experience needs to be interrogated, there is simultaneous need to own up, self respect and distance one's self from her lived experience Otherwise the experiences are prone to be susceptible to available dominant forms of practices and articulation, and would actively replicate them Experiential mode of pursuing politics gravitates towards essentialist postures by leveling out differences and particularities and instituting one paradigmatic account as the dominant account to which all potential variants must confirm (cited in Gudavarthy 2008) '

Right based perspective celebrates and glorifies the difference and in turn alienates these people from the mainstream society (Sathyamala and Priya 2006, Mcleod 1998). This led to the increased surveillance and then the loss of agency which has been claimed in the right based perspective.

2-Literature on harm reduction approaches or condom promotion through the right based perspective which generally demystifies the misconception regarding condom use and advocates condom use. They take a scientific approach in advocating condom use in terms of challenging the social values and morals regarding the sexuality (Richter *et al* 2003). However, these scholars do not recommend to challenge the complex social structure that govern the social morals and values regarding sexuality and the structure that creates conducive condition for prostitution [Sathyamala and Priya 2006]

3- Harm reduction programme coincides with the disciplining of the body. The harm reduction approach sometimes is conflated with the right based perspective and at other times it is just limited to preventive approach and does not deal within the social domain. Although this right based perspective creates a new kind of subjectivity, Robins (2006) argues that this subjectivity and identity goes well beyond conventional liberal democratic conceptions of rights.

The problem here is both the right based group who are the protagonists of the rights of sex workers and those who advocate for the abolition of sex work. These two approaches view exploitation of women differently and seem to be foraging

solution in the exogenous factors. Both of these approaches also justify the health agency's claim that health is not a medical problem but also a social problem. In a way it is reductionist, since it starts from the process of seclusion. They select the population based on whom they want to approach, in the process of selection they exclude other groups, those who are in non-risk zone. They deal with the disease in a very superficial level and justify the already hierarchical model of classifying populations in the name of sustainability and feasibility. The other problem with the right based perspective is too much centered on HIV/AIDS whereas other health needs are being ignored (Gangoli 2002)

These approaches loosely term sex work as work in order to destigmatise those labeling processes. The complex thing is that women move between the sphere of sanctity and illegality and they do not clearly define it as work although they earn money from it as the nature of stigma attached to the profession. The use of the term 'sex work' signifies a self-conscious effort by advocates and self identified sex workers to recast people selling sexual services as workers. Another criticism was that the various indigenous terms were erased from the new label that immediately gained currency. West and Austrin (2002) terms that to term sex work as work only limits her identity to the sexual embodiment and her relation with her clients. Ghosh (2004 and 2005) Priya and Sathyamala 2006 critique this approach that there is a lack of class analysis within the right based perspectives

Chabra (2002) critiques the right based approach of turning the primordial urge-sex to become normal within this approach and hence sacrifice the civilization,

damaging women's well being and dignity. Secondly, she states that this kind of public health policy is pushed by external agencies. She also highlight that these condom centric approach and right based perspective did not alter the HIV/AIDS situation despite the enormous funding from external agencies (Chabra 2002 &2007).

This right based perspective of the liberal camp has been abhorred by the feminists as the neo-liberal perspective which supports capitalism and is patriarchal (Pateman 1983, Devika 2006) and does not address fully the structural factors

However, public health approach never questions/challenges the very premise of biomedicine (Cartesian dualism, reductionism, objectification of the patient, authority of the qualified medical personnel, curative, techno-centred and individualized behaviourist approaches) rather it complements biomedicine in several ways (Cunningham & Andrews 1997, Lee 1997, Kelleher *et al* 20060, Fruerd *et al* 1999 and Visvanathan 1997). It is these premises of bio-medicine to which public health specialists conform which facilitate the surveillance of the population. Individual rational choice theories, beloved of many public health specialists, lead us away from the complexities and contradictions of both our everyday lives and the wider culture into a punitive, victim blaming environment (Scott and Williams 1992)

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revealed that they were HIV positive. Narayana (2003) in the context of Andhra Pradesh mentions that the findings drove an alarmed state government to draft a plan of action to prevent the spread of the deadly disease. This led them to address another problem namely trafficking of women and children. Thus we can state that it is because of the disease- HIV/AIDS that two kinds of dialectical reactions (right based perspective and anti-trafficking perspective) emerged. Similarly, the anti-trafficking stand which is based on the standpoint of the radical feminists viewed that trafficking laws punished the victims or the prostitutes (D Cunha 1997, Kotiswaran 2001 and Kishawr 2008). Anti-trafficking camps reinforce their ideology and solution of the trafficking by encouraging stringent laws and containment of the borders and rescue and rehabilitation of the sex workers in the advent of the AIDS discourse. They critique the neo-liberal policy as the reason for the proliferation of the sex industry, violation of labour and human rights and therefore HIV/AIDS situation (Surtees 2003, Pateman 1983). Thus women are viewed in the prostitution as victims and were forced to join sex work. In their stance, they advocate for the stringent trafficking law which would lead to the abolition of sex work that can help to control AIDS epidemic. The major strength of this approach has been that they were able to expose the human rights violation of the children in the sex trafficking (Rao 1996). They view prostitution as a form of violation against women, as a means of livelihood which is exploitative, repressive and inhuman (for example Raymond 1998, Pateman 1983, Jana *et al.* 2002). The law aims to protect the victim without punishing the perpetrators.

Critique Against Anti-Trafficking Perspective

.The critique against the anti-trafficking perspective is on two grounds- one women should not be perceived as victims of their circumstances but as human agents who can fight to gain control over their rights. Secondly, the concept 'trafficking' has something to do with the nature of immigration policy, which prevents the movements of the poor and marginalized people and makes it hazardous. It is through the stringent anti-immigration laws that these groups are vulnerable to being smuggled illegally into the countries they seek to enter.

III

Current HIV/AIDS Discourse as the Reminiscent of the Past

History of any nation has a lot to offer to its national discourse. To know that the past can illuminate the contours of the present is to be better equipped to make intelligent decisions about difficult public issues (Tosh 2008). Antecedents to the present way of HIV/AIDS discourse can be understood through comparing it with the past events. The contestation around HIV/AIDS discourse today is far from new, as it is the reminiscent of the Contagious Diseases Act (CDA) of 1868 which sought to control the spread of venereal diseases, Devadasi Prohibition Act (DPA) in order to prohibit girls from the temple dedication and ITPA to prevent trafficking. SITA (Suppression of Immoral traffic Act) and ITPA (Immoral Traffic Prevention Act) are the main statutes dealing with sex work in India. Commercial sex and soliciting in a public place are punishable offenses under ITPA. The Act is intended to protect women from being trafficked i.e. coerced or forced to participate in sex work. Historically, health, especially public health, was the first discursive zone in which the regulation of prostitution was debated, justified and defined (Shah 2004). The common line from those events is that how in the past

too, the public health programme and morality became the precondition to control the sex workers. The other common point of the DPA, CDA, ITPA and present day AIDS initiative is the violation on women's body (Ghosh 2004). It is the complex and different positions of these three events by the reformists, revivalists, sex workers, Britishers and reformists from the lower caste on the issue of Devadasi system and prostitution in the colonial period and nationalist struggle that make the HIV/AIDS discourse complex and so also the public health interpretations. It is, therefore, necessary to briefly plough into history to grasp the significance of these Acts and the kind of resistance, toleration and confirmation it generated, for this in a sense informs contemporary constructions of HIV prevention programmes. A brief discussion on each of these Acts is presented below.

Contagious Diseases Act

In this section we seek to analyze the events in a chronological manner. CDA can be understood as both an attempt to legalize/institutionalize sex work as well as criminalize sex work through the CDA (Mishra *et al* 2005, Banerjee 1993 & 2000, Kotiswaran 2001, Chatterjee 2006, Shukla 2007 & Evans 2000). For instance, Kotiswaran (2004) and Banerjee (2000) explain that through these Acts, colonial government could provide lower class British soldiers with native prostitutes so that they did not molest decent British women. This Act was interpreted as institutionalizing or encouraging prostitution because it worked against the British Govt's attempt in 1956 to free one of the most oppressed sections of Indian women through passing of the Widow Remarriage Act. Many high caste widows,

especially child widows were either abandoned, or subject to such abuse that they were forced to leave home. Most of these girls and women had no alternative but to support themselves through prostitution (Liddle and Joshi 1985: WS74). This act served two functions for the Britishers during that time i.e. - control the venereal disease among the British troupes, and minimize the administrative costs related to soldiers affected by the disease and the British Govt. was able to control and get the power to dominate the native women in the name of public health. Scholarly work illustrates that CDA was seemed to be cost effective to sanitize and criminalize sex workers if they are found to be infected with venereal disease as opposed to the British sailors who were provided with medical insurance. Since the expenditure on treating the lower cadre of the army or sailors affected by venereal diseases was becoming expensive, the concern of the loss of man hours among the troops due to disability caused by them, CDA seemed to be more appealing to the British Authorities (Banerjee 2000'). The Act appeared to be stringent and criminal because it was mandatory to have identification and medical inspection of all prostitute women in each district. Powers were given to magistrates to direct the arrest of any woman, recommended by military officials, who was suspected of being infected. She would be produced before a Magistrate and sent to the lock hospital. Women found to be infected were confined in the Lock hospital until they were cured. In colonial times, a woman identified as a diseased prostitute by a plainclothes member of the metropolitan police had to undergo examination. The colonial government then sponsored the institutionalization of prostitution through government-run brothels that came to be known as *chaklas*. The closely guarded *chaklas* were set up under strict vigil of

brothel keepers and the police in cantonment areas where European troops were stationed. Every such brothel had high walls and small carefully barred windows so that the women could not escape. The *mahaldarni*, or brothel keeper, was careful to ensure that women did not escape or associate with any of the native men.

This section focuses on the processes by which CDA acted as the instrument of surveillance. These surveillance mechanisms of the past help us to understand the current forms of surveillance. Hence, this section understands both the continuities and discontinuities of the past through the mechanisms of surveillance in the context of HIV/AIDS. Through the CDA, the colonial government treated sex workers as substantial entity whereas in the post independence period sex workers are regulated but not treated as the mere object through right based or community led intervention programme (Ghosh 2006 & 2004, Banerjee 2006 & Chatterjee 2006). The CDA and the HIV/AIDS control program both seek to control disease by surveillance of sex workers' bodies. In the colonial period, public health concerns coalesced into the creation of a law to deal with sex workers and sexually transmitted infections, in the present time, the same public health concern is enacted, not through legal enforcement but through the indirect method of motivating sex workers to seek treatment.

In this CDA, the reactions of the native subjects varied according to their interests and class position. For instance, reformers or National intelligentsia did not have any problem with the laws regarding CDA as they wanted to get rid of the problem

by creating a new woman or ideal woman which is the exact opposite of the sex worker (Ghosh 2004 and Nair 1994 and 1996) In this context the interest of the national intelligentsia was different from that of Britishers, in terms of showing the superiority of the Indian culture (Nair 1996, Srivastava 2004) and undermining the liberal sexual culture of the ancient past. There were also other instances during the early periods of the twentieth century, of the ease with which the upper class agenda of Malthus and the Brahminical Hindu agenda of upper caste men in India could come together and reduce women to reproductive bodies under male control

Writing of colonial Madras, Anandhi (2000) also points out that

‘the opposition between desexualized ‘reproductive bodies as the ideal norm of respectable female sexuality and sex bodies as its other, representing immoral and disreputable sexuality as articulated by several political groups’

In their discourses, sex for non-reproductive purpose was denounced in these movement (Srivastava 2004, Nair and John 2000, Devika 2006, Skaria 2006 and Khan 2006) They ignored to react on these issues as it was deleterious to the nationalist project of ideal and domesticated women. The 1988 congress annual meeting, therefore, passed a resolution seeking to abolish the British law only on the grounds that the honour of the respectable Indian women was at stake (Nair 1996. 262)

However, the feminists of England demanded for repealing the CDA as a result of purity movement in England (Chatterjee 2006, Chatterjee 2006, Kotiswaran & McLeod 1981, D Cunha 1997, Shukla 2007). CDA was experienced with social and political resistance in the form of repeal campaign and the social purity

crusades that struggled against licensed brothels and white slave traffic for prostitution into the ambit of international debate and action (D Cunha 1997 & Kotiswaran 2001). However, the common point among the missionaries or feminist reformers from the North and the Indian reformers is that both treated and viewed sex workers as the victims of the official discrimination or social system respectively and they defended their position on moral grounds. For instance, missionaries resisted CDA act on moral grounds of government legalizing the sexual slavery whereas nationalist leaders were silent in this issue on the moral grounds. So the Indian reformers and feminist missionaries differed from the point of view of the British government who treated sex workers as criminals

A less well known feature of the campaign was the participation of the substantial number of prostitutes who were aided by these feminist reformers (Mcleod 1981, Ghosh or Chatterjee 2006). Also there was another kind of resistance held by the sex workers which was different from the former categories who were motivated by the feminist reformers. Sex workers worked outside the city area where the law was enforceable (Kotiswaran 2001 & Dang 1993: page no). The British, in turn, extended the areas where the laws were applicable, allowed for warranties, arrests and summary convictions of sex workers in absentia. Prostitute women still resisted. In Madras, prostitutes filed cases with Magistrate for exemptions in their individual cases. There were also cases in which sex workers expressed their agony with the repealment of the Act since they faced financial problems with the erosion of sponsoring the institution of prostitution by the British troops

When we link the above ideological positions of the past with the current discourse of HIV/AIDS, it is interesting to see how these event are treated differently by the two public health camps- radicals and liberals. In the post independence period too, the problem of prostitution did not rupture or bother much of the women's movement since rape and dowry were the main concern of these movements (Ghosh 2004 & Kotiswaran 2001). Feminists treated the CDA as an example of criminalization of the prostitutes (Banerjee 1993 & Chaterjee 2006, D Cunha 1997) and viewed it as hypocritical since men were deprived from such stringent law, medicalization of the prostitute body etc but the public health specialists through the right based approach treat it as the legalization of prostitutes

What follows from this Act is the discourse that advocated the binary distinctions - good women and bad women. Sex workers are categorized as bad women and helpless victims who were forced into sex work, need to be saved, the idea of which continues to impact the prevailing legal and social discourses (Shukla 2007).

Prohibition of Devadasi Act

The connection of the freedom struggle in the context of *Devadasi* system lies in the nationalists' initiatives to abolish the *Devadasi* system as it obstructs the nation state making process. The pride of Indian middle class nationalist was in its great civilizational past. Golden age and Hindu law was constructed during the colonial period both by the colonial rulers and Indian nationalists (Nair 2000). The Indian

westernized elite pressed for reform legislation banning *Devadasi* dedication and abrogating recognition of their unique customs. The Indian reformers initiated the anti-*Devadasi* movement more as a response to the colonial rulers' blame of exploitation of women in the name of religious practices and which denoted the practice as backwardness of Indian culture. In order to retain their authority, reformists endeavored the project of modernity and constantly opposed what was conceived of as non-modern or backward. Modernity, in this sense, is not a creation of the west and the non-west, rather, it was constituted in and by the colonial encounter (cited in Weidmen 2006). An emergence of a new form of patriarchy and envisage for the spiritual femininity and nationalist movement unleashed new definitions of social morality - (Vijaisri 2006, Chatterjee 2006, Ghosh 2006, Mishra *et al* 2005 & Chandirmani and Mishra 2005, Nair and John 2000). Kotiswaran (2001) argues that it is the prostitute women's body in colonial times which acted as a battle ground on which the interests of nationalists, the Indian orthodoxy and British rulers played out, competing at times and colluding at other times, and how the law encrypted these contestations.

British Government too through the influence of purity movement in England viewed *Devadasi* practice as a 'social evil' or 'backwardness of the civilization'. The criticism of the colonizers was aggressively articulated during the time of mutiny as well as when evangelists activity or purity movements were at the peak. In this case, the colonial Government framed the law against the *Devadasi* system as it is the aberrations against the Hindu law which was based on purely a Brahminical interpretation and relied on the religious texts (Nair 2000). In this way

their opinion regarding the system changed according to time. Due to this reason, they got the cooperation from the nationalist elites

Another point we should bear in mind is that there are different opinions or stands among the nationalist leaders. For instance, the modernist or liberal nationalist leaders confirmed with the colonial government and its institutions in terms of predicting the solution to the problem in the legal domains. However, Gandhi and the radical reformers denounced the British institution for the proposed remedies. Instead, they advocated that the problem lies in the self control of the women, through which they can achieve desexualized reproductive bodies (Amrith 2007, Gudavarthy 2008, Skaria 2006, Khan 2006, Srivastava 2004 & Vijaisri 2004:163&5) Gandhi was a champion against modernization/industrialization or the modernity of the west Gandhi argued,

'Brahmacharya does not mean merely physical self control. It means much more. It means complete control over all the senses. I have not acquired that control over my thoughts. There is perhaps a flaw somewhere which accounts for the apparent failure of leadership. Therefore Gandhian political praxis reveals very little compared to what it hides, a complex internal process, which invariably includes 'things which are known only to oneself and one's maker. These are clearly incommunicable. Gandhi's 'voice of conscience' was only tyrant he was willing to surrender himself to- he could recognize no higher court of appeal than the court of conscience- and it provided him with a moral experience- the experience of truth, which is an experiential and not a cognitive notion- inextricably tied to lived experience (cit in Gudavarthy 2008)

The reformists during the freedom struggle were from different social backgrounds. For instance, in early parts of 20th century, after the formation of the

Jaganmitra Mandali by M.G. Bhagyareddy Verma, who founded the *Manya Sangham* through which the reformers worked towards the removal of social evils such as the dedication of girls as *Devadasis*. However, other voices such as those of the Self Respect Movement and its Founder Periyar E.V Ramaswamy argued the case for recasting desexualized reproductive bodies trapped within the endogamous/monogamous Hindu Family, as sexual bodies capable of breaking free from such regulations. For Periyar, desire was natural and socially confining it amounted to a form of slavery. Another issue we should take into consideration is that prostitution and sacred prostitution among reformists was viewed from a different context and so also to abolish the practice. For instance, for the upper caste nationalists the current form of *Devadasi* system is the aberration to the great civilization of India in the past, whereas for the lower caste nationalists *Devadasi* system itself is the result of oppression from the caste system and therefore their approach was radical and movement against the sacred prostitution was an intrinsic part of the social reform movement of the outcastes.

Women or former *Devadasis* too participated and contributed in the Anti-*Devadasi* movement during the national struggle. For instance, many women from the community particularly led by Muthulakshmi Reddy demanded for the abolition of the *Devadasi* system during the freedom struggle (Krishnamurthy & Khandekar 1995; Vijaisri 2005, Reddy 2005). There were also women revivalists who resisted to the anti-naath movement and Prohibition of *Devadasi* system (Vijaisri 2005).

Similarly, the revivalists' (who were particularly from Brahmin community) endeavored to restoring the fine art forms which were formerly practiced by the *Kalavanthulu*. Revivalists' concern was not so much regarding the plight of the *Kalavanthulu* but more so with the demise of the India's cultural heritage. These groups sanctified the very art that made other community women to learn the art whereas proportion of the *Kalavanthulu* community dwindled despite revivalists' acknowledgement that *Kalavanthulu* is the community who were engaged in preserving the art and heritage.

Trafficking ACT

Antecedents to this Act lie in the the repealment of CDA which became the starting point for the trafficking Act and also the Prohibition of the Dedication of *Devadasi* Act. The origin of this Act, SITA and ITPA is predated to the social purity movement in England within the confines of the moralistic perspectives on prostitution constructing the issue of immorality of traffic, promiscuity, vice and emotional indifference (D Cunha 1997) Neither the rulers nor reformers were particularly concerned about the prostitutes themselves in the colonial era Rulers' and reformers' concern was to prevent women from their own groups being channeled into prostitution This Act was proposed in the colonial period since it was viewed that women were forced to join the trade by the middlemen And Indian nationalists were pushing the colonial government to implement this Act. In fact, custodial rights over the girls 'rescued' from brothels was a matter of acrimony. The government was not willing to take over the rehabilitative functions because doing so would be expensive and politically dangerous (Chatterjee 1990,

Kotiswaran 2001, Ghosh 2004). The other aspect of the colonisers' reaction to this Act was that colonial administrators generally agreed on the evil of traffic as a means of supplying sexual services in prostitution, which is regarded as a product of cultural backwardness of the colonized population. This artificial distinction between international and local traffic in women and children for prostitution was marked by cultural chauvinism and racism. So also the colonial Governments' position on prostitution in licensed brothels varied (D Cunha 1997). This point explains why this enactment was proposed and many of the reformers managed to have the Act in Madras Presidency and Bengal (Reddy 2002, Chatterjee 1990) but never became law in the colonial period. On the other hand, the Indian nationalists, particularly Gandhi, had no clear program for these women and rehabilitation nor did he put forth any ideas about how to combat the institution. In addition, Gandhi declined to accept sex workers as congress members or even to accept their donation unless they gave up prostitution when many sex workers had been organized under the banner of congress to undertake social work like nursing the sick and spreading the education (Kishwar 1985 1691).

The ITPA is a revision of the SITA, in 1956, which was modeled along the lines of the United Nations International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, 1949. Like this convention, to which India is a signatory, the ITPA is based on the principle that sex work is exploitation and is incompatible with the dignity and worth of human beings. However, in the AIDS era, the renewed interest in this act can be analysed not only from the moralistic point of view but also contestation about the neo-

liberal economic agenda. Although the stated goal of the ITPA is to eliminate trafficking, it does not criminalize sex work or sex workers per se but rather acts by third parties facilitating sex work or the commercial organization of prostitution. Thus the Act punishes anyone maintaining a brothel, living off earnings of prostitution and procuring, inducing or detaining for the sake of prostitution. It also provides for the detention in a corrective institution of a female offender who solicits publicly, suggesting that the censure of sex work is inherent in its approach. The act is intended to protect women from being trafficked, i.e. coerced or forced to participate in selling sex (Jayasree 2004, Kotiswaran 2001, D Cunha 1997, Ghosh 2005, Rajan 2003, Saxena 1995, Shukla 2007).

Anti-trafficking advocates and feminists critiqued the Act on technical grounds. Their critique emanated from the fact of gendered nature of the offenses that is male clients are not punished under the purview of the law and hence in the AIDS discourse they proposed amendments for penalising the clients (Kishwar 2008, Chatterjee 1990, D Cunha 1997, Saxena 1995, Chatterjee 2006). Thus we can see that the solution to the problem changes from rehabilitation and rescue in the post colonial era to the punishment of the clients in the AIDS movement ((Akbar 2008, Sinha 2008, Jayasree 2004, Kotiswaran 2000). Other criticism is that while prostitution is illegal in several countries, the same countries permit the simultaneous coexistence of a variety of legally endorsed sex related services and establishments, in the form of escort service agencies, 'eros' centres and the like, for the contribution that this sector makes to the economies of these countries is enormous. Thus trafficking among women continues through legally sanctioned

overseas employment agencies, international mail order bride agencies and the like (D Cunha 1997).

Liberals and public health advocates critique the Act both on the technical and practical grounds. The practical critique of this Act was manifold by highlighting its limitations i.e. how hard it is to prove the offenses, misuse of the law by arresting/punishing sex workers (Kapur 2008, Kotiswaran 2001, Jayasree 2004, Rajan 2003, Shukla 2007, D Cunha 1997) and at other times police are hand in glove with the brothel keepers, pimps and madams and an insufficient amount is provided/spent for the rehabilitation (Jayasree 2004, D Cunha 1997, Kotiswaran 2001) etc. The latter aspect led the women to re-join sex work as they are ostracized from society. From the technical grounds these groups question the rehabilitation aspect of the Act which is based on sexual morality of the charity/purity movement in England (Jayasree 2004). They also highlight the latent effect of the law was which circumscribes the practice of prostitution, drive sex workers deeper and deeper into covert practices and thereby make them vulnerable to police harassment (Rajan 2003, D Cunha 1997). This aspect – criminalizing women -makes subjective identity of the sex workers as social deviants and has public health repercussions.

The other criticism against the anti-trafficking law was based on looking at it from other perspective. Provisions dealing with raid and rescue make no distinction between adults and minors. Ordinarily a consent or lack of consent of an adult is a crucial factor in offenses like abduction or illegal confinement which determines

whether an act is to be dubbed criminal or not. The age old method of rescue and raid appear to be ineffective besides being violative from a rights perspective. Raid and rescue aspect of the act has been criticized from the point of view of the human rights and dignity, privacy of the identity of the person who has been trafficked. Invariably, the girls feel they have been arrested and have been, in fact, kept in confinement and imprisoned. The issue of trafficking also needs to be seen in the context of the rights of migrant workers and the right to work and choice of employment (Shukla 2007, Jana *et al* 2002). The agency and actual lived experiences of women on the move are obscured or even removed within the paradigm of anti-trafficking policies. The focus within the international arena is most often on the abuse of women's bodies, through trafficking and sexual slavery (Crosby 2007). Miller and others have also expressed the concern that international protection mechanisms that have been drawn up to address the situation of trafficking serve more interests of states in controlling their borders than protecting women in situations of vulnerability. This crime control approach is one that sees the state as the victim of trafficking, borders penetrated, and contagion let in. Sexual harm becomes the reason to restrain women's movement (Cited in Crosby 2007)

Summary

This chapter reviews the available scholarly work on HIV/AIDS and highlights the broad trends. For instance, materialistic explanation or political economy perspective does not capture the micro realities and mediating factors when the object of study is trafficking of women and depicting them as victims. Similarly,

scholars in medical anthropology over-emphasize on the micro practices or rituals so that they could only site the tradition that shape the HIV/AIDS situation in the region. In fact, this way of understanding makes them closer to the dominant biomedical and public health discipline in terms of producing the stereotypical images of these performing communities and prevent them from developing an independent perspective. However, this perspective eschews us from looking at the changing features of the tradition or re-invention of the tradition and how macro structure that is the economic development and reform process against the tradition transformed the activities of the community. This latter aspect would actually explain how the structure and organization of sex work changes including the social profile of the sex workers and how sex workers manage to avoid the discursive practices through their strategies that are focused in the third and fourth chapter. We discussed how sociology of health as a discipline emerged as a critique of biomedicine and public health approach which put onus of the disease on the individuals, undermining social factors but intervene through utilitarian perspective. Based on those critique as well as the social impacts (stigma and ostracization) that the disease produced on the affected communities, public health discipline also underwent changes and modified some of the classical approaches. New public health perspective too emerged as a response of this criticism. This new public health perspective intends to provide critical support to those vulnerable to the virus by helping them organize themselves, develop a sense of community and reposition themselves in relations to the rest of the society. It is in this context, the right based approach in public health, its complexities and ambiguities have also been critically examined. We too argue in the chapter that

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the present dominant HIV/AIDS discourse is actually the continuation of the discussions/ contestations that surrounded at the time of enactment of CDA, ITPA and PDDA. However from a sociological approach we did not only look at the continuities from the past but also the discontinuities from the past. In other words what is new about the HIV/AIDS discourse is the addition of the contestations about the neo-liberal agenda.



¹ In this chapter we are arguing that although there is contestation over the exact period in which the sociology of health developed, we follow Williams claim that it is the child of second world war since the critical work on medicine was published during this time. Since AIDS is relatively a modern disease, we tend to focus on the modern perspectives as sociologists belong to this era.

ⁱⁱ Utilitarian issues include the prevention through screening of the targeted population as a cost effective approach as opposed to the treatment in the context of HIV/AIDS which is not discovered by the medical community and also high cost of the life saving drugs or ARVS for HIV/AIDS.

ⁱⁱⁱ In the official literature it is a successful STD/HIV intervention programme among female sex workers in a red light area of Calcutta. This project became catalyst for the formation of the association for the DMSC (Durbar Mahila Samamwaya Committee) for the social welfare as well as improving the peidemological situation among the community (See Nag 2001: 473).

^{iv} We mean target interventions or behaviour change approach which believe in the victim blaming approach.

^v In this article the term 'public health specialists' and public health proponents denote to the intervention and initiative. Although in other contexts intervention and initiatives are treated as separate actors, nevertheless both these actors share and support public health approach.

Chapter- III

Socio-Spatial Dimensions of Risk in a Region

The region is the field of play of the concrete wholes comprised by an ensemble of institutions. The region also shapes the character of an economy. Region is constructed through a combination of culture and natural ecology (cited in Hariss White B 2007)

R K Mukherjee

Region provides concrete basis for understanding social spaces. The social determinants of HIV/AIDS within the region may not be explicable only through the economic prosperity of the region. In fact, the region- East Godavari, which is economically prosperous, has high HIV prevalence rate which challenges the dominant approach of the HIV/AIDS perspective. This is because it states that poverty has a bearing on the disease. It is not the prosperity or poverty of a region that alone determines risk groups but several intersecting factors that explain risk culture¹. But to flesh out the connection between the region/space with the HIV/AIDS scenarios, one has to investigate what makes the region 'risky' to be affected with HIV/AIDS despite being publicly/officially termed as the prosperous region. This way of enquiry would lead us to understand the intricacies of the socio-spatial characteristics, how they are connected in producing a typical space-risk culture (for HIV/AIDS) in the region and what is invisible in the prosperous region which makes some specific social groups to be infected with HIV.

This chapter uses 'risk culture' as an analytical tool and through this, it traces the invariant factors (patronizing groups) and principles of construction of social space in the region (Bourdieu 1998). An attempt has been made to provide the description of the district along with the social variables which are considered as the determinants of the risk zone. It also describes socio-spatial dimensions of different social groups, their interactions and appropriations from time to time. The present investigation also attempts to explain that socio-spatial space is not only produced by the exogenous factors such as social structure or result of social inequality. But the space itself produces social settlement and social entities as well as gets shaped by social structure as a result of the interaction between social, economic and physical changes (Harvey 1988:11 and Anderson 2003)

Coastal Andhra

The districts which are in coastal Andhra include. East Godavari, West Godavari, Guntur, Krishna, Vishakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram, Srikakulam, Nellore and Prakasam (See also map.3.1.). These districts were all under more or less similar dynasties and therefore temple culture was common across these districts. Geographically, all these districts have large chunks of fertile land and consequently experienced agricultural development and formed the economic core of the state. As Rao (1977) states,

'The relatively prosperous present day coastal districts of West Godavari, East Godavari, Krishna, Guntur and Prakasham were economically as backward as any region of Andhra prior to the construction of *anicut*s (dams) across the Godavari and Krishna rivers during the early fifties of the nineteenth century. Dam irrigation did bring out a significant change in the fortunes of the peasants.'

While one scrutinizes HIV epidemic in the state of Andhra Pradesh, it is again centered primarily in the Delta-Districts of Coastal Andhra i.e. Godavari, which includes East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur

Profile of the District and Mobility Patterns

East Godavari is closely associated with the river Godavari occupying a major portion in the delta area (See also the map 1.1). The district is bound on the north by Visakhapatnam district and the states of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the east and south by the Bay of Bengal and on the west by Khammam and West Godavari districts (Singh 1997, Andhra Pradesh Darshini 1996, Ramsen 1979, Rao and Rao 1980). East Godavari has a population of 52 lakhs, 267 gram panchayats, 1323 villages, 3, 072 notified wards, 12 towns and 2 cities (Deccan Chronicle 2006). It is one of the rich districts as it is considered as the rice bowl of Andhra Pradesh. There are 60 sub-divisions and Rajahmundry is one of the biggest sub-divisions of the East Godavari. Although the river Godavari is boon for the district and its population, it makes the soil fertile and irrigated, the region's geography has its own disadvantages as well because it is more prone to cyclone and flood since it is close to the coast - Bay of Bengal

Here I provide an instance of how space itself produces social settlement and social entities. The district can be broadly divided into three zones, namely the *Agency* or the hilly tracts, the Delta and Uplands (See also Map 3.2). The Eastern *Ghats* rise by gradation from the level of the coast and they spread throughout the agency sub-divisions of Rampachodavaram and Yellevaram. The deltaic portion consists

of the whole of Konaseema and portions of Kakīnada, Ramachandrapuram and Rajahmundry the erstwhile sub-divisions presents a vast expanse of rice fields surrounded by plantain, betel, coconut gardens and innumerable palmyrahs. The erstwhile sub-divisions of Tuni, Pithapuram, Peddapuram and Prathipadu and portions of Kakīnada, Ramachandrapuram and Rajahmundry constitute the upland areas (Ramsen 1979; Singh 1997:11).

These different zones characterize four different migration/mobility patterns- such as intra-district, inter district, inter-state and international- within the district. For instance, intra-district migration can be exemplified by the following characteristics. People migrate from the dry regions (sub-divisions) of the district to the delta area/regions of the district during harvest season for agricultural work as well as the large scale construction activities in Rajahmundry and Kakīnada as part of urban extension initiatives. Tribal populace migrate from the "Agency area" of the district to the delta sub-divisions of East Godavari in search of employment opportunities. Additionally, the purchase of tribal land by the non-tribals (through marital relationships with the tribal women or purchase in the names of their tribal servants or attached labourers) alienated and displaced tribes from the agency zone to the fertile zone as cheap labourers (Rao *et al* 2007). Within the category – intra-district migration, one finds two different kinds of migration of women which has implication for the risk culture. The first form is migration of women from the dry region/mandals i.e., Peddapuram, Samarlkot, Tuni, Seethamnagar and Rajanagaram to the delta region (Rajahmundry and Pedapudi) for four months (May, June, July and August) and work primarily as laborers and provide sex

service to the owners and supervisors in the agricultural work whenever they are approached. Another variety is the migration/daily commutation of the women agricultural workers from the delta region during non-harvest season to the neighboring mandals or towns like Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Ramachandrapuram or Mandapeta. During these periods, women agricultural labourers join sex work on a provisional basis. These two kind of intra-district migration has been elaborated in the fifth chapter.

Inter-district or intra-state migration can be divided into two forms – in-migration from other districts of the Andhra Pradesh and out-migration to urban centers or to the capital of the state. The in-migration takes place through the migration of the poor and lower caste population from the north coastal Andhra districts such as Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram as well as the dry regions from the neighboring prosperous coastal district such as Guntur and Krishna district to the delta towns such as Rajahmundry and Kakinada. The out-migration happens due to the migration of the rural agricultural land owning community from the delta region to urban centers such as Hyderabad or Visakhapatnam or Vijaywada in order to invest their surpluses from agricultural production on other entrepreneurial activities such as films, hotels and hospitals (Mies 1982, Parthasarathy 1997, Baru 2007). Ram (2007) also states that officials from the coastal districts and the districts of the then Madras Presidency were brought to Hyderabad, for administrative convenience after the reorganization of the state. Establishment of the Telugu film industry resulted in many of the performing communities (particularly *Kalavanthulus*) from the delta region of the district to

move to Hyderabad to perform in this industry, especially when the enactment of the legislation against the Devadasi system was at its peak. How the geographical characteristics determine social process is also revealed in another migration pattern- interstate migration. Many local tales narrate the migration of Tamil populations to this particular region.

According to the historical accounts when Raja Raja Mahendra Varma (one of the popular Chola ruler) married a Chola princess from Tamilnadu, she was accompanied by many Tamil men and women as part of marriage process. It is viewed that many of the villages in the Amlapuram belt of the delta region have been filled with these ethnic groups from Tamilnadu (As told by a Telugu writer)

Additionally, interstate migration can also be observed through other factors particularly the business activities. For instance, the migration of the business communities from Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat to the Rajahmundry took place as this region was one of the potential business centers of the state. This migration pattern has been six decades old and these communities have been associated with the clothes, jewellery and grocery business. There are also migrants from Punjab into this region who are mostly associated with the automobile industry.

One finds international migration of the people to the Gulf countries from the delta sub-divisions of East Godavari. The predominant form of gulf migration is the migration of lower class/caste women to the gulf. Other social groups who migrate from the delta region of the district are the skilled workers such as nurses,

engineers and doctors and business community. Nevertheless, the latter categories of people are not significant in number as compared to the female emigrants from lower castes for the employment in service industry

Understanding the migration and migrant groups in East Godavari provides certain patterns that aid analytical framework of risk and non-risk zones. These migration patterns are inter-connected with the entertainment and sex work culture. In other words, it is the delta zones and uplands which experienced mostly these four forms of migration patterns. Industrial development, establishment of port in the delta region facilitated the process of men migration which too increased clientele base in the district. Agricultural development augmented the migration of the people from dry region of the district and other neighbouring districts to the delta region. Also the national highway which increased the presence of truckers added to the clientele base for the sex work. Recently, the coastal corridor project in the delta which covered the lands of the agricultural community and fisher folk communities and oil refinement process by RIL (Reliance India Limited) and ONGC (Oil and Natural Gas Cooperation) affected the livelihoods of the farmers and fisher folk communities. These latter factors have also implications for the risk culture that is discussed in the fifth chapter. This spatial characteristic is connected with the perpetuation of entertainment and sex work culture. These migration patterns of East Godavari district need to be understood in the light of the fact that Andhra Pradesh is the Indian state with the third largest number of migrants (Population Council 2008). Sex workers cater to them, but they are also part of this migration, traveling to towns like Peddapuram to work off its fame, so they might be

anonymous. This aspect is described in the fourth and fifth chapters in the way temporary migration of the sex workers and contract based sex work take place in the region in order to avoid policing practices

History of the Region and Devadasi System

Historical account of the region reveals the continuation of the sex work through temple prostitution or sacred prostitution in different dynasties including the colonial regime. Although under each ruler there was transformation in the sacred prostitution, however this system did not get abolished completely but took a different form. During the freedom struggle or colonial era, this sacred prostitution became one of the discussion points in which revivalists, reformers (from upper castes), different sections of the British (missionaries and administration), reformers (men and women) and opponents of the reformers from *Devadasi* community played an important role. And these discursive practices had tremendous impact in reconstructing the very identity of the *Kalavanthulu*. It is in this period that one notices the major transformation of the dance forms, *Kalavanthulu's* presence in their traditional dance forms gets dwindled and instead attached to the performances in commercial (and popular) dance forms and sex work.

Tracking the Transformative Context of the Region

An effort is made to highlight the emergence of propertied classes¹¹, its nexus and sustenance of sex trade in space and time. In order to trace these developments, one needs to look at historical factors, particularly the shift of the district

headquarters from Rajahmundry to Kakinada, the present headquarter of East Godavari district, the evolution of business centers and the growth of agricultural production. Also these historical factors (particularly the period of reform movements and freedom struggle) have significance in the contemporary period in terms of understanding the changing face of sex work and the *Devadasi* system and therefore it is required to incorporate both the continuities and discontinuities from the past.

Growth of agricultural activity

Spread over 10,800 square kilometers, this district is the second largest district in Andhra Pradesh after Anantapur (Raghavendra 2008: 116). East Godavari district has the highest fertile land that is used for the agricultural work. The official records of the district indicate that the area (in 1000 ha) under food crop is 418 and under non-food crop is 69. Area under rice is 376, produces 806 lakh tonnes and productivity 2235 kgs per ha. Total land holdings are 3,21,795 and area under those holdings 5,12,332 ha. Of the total area of 2.69 lakh ha, area under canals is 2.19 lakhs, 0.44 lakhs under tanks, 0.18 lakhs under tube wells, 0.01 lakh under other wells and 0.01 lakhs under other sources (Rao 1980:174). The major economy of the district has been based on agriculture right from the *Satavahana* period (6-7 AD). The construction of *anicut* (dams) in Dowleswaram in 1852 and then wide network of irrigation canals made the region into a flourishing agricultural zone (Rao and Rao 1980, Reddy 1990, Parthasarathy 1997:42, Rao and Shulman 2002:5, Raghavendra 2008:116).

This point is also echoed by Krishna (2005) that minor irrigation projects succeeded in making the region escape from poverty. With the construction of anicuts and land reforms in 1950s and 1960s, the region encountered and benefited from Green Revolution in the late 1960s and 1970s (Upadhyay 1997 & Mies 1982:10). The percentage of workers engaged in agricultural activities is 62.2 as opposed to 37.8% of population in non-agricultural activity in the year 2001 in the district (Census of India. AP. 2001). Although there was growth of economy through the success in agriculture via the construction of anicut and green revolution, the growth was not equally shared among all the caste groups (Mies 1982). In other words, it is the intermediary or propertied classes who took the maximum advantage from these developments. In spite of the priorities in the plan allocations to agriculture and rural development by the Government, there was not much improvement in the material well-being of the agricultural labourers during the period of planned development in India. It has also been pointed out that the high growth rate of production in agriculture after the green revolution did not bring about any significant improvement in the levels of living of the marginal farmers and agricultural labourers (Ratnum 1993).

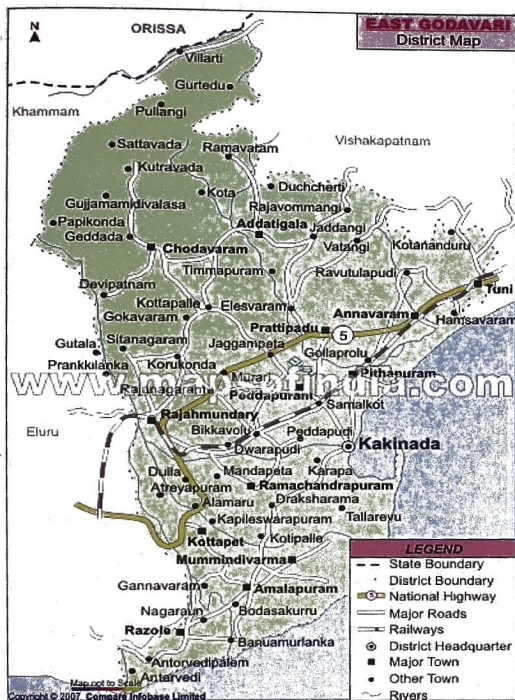
Specifying the agricultural land, its development and production and how this physical capital-rich natural endowments was appropriated by the local powerful group has its own expediency i.e. to link with the entertainment culture and how the latter becomes one of the status determinants of these dominant communities to hold power. The dominant groups as part of their debauchery activity used the women landless labourers of their farms to provide sexual service to them (in order

to cope up from quandary) and it provides a different shape to the sex work industry. These trends were particularly evident during the harvest season which was already discussed in the intra-district migration

Urban Culture and Extension of Urbanization

In these subsequent paragraphs attempts have been made to explicate how Rajahmundry (city and the surrounding region) was in constant transition to evolve as urban centre in different periods of time which shaped the risk culture too. Until Independence- formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, Andhra Pradesh was divided into two distinct regions ruled by two different administrative systems (Rao 2007, Ram 2007, Kumar and Rahul 2008:29) The present coastal Andhra (where East Godavari is located) and Rayalseema districts were part of the Madras Province (ruled by the British) while Telengana region was part of the Hyderabad state under the Nizams. Historical accounts indicate that this place has been transformed into four different forms in four different periods Rajahmundry is a historical city since it is one of the oldest cities recorded from 3rd Century B C-Buddhists period of Andhra Pradesh. In other words, while in pre-British period, Rajahmundry was the business and cultural centre, in the British period, other places of the district such as Kakinada, Amlapuram etc evolved as the business centres along with Rajahmundry and the attention was not exclusively on Rajahmundry whereas in the post independence period less efforts were made to reinvest their surplus in the region as the rural upwardly mobile peasantry invested it in the state capital (see also the map. 3.3 indicating the major towns in the district). It is only in the recent years especially the government's motto to transform the region into a techno-

ap 3 3. National Highway and Major Towns of the District



space and a proposal of Special Economic Zone, this region has once again gained its major focus.

Prior to colonization, Rajahmundry was the district head quarter and was patronized by many rulers. The Britishers made Kakinada in 1925 as the head quarter due to their self interests, primarily because of the port in Kakinada which facilitated exports and business deals (Ramsen 1979) Kakinada was developed by equipping the city with colleges and educational institutions Historical accounts reveal that the development of port by the British led to a great deal of economic activities including urbanization and consequently sex trade also flourished Oil, natural gas in the river Godavari basin, clay, and graphite, bauxite are some of the minerals available which also influenced the economy of the city Tirumalai (2005) explains that with the increase in trade and administrative machinery under the British, towns floated up in the coastal region, promoting new life patterns The old administrative towns such as Rajahmundry and Ellore (at present in West Godavari district) were transformed into new urban shopping centers in the Andhra region during the eighteenth century The nature of economic activity and pattern of livelihoods changed certain villages, transforming them into towns under the impact of the East India company Many villages of the district [from the delta region] such as Amalapuram, Badurlanka, Draksharamam, Mandapeta, Kesavaram, Mumidavaram, Vemagiri, Peddada, Peddapuram, Pithapuram, Tuni, Samarlkota supplied cloth, jaggery, chillies, turmeric, tamarind, gingili, soap-nuts, salt, peper and oil seeds to European factories and emerged as townships in coastal

Andhra. The new cultural life of the people in towns is narrated by, a Telugu poet, as described below:

"A Government like Kumbhuni (company), sex satisfaction like Rambha Bhogum, Grandeur like that of Indra, God! Is there a city like Peddapuram (cited in Tirumalai 2005)

It has been explained that dominant classes- *Kamma* and *Reddy* emerged through accumulating both the cultural and economic capital and by benefiting from the Green Revolution in the economically developed regions of coastal Andhra. These classes emerged through the derived benefits from the development of irrigation canals in the coastal district, with the monopoly over the agricultural land, its increasing entrepreneurial activities in other sectors of local economy, its entry into white collar occupations and rising political power (Upadhyay 1997 and Damodaran 2008). In the post-independence period the rural peasantry (propertied classes) invested their surplus around Hyderabad which formed the state capital. The first generation of enterprise which came up around Hyderabad is related to agrarian change and green revolution in coastal Andhra. Despite the region's (East Godavari) growth due to the green revolution (Mies 1982), there was no plan to develop Rajahmundry. In this period, one can see the growth of the state capital rather than Rajahmundry or other surrounding towns. Baru (2007) explains,

'It was also clear to me that some of the new first-generation business enterprise coming up around Hyderabad had its roots in agrarian change and 'green revolution' in coastal Andhra. Before Independence agrarian surplus from the delta districts went largely to Madras and also contributed to the development of towns like Vijayawada, Rajahmundry and Vishakapatnam. Some of this continued even after Independence as the work of Professor B Sarveshwar Rao on Vishakapatnam and Carol Upadhyya (1988) on coastal Andhra showed. The unification of the State, however, helped capital migrate to Hyderabad. The key

variable seems to be agrarian change and the emergence of a rich peasant class in rural areas and of an empowered middle class in urban centers '.

The economic surplus accumulated in the course of the Green Revolution is not productively invested into agriculture sector. Instead of providing adequate employment for peasants who have lost their land, capital is directed outside the rural areas, towards other productive activities such as construction of cinema halls, hotels, money lending and the lace trade. The latest development in this line is the investment of the surplus from agriculture into the film industry (Mies 1982 & Parthasarathy 1997). The present chapter adds another dimension that contributes to their dominance – i.e. in the culture industry by forging their caste alliances and establishing caste identities. It is done through monopolization of economic capital in terms of agriculture, aqua culture, poultry and tobacco. Thus the upper caste Kamma and Reddy tried to occupy and dominate the popular culture industry or entertainment industry by investing agricultural surplus in the Telugu cinema industry and controlling different domains such as directing the cinema; ownership of cinema theatres, hotel industry, promoting their men folk as main characters in the films and establishing film studios and film cities. In the process of expansion and assertion, these propertied classes also induced some of their caste elements into the context of 'entertainment' and 'enjoyment'. These imageries have been systematically created and disseminated through the cinema and other forms of entertainment, which is primarily controlled by the dominant castes of the region. As some of the film producers, directors and heroes (from the propertied classes) belong to the region (delta), certain pockets (nurseries of the Kadium, Godavari bridge, Dowleswaram barrage, temples of Annavaram,

Korukunda, Draksharamam, Tuni etc) of the district are found to be demarcated for shooting.

'Film directors are interested to show rivers, green fields etc in the song sequences And these scenes are only available in East and West Godavari district but not in other parts of Andhra Pradesh, not even in Krishna district Also more number of artists are available in the district and there is association called- extra artists' association which lobby for their own artists to become part of the movie If producers shoot the movies in East Godavari then they do not have to take the artists to other parts of Andhra which reduces their production costs Also since the producers and directors are from these two districts, they take pride in showing their native place in the movie.' [As told by a bank employee who too works in Telugu movies]

In these spaces the cast and crew of the films (in small roles) are played by sex workers and *Kalavanthulu* women. Here too sex transaction takes place In other cases the surplus from the agricultural production is spent on the entertainment in the pretext of religious celebration In this context, entertainment is not-only in the larger terrain of production of the cinema (which these communities from the region engage at the macro level), but also other entertainment activities in the micro level such as sponsoring the cultural programs (record dance programs) during the religious festivals. In this way, these dominant communities posit *Kalavanthulu* women as well as the women from other communities (who use incognito that they belong to *Kalavanthulu* community) in these cultural activities As discussed elaborately in the subsequent section, these activities legitimize the dominance/supremacy of the land owning community, institutionalize the entertainment culture in the region and construct specific imageries of these *Devadasi* women as the 'object of entertainment'. Dominant castes' sponsoring the religious event and also the entertainment programmes indirectly contributes

towards their caste assertions and cultural legitimacy. It is the reminiscent of the dominant culture of Kings in pre-colonial period Traditionalist ideology goes away but practices remain For instance, during medieval period, temple was the prime social and economic institution and gods were provided a superior status than the kings. There is also a reason of condescending attitude towards the temple culture by the kings Because of their patronization of temple culture legitimized their supremacy and accorded princely status as some of the kings were not from *Kshatriya* community but from the peasant communities This way of framing exemplifies how exogenous factors such as caste structure or social inequality reproduce space.

The fertile Konaseema (which literally means in Telugu as the corner between the two great rivers) region in the district is also known for its coconut export to the other parts of the country

'Amalpuram is the capital of the Konaseema region and the main crop here is the coconut For the last seven years coconut business has improved After Kerala, Konaseema region now is the second supplier of the coconut in the country' [As told by the Junior Assistant in the Municipal Revenue Office- Rajahmundry]

The business accomplishments in coconut also made some of the middle castes (*Settibalijja and Kapu*) to become dominant and rich, who became economically on par with the *Kamma* and Reddy community, the upper castes from the region The discussion with the business men from the region indicated that these upper castes (*Kamma, Reddy, Rajulu*) and the newly emerged middle castes (*Kapu* and

Setty balija) spent liberally part of their surpluses in obtaining the services of the sex workers.

Antarveedi was famous for its Devadasi system earlier and Devadasi women still perform in the festivals But Amalapuram was not known for the Devadasi system. Sex business proliferated in Amlapuram only when Britishers arrived Since this mandal was close to the coast, business relations developed and sex workers moved to this mandal as they found their new clients [As told by a retired professor of SKVT college]

The point here is although Konaseema area is not historically known for sex work (except Antarveedhi) like Peddapuram, Korukunda, Pithapuram, Rajahumndry in the district, sex work flourished in Konaseema region as a result of its economic growth. For instance, colonial records mention of *Kalavanthulu* communities in other administrative units such as Draksharamama, Gokavaram, Korukunda, Ramachandrapuram and Pithapuram, however at present, they no longer reside in those places, instead have moved to other administrative units. As the above data indicate, the region faced economic changes in two successive periods. First is the case of Amalapuram which got converted into a business centre in the colonial period and other *mandals* of the prospered region during the green revolution period and also coconut export contributed significantly. Along with the Settyballija community, the emergence of another kind of patronizer – the husbands of female emigrants too spent the remittances in the entertainment culture (the process through which they become economically and socially powerful has been discussed in the fifth chapter)

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The point here is although Konaseema area is not historically known for sex work (except Antarveedhi) like Peddapuram, Korukunda, Pithapuram, Rajahumndry in the district, sex work flourished in Konaseema region as a result of its economic growth. For instance, colonial records mention of *Kalavanthulu* communities in other administrative units such as Draksharamama, Gokavaram, Korukunda, Ramachandrapuram and Pithapuram, however at present, they no longer reside in those places, instead have moved to other administrative units As the above data indicate, the region faced economic changes in two successive periods First is the case of Amalapuram which got converted into a business centre in the colonial period and other *mandals* of the prospered region during the green revolution period and also coconut export contributed significantly. Along with the Settyballija community, the emergence of another kind of patronizer – the husbands of female emigrants too spent the remittances in the entertainment culture (the process through which they become economically and socially powerful has been discussed in the fifth chapter).

In pre-colonial era, it is mostly the princely communities who patronized the art form, followed by the mercantile or business communities and Brahmin communities (in the fields of law, medicine, civil service, education and business) in the colonial period (Weidman 2006:4 Weidman 2005:494, Sriram 2007: 21, Ramakrishna 1983:138). However, in the initial years of post independence period it is the upwardly mobile peasant communities (*Kammas* and *Reddys*) who patronized performing communities whereas in the recent years patronization got extended to *Kapus* and *Settybalija* in the village society. These peasant communities became dominant by emulating the attributes of earlier patronizers (*Rajulu* and *Brahmins* for instance) and thus became economically, socially and politically dominant in the region. In the post-independence period, the newly dominant community's activities influenced the very existence of the performing communities in the region and transformed their identities from performers to service providers, particularly sex transaction. In this way, the invariable factor of the region is the patronization of the entertainment although the social profile of the patronizers changes from time to time. It is this social entity which is the influential point in terms of producing risk situations.

Port city and development of its associated industries in the district and with the infrastructure such as transport, national highway extensions etc also led to the flourishing of the sex trade since these industries attracted many rural people from lower castes both from the dry regions of the district and north coastal districts of Andhra to migrate. In tandem with the development of the national highway is the greater number of trucker points in the region as it facilitated the transportation

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facility which lead to the development of the risk culture. Another factor that underlies the growth of economy is the growth of various industries in the region. The industries in the district include sugar factory, fertilizer plants, paper mills (see also map 3.4 which highlights the location of Andhra Pradesh paper mills in Rajahmundry), poultry business, textile mills and other manufacturing industries like ONGC (Oil and Natural Gas Corporation), GAIL (Gas Authority of India Limited), GVK plant and Reliance projects

Recently, in the last decade, the region again got much attention. The city of Rajahmundry has been upgraded to Municipal Corporation from that of Municipal council from the year 2000. Followed by the accreditation of Municipal Corporation, there is expansive growth in the city and consequently the growth of real-estate value, the production of the techno-space such as the construction of the Engineering colleges like GIET, IT centers, opening up Nannaya University and target of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in Kakinada, Polavaram irrigation project and the construction of the airport. The current phase of city development has its own ramifications towards the risk culture or entertainment culture (which are discussed elaborately in the fifth chapter). For instance, there is sudden influx of agricultural laborers from the neighboring districts who migrate into this region as construction workers in large numbers for SEZ colonies, construction of colleges, at the site of airport and huge apartments in the extended areas of Rajahmundry and Kakinada. These migrants too visit sex workers along with students from newly built technological colleges across the highways. These people become the new clientele base for the sex workers. Simultaneously, new

economic developments or city development displaced the previous inhabitants (particularly the farmers and fisher folk communities around the Kakinada port) affecting the people and livelihoods. In these circumstances, it has been reported that some of these community women resort to sex work.

Settlement pattern

In the following section, one finds a different facet to the dominant caste ideology (through appropriation/controlling of the space) which too helped in relinquishing their status quo as well as maintaining their association with the *Kalavanthulu* community. These different facets include coercing the community (*Kalavanthlu*) to move into the periphery when the land value gets hiked and also the way these caste groups build alliance with the *Kalavanthulu* community in election as well as post a bail to *Kalavanthulu* during the time of arrest. This aspect is brought forth through the analysis of the settlement patterns in the region. Following the words of Hust and Mann (2005) that the history of urbanization is also the history of organizing and negotiating the space of changing and expanding human settlements, these settlement patterns can be explained

The Rajahmundry city's landscape and social structure is based on the settlements of different castes, classes and occupational spaces such as administrative, commercial or business work directly related to the nature of the work. For instance, Brahmmins largely inhabit the colonies of Aryapuram, Danveipeta, Seethampeta and in certain portions of the newly built Srinivas Nagar, AP Paper Mill area and Tilak road. The *Kamma*, *Kapu* and *Reddy* community reside mostly

in Srinivas Nagar, Tilak road, Hukumpeta (where the present Member of Parliament. Jagumpudi Rama Mohan Rao is also located). The weaving and cloth making communities such as Padamasali, Kamsali, Kummani communities reside in Thaditota, Mangalvarampeta and Kothapeta. Other lower castes such as Settiballjalu^m, Mala and Madiga community reside in many working class colonies such as Quarry, Innispeta, V. L puram, Ambedkar Colony, Annapuranampeta, Tummalova, Gurakshanpeta, Mangalvarampeta and newly constructed area such as Narayanpuram, Shanti Nagar with the efforts of Government in providing land to the poor under the VAMBAY (Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana) Schemes and INDIRAMMA (Integrated Development in Rural Areas and Model Municipal Areas) programs Rickshaw pullers and auto drivers (*who are mostly the migrants from the dry regions or from the neighboring districts*) congregate with workers' colonies where sex workers reside. Another linkage here in this settlement pattern is that sex workers too share their earnings with the rickshaw pullers and auto drivers who mediate the sex transactions in the lodges and hotels

Muslim population mainly resides in Jampeta, which is also famous for the vegetable and poultry market. However, it does not indicate that there is no mix of caste population in any of these locations, but each caste group has overwhelming presence in each of these locations. Although lower castes reside in the settlements of some upper castes, the former do not own the house or in other words live as tenants. There are also extended areas which were used earlier for the Tobacco plantation which are at present the residential apartments. The other ethnic

communities (such as migrant communities from other states (*Marwadis*/ business communities)) reside in the main market area- Kottagamam (one can find the merger of the business and residential area in this locality). *Punjabis*, the business community do not stay in any particular locality, they are scattered in all the localities. Apart from these settled migrants of business community, many business men from the surrounding districts and neighboring state visit Rajahmundry.

There are also some prominently recognized locations (public knowledge) such as Isukaveedi (*which comprises of two small lanes of the market area*) where many brothel houses are found, Merakaveedi which was formerly known to be the residential area of *Kalavanthulu* community^{iv}, Brihanalapeta^v, Seethampeta and Tummalova. Among these five prominent localities, Seethampeta, is also known as catering mostly to the migrant laborers from the two paper mills close to the place. Another area was created with four blocks for the sex workers at their request in 1996 (during the TDP- Telugu Desam Party regime) when there was severe flood. ^{vi}Prior to the allotment of the area, there was a red-light area close to the Rajahmundry railway station where the sex workers were residing. The two notified areas such as Isukaveedi and Meerakaveedi have known to be existing for more than 100 years. As Rajahmundry being known for sex work, sex workers reside more or less in "working class settlements or slum areas" of Rajahmundry. People from the surrounding villages (even from the village Kovuru where the bridge separates Rajahmundry from West Godavari) come to Rajahmundry on a regular basis to do sex work. However, this does not imply that only sex work operates in these notified places.

There is a purpose for examining the settlement pattern in Rajahmundry city. This is to explicate several underlying factors that blur the distinction between risk and non-risk boundaries, demarcated by caste norms and inhabitations. For instance the concept of '*china illu*' and '*pedda illu*' which is prominent in Rajahmundry even today indicates how upper caste/middle caste male folk have their sexual interactions with lower caste/*Kalavanthulu*/sex workers. The existence of various forms of sexual relationships among the different groups are referred with the local usages such as "*chinna illu*", "*Peddaillu*", "*Ronkamogudu*" and "*Unchukuna vadu/mogudu*" provides interesting dimension to the research. These local usages were critically analyzed since it has the implication in terms of producing 'risk culture' in the context of HIV/AIDS. Different forms of sexual relations which exist in this social set up include *Pedda illu* –first house (legal and formal marriage), *china illu* - second house [illegal and informal family], *Unchukuna vadu*- concubine form of relationship in the *Kalavanthulu* tradition and *Ronkamogudu* in sex work [where sex worker pose to be the wife a man, the financial support is provided to the man by sex worker, while she derives 'social protection' from the relationship]

Chinna illu denotes the cohabitation with a man who is legally married to another woman without the intention of legal marriage in future, but he provides the social and economic security. *China illu* culture denotes the men (mostly from the dominant classes) cohabiting with women, but that does not translate to legal marriage but they support women as long as they have a relationship with the

woman. Sometimes woman may also change her husband after a period of time. Historically, it is known that well to do Brahmin men established a *China-illu* culture, literally 'small house' with a *Devadasi* 'wife' which was an accepted social practice (George 2004:83 and Rao 1909) and this practice too (as like other social practice) was passed on to the men from other dominant communities such as *Rajulu*, *Reddy*, *Kama* and *Kapus* when these communities became socially powerful. George (2004) describing about *Chinna illu* culture of Tamil Nadu in the nineteenth century describes,

'The Tamil tradition, which had attached value to the arts of the *Devadasis*, seemed to provide a social foundation, however tenuous, on which the women could now rely. By the end of the nineteenth century it had become socially acceptable for a well to do Brahmin to take a '*Devadasi* wife' in addition to his legal wife. The second wife was allotted a slot in society, grudging perhaps, but a slot nonetheless. The man would support the woman with a reasonable degree of fidelity and she would recognize him as her 'husband' to the exclusion of other men. Such a state of affairs would enable her to claim a particular Iyer or Iyenger (the two main South Indian Brahmin sects) as her husband and as the father of her children. The man would graciously let her make the claim. Such an acknowledgement undoubtedly reflected a male dominated society's arrangement of convenience, but it did provide the women a measure of dignity in addition to patina of security (ibid 83)

From the historical account this concept of *Chinna illu* is mentioned only in the context of men from upper castes practicing it but not men from the lower castes doing it. In the case of men from lower castes, it is justified through a functional dimension attached to it. For instance, Ringdal (2004) mentions,

A peasant would take a second wife only if he did not sire a son with the first spouse in medieval times (ibid 76)

However, in the present day it need not be the women from *Devadasi* or *Kalavanthulu* communities who experience *Chinna illu* culture but also women from other communities. This system is no longer justified through the functional characteristics. Similarly, the local usages of promiscuous relationships with the *Devadasis/ Kalavanthulu* has been changed to *unchukunavadu* rather than *Chinna illu*. In the present day the local usage of *Chinna illu* refers to informal family relationships of propertied classes with women from upper caste rather than the lower caste women. For instance, respondents informed me that there are certain pockets in the district which are notorious for continuing the *China illu* culture such as Tummalova and Namavaram area of Rajahmundry and other sub-divisions like Mandapeta and Kakinada. Apparently one of the sub-division is known for keeping women as concubines and recently the name of the sub-division Mundapeta (literally means a place that belongs to 'woman keeps') has been changed to Mandapeta. On weekends men visit their second wives (not legal wife) and this pattern is observed in Kakinada, Peddapuram, Rajahmundry, Mandapeta and Muramunda. There is also a point in which women value and accept husbands' extra marital affairs. Similarly, respondents speak of *Chinna-illu* kind of relationships of married women from *Kamma* and *Reddy* community in which women leave home in the pretext of watching cinema or shopping but actually they meet their other male partners. Consider the following exchange which narrates the multiple sexual relationships of the women from *Kamma* and *Reddy* community

'Their partners are only businessmen. They either meet in the lodge or in the restaurants. Their male partners provide gifts in turn.' [As told by a key informant]

'Kamma women keep relationship with other men since their husband is generally absent for a long time It provokes them Some other women do it for the sake of money They do not get sufficient money from their husbands although the latter is rich It is because their husbands spend their earning on other things ' [As told by a key informant]

APSACS's (2003) study indicates that Andhra Pradesh is at the top of the list in people having multiple sexual partners In rural Andhra Pradesh, 24% of men and 9% of women claim to indulge themselves beyond the parameters of marriage, up from the meager national average age of 10% of men and 2% of women

Unchukunavadu is the relationship which is part of *Kalavanthulu* tradition in which propertied classes treat the *Kalavanthulu* women as concubines through *Kanerikam* ceremony The details of this kind of relationship, the community women's nexus with the propertied classes and its implication for the HIV/AIDS discourse is provided in the fourth chapter. *Ronkamogudu* [or some times it is referred in English as 'Temporary husband' or 'lover'] is a term that is constantly used by sex workers from other caste group who maintain or cohabit with men to get social approval In this case the latter have a legal wife apart from this sex worker and it is the sex worker who supports financially her man or temporary husband. Here sex workers pretend to be the wife of a particular male partner in order to get legitimacy in the public domain for their social protection There is a functional need of this kind of relationship in terms of facilitating sex transaction in the region. Some of the respondents informed that through this kind of liaison sex workers not only avoid policing problems by law enforcement agencies,

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hooligans and neighborhood, but also it helped their children to get social approval. In this case, the male partner gets financial patronage through the sex worker which is contrary to the second and third type of social arrangement '*chinna illu*' and *unchukunavadu*.

However, the last three forms of sexual relations are not mutually exclusive. There is an overlap between these four forms of interaction in the sense that some times some individuals are found to be with four different kinds of relationships^{vii} D Cunha (1992) too argues that the separation between the wife (the respectable woman), the mistress (the kept woman) and the prostitute (the fallen woman), only serves to divide women (ibid: 35). Although these four forms of relationships overlap with the commercial sexual relationships, in the HIV/AIDS discourse this relationship is not taken into cognizance. The reason for bringing these issues into the discussion is that these above forms of multiple sexual relations are not scrutinized in the AIDS discourse. However, in these four forms of relations, there is less chance to practice protected sex in comparison to the other commercial sex transactions that create risk situation.

The dominant HIV/AIDS discourse limits itself to recognize certain forms of sexual relationships as risky that discloses politics of risk. The problematic issue in the HIV/AIDS discourse is that it castigates one form of sexuality- that is commercial aspect of sex work and also through this process it provides legitimacy to other forms of sexuality, which also holds exchange value. For instance, truckers who are categorized as one of the risk groups are disciplined only to curtail their

association with sex workers but their variances in relationship with different kinds of women are not subjected to scrutiny. Ethnographic data from the present study indicate that truckers also have sexual relationship with non-paying partners other than their wives (in case of married) and sex workers. Consider this statement by one of the truck drivers

'Sex workers are like the vehicles that are used for public transport and thus one can use them roughly. However our partners like our girl friends or wives can be compared to the private vehicle for which one needs to take extra care. In this way, we can use condom with sex workers as we know that they are available for the public use and we can tolerate "rough sex" using condom although it does not give satisfaction to us. But we cannot use condoms with our girl friends since we expect "soft sex" without the use of condom. And we trust our girl friends that they do not go with other men.' (Excerpted from one of the interviews with the truck driver)

This indicates that truck drivers tend not to use condoms with their non-paying partners especially referring to the *chinna illu* kind of relationship as well as their wives (those who are married) in anticipation that they do not indulge in multiple sexual relationships as opposed to the case of sex workers. As Tulloch and Lupton (2003) aptly explain,

'People may judge the potential risk of contracting HIV from their sexual partners based on such factors as whether they appear "clean" or "dirty". These judgments are cultural constructions. Central to these assessments are notions about self and the other. It has been found that people tend to make assessments of potential partners based on such attributes as their social class, appearance, social demeanour and whether or not they are judged to be "liked me". Decisions about trust are established very quickly on this basis. Sex with that partner is no longer seen as risky (ibid 8).'

Additional limitation in this process of categorization is that this way of framing within HIV/AIDS discourse of social groups undermines their non-risky actions in

the context of HIV/AIDS. For instance, sex workers are blamed for the vectors of the disease and the wives of the truckers are depicted as the victims of the transmission whereas in reality disease spreads not only through sex workers but through the mediating factors that is the cultural belief that constrain truckers to use condom with their wives or regular partners.

'We think that our girl friends (meaning a female companion who is not a sex worker) are always safe and they do not have contact with other men But we are wrong some times The other day I was surprised to know that my girl friend too was diagnosed with STIs when I took her to the hospital ' (As told by one of the truck driver)

The above example describes the various forms of sexual relationships of trucker population in the district and the non-risky activities by the actors from the risk zone. Contrary to the HIV/AIDS discourse which castigates transactional sex for the scrutiny in anticipating risk activities, the variances of relationships indicate that transactional sex is safe. Some of these above described tendencies can be defined as 'politics of risk' as public health does not acknowledge the non-risk activity of the risk zone or relationships and risk activity in the non-risk relations which was quite evident through the various forms of multiple sexual relations in the region.

Although the notion of purity still determines the heterosexual relationships in the region, as is clear through their meta narratives and at ideological level, however impurity co-exists with purity in practice. This co-existence is quite evident if one examines the existing social arrangements. As Thirumalai (2005) states,

'Love was a usual and regular feature in the lives of men and women in the pre-British Indian culture, but in popular practice it was not necessarily confined to the family or to wife and husband. However, it was a matter of prestige and

pride to practice love within the family in the Indian tradition (ibid21)' In Telugu cultural realm, moral restraint after a certain age is a social obligation. Yet, despite the morality attached to it, love and extra marital relations outside the caste were understood with tolerance (ibid 112). In the matters of love, traditionally, men could venture beyond their families. They either maintained a *Das*; or concubine or a temple girl for the satisfaction of their sexual needs (ibid 100).

The notion of impurity does not only exist in terms of penalizing and disciplining those who deviate from the notion of purity, but certain forms of impurity- *unchukuna vadu* is accepted. In addition to the concept of *Chinna illu*, which makes it difficult to separate out the settlement pattern of the sex workers or *Kalavanthulus*, some of the popular conceptions which are widely spread in the region too further aggravate the porous distinctions. For instance, there is a popular conception that neighborhood that is surrounded by the red-light area tolerates the sex transaction because people in the neighborhood feel that their properties are safe from thieves and hooligans since sex transactions occur round the clock. It corroborates with the fact that two of the famous red- light area in Rajahmundry i.e. Isukaveedi and Seethampeta are surrounded by the *Vaishyas* or *Komatilu* Business community and Brahmin community respectively.

The above description of the current settlement pattern reflects the manner in which sex work is maintained, how some communities get recognized as sex workers by the state and indirectly by the propertied classes (as they hold the Government posts) and some other caste women are recognized in the public domain but do not get labeled as such is an interesting dimension. These factors explain how the distinction between risk and non-risk is very dicy and how

labeling, classifying, targeting certain groups as risk groups evade understanding of risk culture, prevailing in the patriarchal structures. Hence, understanding risk culture is more complex and sociological. Nevertheless, regions like East Godavari and its semi-urban towns such as Rajahmundry and Kakinada need a broader understanding of what constitutes the yardstick of risk and risk zones and how risk culture develops in a particular region.

Rajahmundry has a long history of continuation of sex work (*Devadasi* and the present day *Kalavanthulu* community) and large clientele base has been sustained because of its prosperous location in terms of agricultural production and other industrial goods. Since the structure and organization of sex work is itself changing, it becomes problematic to adhere to the conventional parameters that demarcate the risk zone. The changing structure or the social space of sex work is mirrored in six different spheres. These are, the traditionally known areas for sex work have fewer sex workers at present, new areas have emerged more particularly in the so called safer zones, entry of a number of new category of women into sex work who possess a complete different social baggage from the former, varieties of clientele operations; commodification of the rituals (through the process of re-inventing the tradition); and the very ambiguous notions of different forms of sexual relations.

Coercing Kalavanthulu and Policing

When one examines the new urban planning of Rajahmundry and neighboring towns of the district, it indicates how *Kalavanthulu* and sex workers are pushed

into the periphery, how dominant caste gains by grabbing land of the sex workers and the methods they use to negotiate with the police and *Kalavanthulu*

At present the Municipal Corporator of Isukaveedi (who is also from dominant caste) is trying his best to displace the sex workers from Isukaveedi since it is situated in the market place and the land prices are escalating. The Municipal Corporator in order to grab the land from the backside of the market area, initially encouraged the residents to sell their land. Many of the *Kalavanthulu* women own the land in this locality and rent out rooms for sex work. The Municipal Corporator fixed the price of the land in a much lesser amount in comparison to the market price. While some of the *Kalavanthulu* women sold their land, many of them were not interested in selling their lands. In this context, the conflict arose between the propertied classes (who were interested in grabbing the land) with the help of the Municipal Corporator and the *Kalavanthulu* (owners of the land)

Isukaveedi is a popular place for sex workers with a long history of brothel sex work. It was like Peddapuram, nearly 50 houses were there and nearly 30 madams running these business. In those days we all were happy. We had more money in our pockets. We were having luxurious living. Most of the sex workers were small girls (meaning adolescent girls), pretty looking girls. We had more business. But now all are scattered because Circle Inspector wanted us to move to different locality. The previous administration and corporate personnel were more or less good towards us. But the current corporator and ward representative along with the the Government and Administrative personnel want to eliminate sex-work profession from this locality. Due to political pressure, the police have, recently come down hard on sex workers, evicting them and shutting down brothel houses. The police used to come to this area every hour and say that they had received a phone call from someone that there was sex work business going on. However, in the recent past, there have been several evictions and all businesses are conducted very secretly. Sometime ago, a sub inspector made the

sex workers walk on the street half naked Once the corporator called a public meeting and Sub inspectors and SPs (superintendent of Ploice) powerful people of the locality were invited The Corporator chided the public and the powerful people saying, "There are four thousand people living in this locality and there are only ten madams Can you not move/ relocate those (ten people) out from here?" "Can you make them vacate from this place?" [As told by a brothel madam cum sex worker from Isukaveedi]

Here one should note the different method the present administration has been using to occupy the land For instance, initially, the Municipal Corporator raided the houses of the sex workers, later had thrown their household belongings and locked them from outside when law enforcement agencies did not find any evidence of sex work because they can not prosecute them with the legal arrest At other times, law enforcement agencies encouraged hooligans to threaten the sex workers so that they would move out from the locality Sex workers from the area challenged against the action of the police in the district court in Kakinada, with the help of an NGO on the ground that police did not follow legal proceedings (such as non-presence of a woman constable, physical injury) In this case, the local law enforcement agencies produced different justifications for their own action that they arrested them in order to restore law and order in the locality but masked the real interest. Law enforcement agencies constructed discourse on 'morality' about the 'public risk' This is the supposed reason for them to constantly raid the locality since neighborhoods (which consist of business community of the region) keep complaining about the visible public nuisance and morality of their colonies. However, this way of justification on part of the law enforcement becomes contrary to the popular conceptions of the neighborhoods which actually demonstrate the tolerant attitude towards the sex transactions.

'Women from the neighborhood do not have complaint against us since we do it in our house and in fact they think that because of our business in the night, their properties are taken care of and they are safe from thieves ' (As told by a sex worker from Isukaveedi)

'We also contribute for the betterment of the society Because we make ourselves sure that innocent girls and women are not harassed or raped by aggressive men In this highway too we have saved many college students from boys who would chase them ' (As told by a sex worker from the highway)

This popular conception also coincides with the historical accounts of the large land grants which were provided to the temple community in which *Devadasis* were also part of the system in the medieval period. A social worker and Telugu writer who tried to promote the cultural and literary glory of Rajahmundry says,

'At present, one can locate Venugopalswami temple near Isukaveedi which is in the dilapidated condition, which had Devadasi system. During the Qutab Shahi Dyansty in the 17th century (1672-1687) many temples were demolished and one among them was the Venugopalswami temple. This demolition initiative ransacked many of the temple belongings '

This testimony confirms the land ownership of the *Kalavanthulu* in Isukaveedi. This case also demonstrates that whereas in the Muslim regime temple culture was on attack, in the present day there was an attempt to take away the lands of the *Kalavanthulus* by the new urban planning Municipal Administration. It is interesting to note here that how enforcement agencies systematically manipulated the local administration in order to meet the demands of the propertied classes. This example also illustrates the point that how the demand of the land value shuffles the populations or social groups. In the case of Isukaveedi, when the land value was not in demand, local administration did not show any interest to disturb

sex work. But when the land value got increased, local administration justified their displacement through stating that these sex workers create nuisance in the street, as a result they got complaints from the neighborhood. The above case also explains how the condition of sex workers varies in each locality according to the land value of the place. For instance, Corporator created problem with *Kalavanthulu* women/sex workers in Isukaveedi since in those wards real-estate price has been escalating, whereas in other areas such as in Tummalova, the Corporator of the locality cooperated and built alliances with the *Kalavanthulu* as one does not find the escalation of the land value. Desouza (2004) too makes a similar argument in the context of demolition of a red-light area in Goa

‘Till the 1980s, the real estate value of Bama beach was not significant and land pressures were low. However, a boom in the tourism in the late 1980s pushed up land prices, particularly beach front property. Additionally, with an increase in maritime traffic at port, there were demands for expansion of the port facility. The Bama beach area, which housed the port’s unorganized labour was now targeted, as the area was required for port expansion (ibid 3341)’

This displacement initiative in Isukaveedi made another area to flourish with sex work. For instance, many women from *Kalavanthulu* communities moved to Tummalova area (which is called as ‘china Kamathipura’^{viii} of the Rajahmundry) and Namavaram. It is the varied and contradictory actions of the propertied classes which make the understanding of risk culture more complex. Similarly, another sub-division of the district- Ramachandrapuram, which was home to many *Kalavanthulu* households who were known to be residing near busy market place, is no longer located in these places rather they are displaced to the peripheral locations.

In Rajahmundry, there is not a single locality where sex work does not take place although it may sound absurd. It also explains how the dominant caste men perpetuate their supremacy- in terms of occupying the space in the centre- where the land value is hiking. The medium they use to occupy the centre is through coercing this community people to displace from their original place and sell their land or violently coming down with the aid of the state agencies. Following the framework of Wright (2004) these two instances of displacement also show how the settlement pattern of the *Kalavanthulu* collide with a broader economic and political strategy that in short, seeks to generate value out of the displacement of the *Kalavanthulu* households

Another variety of action which signifies the complexity of these dominant groups' action of these propertied classes is how these communities work by building alliances and mobilizing *Kalavanthulu* and sex workers in their political sphere. These dominant caste men become selective in using the *Kalavanthulu* and sex workers according to their multi-layered activities. In each sphere they act in a different manner from the other. For instance, in the political actions these propertied classes set the alliances with the *Kalavanthulu* women in many ways. It includes using them as voters, supporters in the electoral campaigns, using *Kalavanthulus* to entertain their party men to seek the support from the party men and giving representation to these *Kalavanthulu* women^{ix}. It is also not a surprising phenomenon in the region where Municipal Corporator (from the

particular ward- Tummalova) post bail for the *Kalavanthulu* in case they are arrested in order to seek their support

Another community which suffers from the displacement is lower castes and landless laborers in the fertile region as a result of the recent development projects such as Polavaram, SEZs for ONGC and Reliance projects in the district. The reason behind the interest of State Government in this SEZ is the fact that two-thirds of all SEZs are in information technology, technology enabled services which further magnify the multiplier effect. Such enterprises, almost invariably about well developed urban centers, and are hard to distinguish from, and easily assimilated/converted to, high value real estate (Bidwai 2008.111). This point demonstrates from the fact that Andhra Pradesh itself has 46 out of the 70 SEZs proposed and being notified and 19 of them have secured formal approvals. Andhra Pradesh has more notified SEZs than other states in the country since the central Government was 'impressed' by the proactive approach of the state government putting in place the infrastructure required for the industrial hubs (Rajeev, 2008. 94). The petroleum, chemical and petrochemical industry is another area that the government hopes to reap benefits from in terms of employment and industrial development. The investment in this sector will be made between Visakhapatnam and Rajahmundry. This is aimed at providing the infrastructure for manufacturing and the facilities for export led production in chemicals and petrochemicals, along with associated services and infrastructure. The ONGC plans to set up one of its major petroleum refineries at Kakinada. According to Government, the proposed gas grid by reliance industries, which will cover a major

portion of the state, will give a boost to the ancillary industry which provide employment to thousands (Rajeev, 2008:98 and Raghavedra, 2008.116) Reliance is constructing an off-shore terminal at Gadimoga village in Tallarevu mandal to tap these fields.

The intention behind putting forth these issues lies in terms of understanding how these new initiatives of the state reproduce risk culture in the region. In other words, these new initiatives or developmental project in the region reconfigure the profile of the sex trade. For instance, it is because of these projects SEZ projects fisher folk communities, agricultural workers from the *Mala* and *Madiga* community lose their livelihood, settlements etc and therefore join sex trade on a provisional basis. Balagopal states (2007)

The 21st century began with the declaration that nature was created by god so that capital may be invested to add value to it, and what more profuse resource than land? And so suddenly governments, which till yesterday pretended that while it may be desirable to give the poor land for cultivating food or putting up huts, they were helpless and properly sorry about it because there was no land available and the poor should try breeding less instead, now discovered that there were any amount of land available to put up at disposal of the corporate for investment, and the rich in general for building nice big nests for themselves. Special economic zones, which are not factory sites but nice and spacious townships are being given huge tracts without asking why they need so much. Builders who propose to construct out of the world residential colonies for the rich too are also being allocated as much land as they want (ibid 3829)

An SEZ of extent 9,869 acres meant for the ONGC's oil refineries was planned near Kakinada, the headquarters of the prosperous district of East Godavari. As reported by Balagopal,

The initial site was near the sizeable town, but in paddy fields. The farmers protested relying on the familiar argument of loss of double-cropped land. But it was the real estate businessmen whose opposition finally mattered. Kakindada was bound to grow with the SEZ, and if the SEZ could be pushed some distance away, this land surrounding the town would be gold. So it happened that the land acquisition for the SEZ could be pushed back to the rural areas of Uppada Kothapalli and Tondangi mandals, some distance from Kakinada, parallel to the sea-coast but some distance to inland. Since the argument of avoiding acquisition of double cropped land was the official *raison d'être* of the change the land now to be acquired was described as land of poor quality. This has enraged the residents of the villages now to be acquired. There are in fact plenty of coconut, cashew and casuarinas groves on the land. The sea coast is the home of fishing communities, and while the SEZ will come up some distance in the interior, in deference to coastal regulations, the chemical pollution that comes with refineries, the fisher folk apprehend, will pollute the streams that flow into the sea and kill fish. More importantly, the villagers know that their lands have been chosen because real estate dealers of Kakindada managed to get the first choice dropped. They resisted the survey of the lands effectively for months, but on September 6 this year a huge force of hundreds of armed policemen raided the villages of Srirampuram, Rayavaripodu, Mumdivaripodu, Ramaraghavapuram and Katurivaripalem, arrested all the leaders of the agitation, beat up the women who came in the way and stood guard while the survey team finished the job. If each stage of the land acquisition is to be completed by such means, there could well be bloodshed on a day when the people are more determined and less unprepared. The resistance to industrial land acquisition has raised a whole debate about the very propriety and justification of the power of compulsory land acquisition. But the people themselves resist it for the plain reason that every land acquisition leaves the displaced people much poorer, even as it hopefully leaves the country's GDP richer, because India does not have even the semblance of a fair and just compensation and rehabilitation policy. Owners of immovable property get a national market value of the property as compensation, which is considerably less than the actual cost of the property because the officially recognized market value is based on the rate at which land transactions are undervalued in registration to reduce the stamp duty. Litigation is of course an option available for increasing the compensation but so many hands dip into the till- middlemen of all kinds, lawyers and sometimes judges too- that it is often an illusory option. And those who do not have little to the resources they live on get no

compensation under any law What they do get is a lot of promises, which these days take the form of policy pronouncements which do not survive the displaced persons' assent to the ouster (Balagopal 2007)

As reported, farmers and fisher men have been protesting against these SEZs in the East Godavari district since May 2007 (cited in The Hindu, 2008 4, Raghavendra 2008). The farmers were also agitated because their highly fertile lands were described as barren and unproductive by the district authorities and fisher men were protesting as the Reliance gas project affected their livelihoods and delay in implementing some of the assurances given to the fishermen on the relief package Another reason for the marginal farmers to protest was that either the compensation paid to some of them was paltry or lands unwilling farmers were also being usurped (The Hindu 2008-8) Similarly, the Ploavaram dam on the Godavari river, which will submerge above 270 villages Some of those villages are located in the scheduled area of East Godavari district which will displace many more tribal hamlets than the Governments plan would admit, which are the focus of considerable tribal unrest (Balagopal 2007) However, in the population that will be dispossessed/ displaced, women outnumber men Of the approximately 85,000 agricultural workers that stand to be displaced by the project (in nine mandals of East, West Godavari and Khammam districts in Andhra Pradesh), nearly 62% are women, according to B Venkat, State general secretary, All-India Agricultural Workers Union, Andhra Pradesh [cited in Maheswari 2007)

We look forward to Godavari coming She sustains our crops, our lives Our agriculture occurs in the three months after her coming The rest of the months we make a living by daily wage labour on the prawn farms (of upper caste Kammas and Kapus) Or we go out to work in other places If Godavari did not

come, our agriculture will not be The rain and Godavari give us our crops
Only when floods come we get some good water If the Polavaram dam is built
we will not get that water, Godavari will not come as she does now," says a
Dalit woman from East Godavari district

The *dalits* here grow pulses and paddy on their plots of 1-3 acres of land. The village is by the mangrove forests, close to the Godavari estuary When they are not cultivating, women work as wage earners The point which can be made here is that these development initiatives have implication for creating more risk culture Displacement, marginalization and migration from the tribal area to the delta region generates much potential risk that is un-anticipated How these new changes in the space produce risk culture – through the construction of Polavaram, RIL and SEZs is discussed in the gray zone chapter.

Sexual Economics

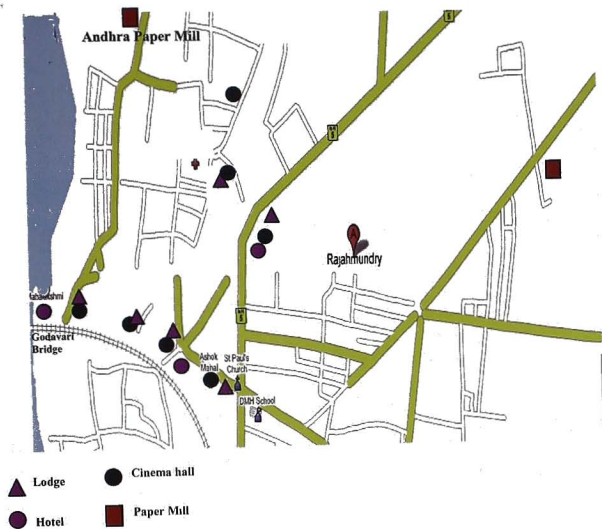
In this section one can locate the nexus between the law-enforcing agencies such as police, lawyers and power groups such as politicians, propertied classes who contribute to the continuation of the sex industry leading to 'risk culture' This way of perpetuating 'risk culture' can be seen clearly from the settlement patterns as well as having access to capitals/resources This chapter explores different categories of social capital which indicates the connection between the risk and non-risk zones in the context of HIV/AIDS. These include *cultural capital* i.e. historically known for sex work and tolerant attitude towards sexuality and the hub of migration; *physical capital*- rich natural endowments, *economic capital* such as growth of various industries and typical social structure. By outlining various social capitals we endeavor to explain the close affinity of various enterprises

(such as agriculture, transport, hotels, cinema industry, religious activities and service sector) with the propertied classes which makes the boundaries between the risk and non-risk zone very fragile. These commercial sectors gain themselves from associating with the sex work industry as much as sex workers. This point also explains how each of their actions is well connected with their social positions and how this creates a different space in the region.

Cinema and Hotel Industry

For instance, there are places like Syamala center which is the busy market place, of Rajahmundry, having many cinema halls, many wholesale as well as small shops, bus stop and lodges. This is the main market place, which connects East and West Godavari district. The other market place of Rajahmundry is Kottagumam centre and its related areas such as Kothapeta (this place is known for the smugglers^x, settlements of the record dance performers and cinema complexes), Annapurnammampeta, Innispeta and Stadium road (see also map 3.4). The walls in these areas are flooded with film posters that have the names in the colourful/titillating ones. Sex work is practiced here in the lodges, cinema halls and in the abandoned places. Sex workers who practice here are not from Rajahmundry town but from Rajahmundry (rural) and Kovuru (West Godavari district). Working in the distant places helps them to maintain anonymity. These sex workers leave home in the pretext of working in the shops and factory in Rajahmundry but actually carry out sex work. They show up at Rajahmundry in the morning and leave in the evening. A rickshaw puller describing about the sex work in cinema hall

ap-3.4 Location of cinema halls, lodges, hotels and paper mills in the Rajamundry



'They come to the cinema hall secretly and return home quickly- after the second show cinema They come directly and talk to the customers These sex workers do not involve mediators while negotiating the price as they have to pay money to the mediator Otherwise too if they involve mediator, they think that the latter may threaten them for money and they get scared that this mediator might reach their homes for money They generally charge Rs 100 to Rs150 They take the customer to the cinema hall where they only have to pay some amount to the ticket collector '

The majority of cinema halls are owned by the political representatives such as the MLAs [Member of legislative Assembly] and State Ministers who belonged to Kapu community and film producers who belonged to Kamma community The following data about the type of business and caste wise ownership pattern give an indication of the existing power relations.

Table no. 3.1: Caste Wise Ownership of Cinema halls & Lodges in Rajamundry

Type of ownership	Caste wise ownership in Rajamundry		
	Kapu	Reddy	Kamma
Cinema halls (19)	6	1	12
Lodges (60)	35	0	25

(Source: Primary Data Collected from the field during 2007)

Obviously for these reasons policing activity takes place very nominally in these cinema theatres. Nevertheless, whenever the raiding of the cinema halls takes place, sex workers resort to alternative avenues such as lodges which are adjacent to the cinema halls or negotiate with the police or stop work for few weeks These cinema halls play generally C grade movies^{xi} including soft porn stuff and that is the reason why mostly male viewers frequent these theatres. That becomes another reason for the sex workers to find their clientele base. In these locations, there is a

quick business because of the sex work as cinema hall managers get the commissions from the sex transactions.

As I have mentioned earlier about the visit of the business men (particularly the dealers) to the district from all over the state, they are accommodated in the surrounding hotels and lodges. Apparently, these business dealers visit sex workers and are known for increasing the clientele base for sex workers in Rajahmundry. Many sex workers report that they have network with many of the hotel and lodge owners who take commission (a part money) from them when business transaction happens. Desai's (2008) study in the East Godavari too confirms that the clients of sex workers are sari purchasing business men, Oil and Natural Gas Corporation men, water engineers who work at the barrage, the military and navy sailors from China, South Africa and Sri Lanka (ibid 48)

Connecting this instance with what Bourdieu explains,

“positions stand in relationships of domination, subordination or equivalence to each other by virtue of the access they afford to the goods or capitals which are at stake in the field (cit Jenkins 1992)

It is because of the social positions by virtue of accessing economic and social capitals, these dominant communities have the capacity to produce these spaces as non-risky and the habitus of the law enforcement agency to perceive as 'non-risk zone' in HIV/AIDS discourse (but actually it is a risk zone) Sex workers were benefited from this alliance. Similarly, sex workers too resort to an improvised strategy but not radical action or resistance to get rid of the dominant HIV/AIDS. These ad-hoc strategies benefit them in two ways- firstly, the alliance with the

dominant community protects them from frequent policing and secondly, moving to safer zones provide temporary solution in case of policing. This specific hidden social space (cinema halls and lodge) brings another dimension against the HIV/AIDS discourse. In other words, public health actors (who are engaged in health surveillance in terms of distributing condoms and providing STI treatment) can't understand the complexity and intricacies of this hidden space and reach out to this space for the health prevention as it would mean that they have to involve other players in the game, that is propertied classes. The whole intention behind narrating the sexual economy in the cinema hall and lodges is to substantiate the argument of 'politics of risk', by indicating, how, risk is confounded with the complex social factors, values and power relations despite the claim of the public health interventionists that it is value neutral

Highway: Liquor and Small Eateries

The following data about the type of business and caste wise ownership pattern give an indication of the existing power relations:

Table 3.2: Caste-Wise Distribution of Different Businesses in East Godavari.

Types of Business	Type of Owner	Caste group
Coconut Business	NA	Setty Bahija and Kapu
Finance business	NA	Reddy
Wine Shops	Political community	Kapu and Reddy
Poultry	NA	Reddy and Kapu

(Source: Primary data collected during field work in 2007)

The other areas where sex work takes place are the vast number of liquor shops and the national highways in the district. The road extension/development of national highway in the district resulted in large number of truckers' points in the

district since the district spreads around 200 kms long national highway with 5 arterial routes connecting Chennai and Kolkatta. Some of the sub-divisions of the district which touches the national highway include Murari, Zonada, Ravulapalem, Pithapuram, Kathipudi, Pamarru, Rajanagaram, Rajahmndry, Tuni, Jagampeta, Malepalli, Maredpalli and Yelleswaram (See also map no.3 3 which indicates the national highway in the district). Sex transaction also takes place in the hotels, lodges, tea stalls and eatery places [*dhabas*] in the highway which these propertied classes own and sex workers use that space for the sex work in these highway lanes. *Dhabas* are refreshment and overnight (and therefore sex) stops for thousands of truckers whose vehicles thunder along roads in a cacophony of horns, colours and fumes. A case of sex transaction across the highway is given below

'I do sex work in different lodges, and also in houses along the highway where I stay at one place. These are the places known as sex work sites by clients. "Paakalu" [huts] is the place where I stay on the highway. The clients come, talk to the owner of the house [implying the tea-stall owner who runs the shop in the highway and puts a hut few meter behind the shop] and then fix the women. Money is given to the owner and half of the money comes to the sex worker. Even the 'daily customers' [regular clients] give money to the owner.' [As told by a sex worker from highway]

"Mostly we take the money directly from the truckers. Some times the teashops and small hotel owners take the money and retain thirty per cent with them as they provide services. They arrange a small closet where we have sex. These teashop owners have increased their commission over a period of time. There were times when they used to take only five rupees and would give us the rest. We take this money before the sex act so that we don't lose in case of suddenly police entering into the situation. Truckers would run away without paying in such conditions." [As told by a sex worker from highway]

This quote explains the process (alliance) through which the sex transactions are carried out and how the space itself facilitates the business. Another point which I want to make in this case of highway sex transactions is the involvement of other category of women which would add to the complex social profile of the respondents. Since the highway junctions actually connect to several villages, many women who are involved in selling goods such as vegetables and bangles etc by their makeshift cart too cross the villages through the highway. These women too provisionally involve in sex work in these hotspot The clients in the hotspot are not only limited to truck drivers but also the fruit and vegetable sellers who travel from the neighboring villages to Rajahmundry town to sell in the market Another category of client in this space is the students from GIET (which is discussed in the urban extension point) which is established in the highway This explains as to how a social space is utilized. Sivaram *et al's* (2007) study mentions of sexual network-the introduction of patron's of the alcohol shops with the sex workers or aunties (a term used for married women who provide sex services) Some respondents revealed that it is because of sex workers, these hotels and lodges are run in and around Rajahmundry Hebbar (2007)'s study which was carried out in Ahmednagar of Maharashtra points,

The highway which run through the district is a large stopover for truckers and other cargo distributors The highways that intersect the district are full of dhabas and hotels that have become flourishing prostitution joints, drawing women not only from villages along the highway- the drought prone regions of south Ahmednagar, Beed, Osmanbad and Aurangabad in Maharashtra- but also from other parts of India, Bangladesh and Nepal (ibid 48)

Poultry, Sugar and Rice Mills

The sub-divisions which are known to be famous for sex work are also business centers^{xii} meant for poultry, sugar and rice mills where the *Reddy* and *Kapu* community own majority of these businesses. A case of sex transaction in the sugar mill is given below

Clients in these sites include the lorry drivers who mostly work in the sugar mills which is few kilometers from the Rajahmundry town. These drivers generally carry sugarcane in the lorries during the season to these sugar mills. Normally unloading of the sugarcane takes few hours everyday. On most of the days, when the drivers camp near the factory, we sex workers approach them. The nearby field areas and huts provide them the required privacy. Sometimes we approach these lorry drivers from other places like Kadam or highway points (isolated places from the factory) and bring them to the abandoned places in the sugar mills. (As told by a sex worker who operates from sugar mill)

Thus it gives an account of how different spaces are used by sex workers for sex business transactions and how caste alliances work in creating more and more risk zones in so called safe zones. These data indicate the paradoxical picture of the reform and progressive movements in this region. On one hand, reform movements and (revivalists too) did not tolerate the sex industry and *Devadasi* system and therefore the presence of progressive, educated, and reformist class resisted sex work and *Devadasi* system. However, on the other hand, the dominant propertied classes always attempted to preserve the tradition and patronized sex work. Religion and caste ideology played a significant role in perpetuating the sex work tradition by the lower caste women for the upper/middle caste men.

Summary

In this chapter I explained the production of risk culture through one of the invariable conditions- patronization and continuation of the clientele base although the social profile of the patrons changes. This actually answers the research problem that what makes the region risky despite the official knowledge of being a prosperous region and experience of the radical movement and legislation against the *Devadasī* system. This chapter maps out the 'risk culture' through the lens of space while tallying the social groups with the variables such as caste, settlement pattern, occupation and development of the region. I have also discussed how the economic development too contributed to the emergence of new kind of patronization as well as strengthen the clientele base. In this process I explained about the nexus of propertied classes, use of their capitals. Analyzing growth of the region, this chapter traces the intimate link between agrarian surplus, entrepreneurship, popular culture industry, religious tradition, caste alliances and that of political system that contributed to the shifting identities of the sex workers and risk culture. The different activities of the propertied classes led to perpetuation of not only the risk culture but also institutionalization of entertainment culture. Owning the economic capital (various enterprises) in the region, these propertied classes regulate the risk practices of the region. It is because of their social position and by virtue of accessing economic and social capitals, these propertied classes have the capacity to project these spaces as non-risky in the dominant HIV/AIDS discourse. However, in reality owning these capitals led them to produce risk culture in the region and perpetuated

entertainment culture. The detailed analysis of the social setting actually helped me grapple with the processes particularly how the gray zone is being created. How the varied actions of the propertied classes have contributed to the perpetuation of risk culture and marginalization of these women from performing community and sex work. Through the settlement pattern of the Rajahmundry, an attempt has been made to trace different forms of sexual relations in the region i.e. patriarchal marital relationships, *chinna illu*, *Kalavanthulu* tradition and *unchukunna Vadu*, helped me to explain 'certain forms of consensus' that is reinforced through the existing social and power arrangements. This aspect actually explains how certain aspect of sexual relations are covered in the HIV/AIDS discourse but not the overlapping forms. Close examination of these overlapping forms actually helps us to explain non-risky activities in the risk zone itself but risk activities in so called non-risk relations but depicted as risk relations. This helps us to understand the process through which gray zone is created and how it provides direction to the future interventions.

¹ Risk culture denotes with the assumption that there is no region or culture which can be classified as risk zone or potential risk zone with, debunking the popular belief. It is a broader term in the sense that it absorbs both the element of risk and non-risk within a particular region. The concept risk culture is beyond the risk zone which sketches the social attributes or collective action rather identifying the singular characters, individual actions. It is in the sense historical, socially embedded, culturally accumulated but not isolated and segregated. Similarly, it does not get confined to the putative notions of identifications such as one's gender, sexuality, caste etc. this concept is used as a tool to trace the logic and invariant structure so that it can be generalized and particularized (Bourdieu 1998: 3). Similarly Lash (1993) prefers the notion of risk culture which he defines as less structured and determinate than risk society. They offer fluid and interchanging ways of viewing risk, drawing on habitual embodied and effective judgments which are subjective matter than objective (cited in Tulloch and Lupton 2003: 6). This concept of risk culture explains the social structure that governs the living conditions of the communities as well as how individuals negotiate/adjust with the discursive practices and avoid the structural risks.

ⁱⁱ It is a Marxian concept, in which the private holdings of these groups have a significant influence on the state's economy. Society which is structured along inequities lines economic and social power accrued to that class who 'owned' property was capable of generating capital and therefore, more property. This 'owning' class also could employ workers, or engage the services of the 'non-owning' classes by paying them either a wage in exchange for their labour, or in kind. Simply put, the 'owning' or 'propertied' class (referred to as the elite or the leisured class, as well) lived off its property which was multiplied via business, production, trade and investments. The 'non-owning' or the 'non-propertied' classes (also the landless, the proletariat, the dispossessed strata) lived off selling their labour in return for a wage or remuneration in kind by gaining employment on the lands, trades, factories of the owning class (Sangera 1997)

ⁱⁱⁱ In East Godavari one finds class variation among these communities. For instance, Setty Balijas of Konaseema region are economically dominant as opposed to Rajahmundry Zone where Kamas, Reddys and Kapus dominate rather than Settybalijas.

^{iv} However, one *Kalavanthulu* household is found in Meerakaveedi at present.

^v The former MLA A C Y Reddy had allocated the area for the transgender notably to the *hyra* community. Respondent viewed that because of their presence, sex service is available at a lower price and sex workers get few customers.

^{vi} The flood hit areas of the city include the Isukaveedi, Aryapuram, Tummalova, Dowleswaram and Seshaimetta. Although these areas were affected by the floods, it is the poor and lower caste people who suffer in these areas. Moreover, the affluent classes (mostly the Brahmins) have slowly shifted their place to the extended areas of Srinivas Nagar and J N Road of the Rajahmundry.

^{vii} There are exceptions such as men who are extremely poor and some women.

^{viii} Kamathipura is a famous red-light area of Mumbai. Tummalova area of Rajahmundry is termed as small Kamathipura on many considerations. For instance, young girls are taken to Mumbai for sex work or dance in the bars, young girls both from the *Kalavanthulu* and other communities are forced to undergo Kanerikam ceremonies, sex transaction take places in most of the houses although women are found in the front room to be doing domestic works such as tailoring, weaving, cooking, book binding etc. [see whether this paragraph is repeated in the DWACRA point of gray zone chapter]

^{ix} Interestingly it is found that there are many *Kalavanthulu* women who represent different political organizations. Many *Kalavanthulu* women represent as the members of the BJP *Mahila Morcha*, and women's wing of the Congress.

^x It is known that many smuggling activities related to gold, oil, liquor are carried out from the port at Kaknada (see also Deccan Chronicle dated 23 0808). Similarly, many pirated commodities from the Gulf countries are sold in Rajahmundry since it is known as the business centre for both East and West Godavari district.

^{xi} C grade movies are a form of movies which are made from a small budget such as Rs 10-15 lakh and the films mostly contain horror, docoit or steamy flicks. These movies are staple of shady single screen theatres in the underclass dominated suburban areas. These movies have illegally inserted sex scenes. These uncensored scenes, often as long as 5-10 minutes, were interpolated in movies shown in suburban theatres with the connivance of local authorities (see also Ghosh 2008 10).

^{xii} Such as in Mandapeta, Anaparthi and Kadiam.

Chapter - IV

Popular Culture, Caste Association and *Kalavanthulu*

Women

From time to time, the identity of *Kalavanthulu* (which literally means torch-bearers of art forms) women has changed. For instance, in the medieval era, they were referred as *Devadası* in the Hindu texts or epigraphic sources, whereas, these women were called, *Sainı* or *Bhogum*ⁱ in the common parlance (Vijaisri 2004:1, Jordan 2003, Lalitha and Reddy 2007). Subsequently they preferred to call themselves as *Kalavanthulu*ⁱⁱ in the colonial era while they were depicted as 'prostitutes' in the colonial literature or reform movements and *Surya Ballıya* in the post-independent era or in official records, "high-risk group" in the advent of AIDS industryⁱⁱⁱ and 'traditional sex workers' by the sex worker organizations. In the present study, the name, *Kalavanthulu* has been used to describe this particular community not in a generic but in a specific sense. Firstly, the respondents of the study refer themselves as *Kalavanthulu* while asserting themselves as performing artists rather than 'sex workers' despite their disclosure of practicing transactional sex^{iv}. Secondly, during the pre-colonial era too, *Kalavanthulu* women resisted the word, *Devadası* which implies the servants or slaves of the god but they preferred to be called as dancers or artists of the God (Lalitha and Reddy 2007). Similarly, many scholars viewed that the name *Deavadası* is a colonial construction (Jordan 2003, Sathyamala and Ritupriya 2006, Srinivasan 1988 and Vijaisri 2004:1). On the contrary, this study did not find the name *Devadası* or vedic *dasi*^v as suitable because they no longer follow the religious practices such as dedicating their

daughters to the deity or following temple rituals, although marriage ceremony continues to hold so that it would pretend or mock its symbolical or religious approval in the present (Desai 2008 and Dalrymple 2008).

This chapter explains the changing forms of multifarious cultural performances, rituals, its significance and the lived experiences of the *Kalavanthulu* women from the ethnographic work and historical accounts. It looks at how a particular type of image was created by the two forms of popular culture (record dance programme and *Bhogum Mela*) and the process through which *Kalavanthulu* women use their bodily dispositions in these two types of popular culture. The first point was explained through noting the politics of dance form becoming 'classical' or 'cheap dance' and the attempt to separate these two dance forms as distinct. In practice these dance forms are no more than the continuum of classical, devotional and erotic and obscene dances. In the process, this chapter describes two forms of community associations and its self representations by adhering to different kinds of historical origins of the caste, and its reason for emergence. It critically questions whether these caste associations ameliorate the question and identity of *Kalavanthulu* women. The connection between the community associations and the cultural performances is that it is the former which circumscribes and accelerates the community women to participate in the cultural performance. This study also explores how *Kalavanthulu* women sometimes co-opt and adjust to the needs of those caste associations. In narrating various forms of community associations, it explains how these associations adjust and absorb the AIDS discourse and accordingly fabricate their community agenda. In other words, we

are looking at the community association in terms of how it adjusts or transforms its motto in the AIDS era (from anti-tradition, welfare activities to the health reforms as part of the modernist endeavor) from the initial days of its formation

I

Cultural Performances

In this context, cultural performances denote the performances which need not hold the perfunctory values of the past but still it is continued in a newer form and very much popular. The objective of describing different types of cultural performances is to see how *Kalavanthulu* communities use their bodily dispositions in different social actions. The main point that cuts across all the cultural performances is about the display of the body vulgarly and subsequently how sex transactions take place during or after the performances. However, the use of femininity and bodily disposition is also a result of politicizing the dance forms or labeling some as 'classical' or 'pure' dance forms whereas referring to other forms as 'folk' or commercial or obscene dance forms. Although *Kalavanthulu* women are used in many of the cultural occasions^{vi}, in this study the focus has been limited to three varieties of cultural performances in which *Kalavanthulu* women are associated. These cultural performances include *Bhogum mela*, record dance programme and religious festivals which include processions in the street. Among these three forms of the cultural performances, record dance program is very much popular in coastal Andhra despite being outlawed by the Government.

As discussed earlier, the surplus from the agricultural production is spent on entertainment. In this context, entertainment is not-only in the larger terrain of

production of the cinema (which the propertied classes from the region are engaged at the macro level), but also other entertainment activities at the micro level such as sponsoring the cultural programs (recording dance programs) during the religious festivals. In this way, these dominant communities induct *Kalavanthulu* women as well as the non-*Kalavanthulu* women in these cultural activities in the pretext of religious celebrations. This is elaborated in the subsequent section- how the entertainment culture gets institutionalized in the region and constructs a specific imagery of the *Kalavanthulu* women as the 'object of entertainment'.

Street Performances

During the religious festivals, street performances/processions take place on the closing day. In these religious activities *Kalavanthulu* have the obligation to participate and perform in the procession for which they are paid. In these performances, *Kalavanthulu* women and non-*Kalavanthulu* women do not dance in front of the God but they perform in terms of holding the lights, pots etc during the religious procession. They are accompanied by the priests, drum beaters and other male dancers. However, in the earlier days (before the advent of anti-nauch campaign) they were known to be dancing during the religious procession (Sriram 2007). The timings of the street performances are varied as sometimes it is held during the day time while in other times, it is held in the night. It is also known that many non-*Kalavanthulu* women participate in these festivals in order to claim the status of *Kalavanthulu* and also to get the approval/recognition from the temple committee members.

The data indicate that mere participation in these religious events does not necessarily lead to transactional sex during or after the street performances. However, sex workers who are from non-Kalavanthulu community mentioned that during the time of religious festivals, especially local events such as Maredamma festival in Peddapuram they get maximum amount from transactional sex since many people congregate to visit the temple which is decorated with lights and many shops are installed during this time. It becomes a hang out for the people to shop, eat and visit the temple

'Tirthams (festivals) are famous in Peddapuram Maredamma festival continues for one month in the month of July Many visitors attend the festivals These visitors are not only from the district but also from outside the district and state such as from Orissa ' [As told by an auto driver from Rajahmundry but he hails from Peddapuram]

These instances illustrate the way religion/ practices of religion or more particularly celebration of religious festivals enables the sex work industry and entertainment culture. However, one encounters paradoxical element of the religion when one examines some of the religious discourses which are generated in the religious premises. While the religious discourses preach containment of entertainment culture on ideological grounds, is contrary in practice However, this is not uniform across the 'women performers' who transact sex during these occasions. For instance, one finds that religion constrains entertainment and hedonistic activities for the women performers during certain religious or holy

months. Similarly, men also avoid visiting sex workers during this time. Consider this excerpt from an interview with a sex worker

'I do not carry out sex work in the holy month- Kartik- October In this month for thirty days I do not eat non-vegetarian food nor indulge in sex business ' [As told by a sex worker from Kalvanthulu community]

'We do not have business in the winter since men follow Ayiappaswami (it falls in the month of November and December) Because during this time, men do not eat non-vegetarian food avoid talking about sexual matters, indulge in sex till they visit Ayiappaswami ' [As told by a sex worker from other community]

Hence, in this sense religion both constrains and enables the sex work industry and entertainment culture.

Before describing the other two popular performances, it will be helpful if we look at the genesis of record dance programmes or how it evolved or the process through which obscenity and nudity were inculcated in *Bhogum melas* in the present form. Also how these two were branded as commercial, impure, vulgar dance forms are explained here. In this context, the role of reformers both from the *Kalavanthulu* community and upper caste, revivalists and the British are brought forth to explicate the politics of making some of the dance forms as classical

To begin with, one needs to understand the trajectory of *Kalavanthulu* communities in the region. The historical account of the region with specific reference to *Kalavanthulu* community is brought forth here to discuss the contentious and complex identity of the community. East Godavari is a residuary

portion of the old Godavari district after West Godavari district was separated in 1925. Later, in 1947, Bhadrachalam and Nagur administrative units were transferred to the Khammam district. The main point here is about the temple culture of the East Godavari district, which is embedded with the history of *Devadasi* system (see also the map no 4.1). The *Devadasi* system got developed in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu because of the presence of large number of temples as discussed by few scholars (Lalitha and Reddy 2007 & Prasad 1990). These two administrative units – Bhadrachalam and Nagur also contained *Devadasi* system since famous temples were situated in these administrative units where the male and female deity is entertained by the female temple servants (Jordan 2003:1). The worshipping of the deity and the system of *Devadasi* was very much prominent from the *Cholas* (850 AD), followed by Chalukya period (14th and 15th Century AD) onwards (Prasad 1990:68, Sriram 2007: xi and Rao and Shulman 2002:11) and this culture was extended to Simhachalum sub-division, which in the present day is part of Visakhapatnam district. The history of the *Devadasi* and the history of the development of South Indian music and dance are intertwined (Antze 1998, Sriram 2007:xi and Srinivasan 1988) Both depended on the patronage which in turn relied on peace and security of the kingdom. The lands near the rivers Krishna, Godavari and the Cauvery, owing to regular deposits of silt were fertile. Prosperity therefore reigned in these regions. Kings and the wealthy could indulge in pursuits such as patronizing and nurturing the arts (Sriram 2007: xi).

‘Kalavanthulu’ community who performed dancing rituals in front of the *Devalayam* (temple) constituted the major aspect of the socio cultural system in East and West Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. It is so because in medieval period, temple was the prime social and economic institution and gods were provided a superior status than that of the kings. Therefore they were worshipped like a king, offered many kinds of services (wifely, ministerial and attendants and all the paraphernalia of a court) from the service castes (Panjraht & Ralhan 2000:45 & Prasad 1990:29). There is also a reason of condescending attitude towards the temple culture by the kings. This way of treatment- god as an earthly king and therefore patronization of the temple culture- by the kings legitimized their supremacy and accorded *Kshatriya* status, as some of the kings were not from the *Kshatriya* community but from the peasant communities. For instance, Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar dynasty whose tenure is regarded as golden age of South India, belonged to peasant community from Karnataka (Rao and Shulman 2002:253 and Rao 1998:26). Songs and dance performances by *Devadasis* in the temple were a source of attraction for both the lay worshippers and pilgrims, which ultimately brought more benefits in the form of grants and offerings. Temples with *Devadasis* drew liberal patronage from both the rulers and private individuals. There is specific evidence to suggest that the *Devadasis* were sent to the king to solicit grant for the temple (Prasad 1990:12). As Dalrymple (2008) puts

‘that a complex cultural tradition in pre-colonial India is where the devotional, metaphysical and the sexual are not regarded as being in any way opposed, on the contrary, the two were seen to be closely linked (ibid 234) ’

In the medieval period, the *Devadasi* system was prevalent in various small towns of East Godavari District- Ramchandrapuram, Draksharamam, Peddapuram, Korukonda, Kadium, Annavaram, Dwarapudi, Samarlakota and Antharveedi (Prasad 1990:68). To some extent this temple culture gets embedded into the present day context, despite the fact that 'the *Devadasi* Prevention of Dedication Act' was passed by the Union Government in 1947 and later amended by Andhra Pradesh legislature in 1988 (Jordan 2003 8 and Nair 1996) For instance, in Antharveedi and Korukonda during the festivals such as *Subramaniam Shrasthi and Narasimhaswami panduga-* festivals are celebrated for five to seven days during the months of December and March respectively every year where it is obligatory for women from *Kalavanthulu* community to perform on these occasions Darlymple (2008) too supports the fact pointing out that the legislation made the dedication practice underground or secretive. The temple culture of the past and present day reflects the celebration of the religious festivals (it may have taken different forms which made religion more complex) and this certainly had implications on the structure and organization of sex work. Another significant aspect is the way *Devadasi* system has been modified and the manner in which *Kalavanthulu*ⁿⁱ community have appropriated this culture in terms of financial rewards seem to have influenced women from other castes in emulating *Kalavanthulu* tradition. This has resulted in different varieties of sex work practices based on the well entrenched regional tradition. Hence, understanding this complex regional 'culture' through gender and sexuality is an enormous sociological task, which is undertaken here.

Historically speaking, East Godavari district was ruled by various dynasties at different periods of time such as the Mauryas, Satavahanas, Vishnukundins, Eastern Chalukya of Vengi, Imperial Cholas, Velanti Cholas, Kakatiyas, Musunary chiefs, Reddis of Kandavidi, Gajapatis of Orissa, Qutb *Shahis*, *Mughals* and *Asaf Jahis* (Reddy 1990, Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers 1979, Acharya and Sarabhai 1992:16, Raghavendra 2008:114). Different dynasties indicated different levels of impact and transformation associated with the *Devadas* customs. For instance, *Kakatiya* regime adopted the *Virashaiva* cult as their own and united large part of Andhra by defeating small *Rajas* of the area and intended to spread *Shaivism* through the art form *Nirtta Ratnaballi* (where 300 *Devadasis* were engaged) unlike in the earlier period where Jainism had been propagated (Acharya and Sarabhai 1992 16)

Similarly, respondents from the field informed that Muslim invasions experienced the demolition of many temples and also the related temple culture-*Devadasis* were displaced to other parts of the district. Except for emperors Akbar and Aurangzeb, Mughal kings recognized prostitution as an institution. Emperor Akbar tried to regulate and reform prostitute women, while emperor Aurangzeb attempted to ban prostitution by asking all prostitute women to either marry or leave his kingdom (Kotiswaran 2001:202). However, it does not imply that these dynasties completely abolished the system of *Devadas* or were completely disassociated from their art form. Even during the Mughal period, some of these communities got converted to Islam. In fact, Muslim impact on these communities was less severe than in the North and hence *Devadas* customs in these temples probably

showed greater continuity with the Indian past (Jordan 2003:20, George 2004:22, Sriram 2008). Swapnasundari's study informs about the 'Turk Sanis' of East Godavari who were Muslims by faith and danced in the inner temple 'Ekanata Seva' before the deity (cited in Venkataraman 2006). Similarly, Jonnalagadda (2002) and Acharya and Sarabhai (1992) mentioned that Abdul Hasan Qutub Shah from Hyderabad extended great support to arts and in particular to Kuchipudi by gifting the village to the *Bhagavatas* who were residing and practicing dance there Ringdal (2004) states

'temple prostitution, known to history from Babylon, Jerusalem and Rome would disappear in the west by the third or fourth century A D But in India it remained unchanged throughout the centuries, surviving not only Muslim rulers who tried to halt it but also British colonialist' criticism, and post independence India's formal abolishment of temple prostitution in 1948 (ibid 78) '

Mapping out these dynasties and their influence in different locations of the district indicates the growth of the *Devadasi* system in different parts of the district since it is the rulers who could afford to spend lavishly in patronizing these communities (Reddy 1998).

The archival records show that the Telugu literary movements started from Rajahmundry, then the district headquarter of East Godavari district Rajahmundry has a long literary tradition and takes its pride for the presence of great poets such as *Mahakavi* Srinatham and Adikavi Nannaya (Nagraju 1995). At present Rajahmundry accounts for 150 poets and 10 publishing houses which reflects the vibrant literary tradition of the region. The point which can be noted in this context

is that the famous literary works produced from this region also mention sex work very prominently. For instance, Adikavi Nannaya's famous work "*Sringara Rasam*, Srinatham's '*Sriranga Nausadham*' and B Pothana's '*Bhogini Dandakum*' mentioned *Devadasis* prominently. Similarly, many of the social reformers too wrote on *Devadasis* but titled differently such as '*VeshyaKantalu*', which literally means "prostitute women" [Pantulu 1951] Thus one can see the shift in their identities from *Devadasis* to prostitutes. However, in the literary work of the reformers, one can also notice the ambivalent positioning of the *Kalavanthulu* women. In the literary work on nautch girls^{viii} by the reformers emphasize the protagonist's (who is always a nautch girl) inner interest to move out form sex work but she join sex work due to lack of choice. Nevertheless, the protagonist is always represented with possessing high ethical/moral standards despite joining immoral occupation. As a contrast these reformers try to convey in their literary work that those who are in the moral/descent occupation fail to adhere to the moral/ethical standards. For instance, Gurujada Appa Rao's novel '*Kanyasulkam*' portrayed Madhuravani- a *Kalavanthulu* woman as the central character who possessed highest moral dignity and values of the society despite her involvement in prostitution. This play portrays that this *Kalavanthulu* woman creates as well as resolves conflicts in the play. Another point of ambiguity is noticed in the play, when Madhuravani raises questions about the efficacy of the anti-nautch movement which urges the abolition of the profession of nautch girls without suggesting any alternative mode of living for them (Rao 1909).

Rajahmundry is also the place where the freedom struggle was felt intensely from the time of reformers Kandukuri Veeresha Lingam (Kannabiran 1995, Ramakrishna 1983, Sriram 2007, Vijaisri 2004:149 and 2005, Srinivasan 1985 and 1988, Raghavendra 2008: 114). The linkages of the freedom struggle in the context of *Devadasi* system lies in the nationalists' initiatives to abolish the *Devadasi* system as it impeded the nation state making process. The prominent social reformers, freedom fighters, cultural and literary tradition of the region is brought into the discussion only to highlight the fact that how much these factors have made its impact on the British rule. For instance, Ramakrishna (1983) mentions,

"A memo was presented to the Madras government on this issue which was not favourably considered. However, they rejoiced at the news that the question has been taken up by certain ladies and gentlemen in England who have set themselves to ensure non-attendance of Governors and other Government officials at nautch parties. Lord, Wenlock, Governor of Madras was the first prominent official who refused to attend that type of entertainment. His example was followed by several other government officials (ibid, 138)

The debate about *Devadasi* reform may actually be a window on how the Indian westernized elite and middle class Hindus, in particular were redefining their past and shaping their sense of social, political and religious identity. Firstly, the social reform movement, the nationalist movement, and the non-Brahmin movement were at their peak during this period in the Madras presidency. Secondly, what is significant to the present argument is that although these movements had strongly divergent trends, there were areas of overlap in their agendas, which gave rise to very different articulations and interpretations of similar concerns.

Parallel to these initiatives one can trace the attempts made by the British Government to control the sex work and the stringent laws for the sex workers through the influence of purity movement in England (Kannabiran 1995 and Kotiswaran 2001) primarily for two reasons. firstly to protect their army and administration from rampant sex work and its consequences on the physical and social morale; secondly, as a reaction to the progressive articulations of the region combined with its own (western) civilization's assertion which declared *Devadasi* system as a 'social evil'. Additionally, Jonnalagadda (2002) mentioned

'British offered almost negligible support to the performing arts. This can be explained at two levels, being primarily an exploitative state, it cared less for the development of indigenous art forms, and more impertinently, the British were in effect trying to hegemonize Indian culture through the induction of western ideas of art.'

Also Christian missionary activities penetrated into the region, and they too worked towards abolishing the *Devadasi* tradition. The criticism of the colonizers was aggressively articulated during the time of mutiny as well as when evangelists' activity or purity movements were at the peak. Nevertheless, colonizers' contribution to the anti-nautch movement is very elusive if one tries to understand these issues in the post-mutiny period. In fact, it was evident that there was disassociation of the British Government from missionary activities and even it went to the extent of distancing itself from all reform projects for its non-Christian subjects (Sarkar *et al* 2004). For instance, the decision of the Mysore Government in 1909 to stop availing the services of *Devadasis* in the state controlled temples came as a shot in the arm to the reformists and they stepped up their efforts for legislation against the system in the Madras Presidency (Nair 1994, Kannabiran

1995 and Sriram 2007). The governments, both in Delhi and in Madras were however reluctant to intervene in any custom that had religious implications and despite several debates in both the Central and the Madras legislatures, no concrete action was taken (Kannabiran 1995, Srinivasan 1985 and 1988 and Sriram 2007). The other reason for not converting Bill into the ACT is the emergence of the Second World war which made British Government to prioritize the war (Sriram 2007 and Jordan 2003). British response as a whole was not a homogeneous one and their attempts varied from time to time. For instance, in the earlier period, British officers too attended and patronized the Nautch parties, whereas these parties were condemned by the Christian missionaries (Sriram 2007 and Nevile 2007).

In order to counter these criticisms, reformists endeavored towards the project of modernity, which must constantly oppose what was conceived of as non-modern or backward. Modernity, in this sense, is not a creation of the west and the non-west, rather, it was constituted in and by the colonial encounter (cited in Weidmen 2006). In the 19th Century, the Indian reformers initiated the anti-*Devadasi* movement more as a response to the colonial rulers' and Victorian missionaries' blame of exploitation of women in the name of religious practice, this practice was denoted as backwardness of Indian culture. They began to attack the institution of temple dancers and sacred prostitution (Dalrymple 2008: 236 and Sriram 2007:165, Vijaysri 2004:153, Jordan 2003). Veerasha Lingam's effort at reform falls in the period in which already government was criticized by the missionaries for the regulation of prostitution under the Contagious Disease Act of 1868. In the

Telugu speaking regions, he initiated efforts at educating women and was a source of inspiration for zealous reformists who followed his path. The *Maharaja* of Pithapuram, provided resources for his activities, recognizing his inspiring work. In this context, the education of women outside domestic control became a dilemma. During the early colonial phase the sacred prostitutes formed the most accomplished female literary category. Although according to him, education was an inevitable agenda for the female enlightenment, he had apathy towards the education of sacred prostitutes (Vijaysri 2004:154, Panthulu 1951). Sacred prostitutes were boycotted in the form of non-recognition of their services and condemned as a low and immoral category of women (Pantulu 1951). The episode with Nagarathamma confirmed Lingam's views, on the dangers of educating women independent of domestic control. Veerasha Lingam's ideas on the sacred prostitutes represented growing dissatisfaction and repulsion in the region. He believed that the political development of the country was largely dependent on the social condition of the community which supplies the physical, intellectual and moral resources of the people. Though the issues of purity and temperance (which he derived from the Bhakti movement) were recognized as issues relating to the individual, influencing them was vital as the individual 'affected' family, which in turn affected the society at large (Vijaysri 2004 154).

Most of the literature do not mention how women from performing community themselves responded to the anti-nautch movements except few such as Vijaysri (2004 and 2005), Kannabiran (1995), Nair 1996, Kotiswaran 2001, Sriram (2007) and Lakshmi (2000). The other point which is underplayed in the scholarly works

of the reform movement is that how some of the *Devadasi* women challenged the charges made by the reformers that *Devadasis* indulge in immoral/obscene activity such as prostitution (Srinivasan 1985 and Sriram 2007) and dismiss the scholarly work of the *Devadasis* on the ground that these works were full with obscenity and eroticization. For instance, Kotiswaran 2001, Nair (1995) Sriram (2007) and Vijaisri (2004) noted the case of Bangalore Nagarathnamma that she pointed out the error made by Veeresha Lingam in tracing Muddupalani's^{ix} (whose literary work this reformer dismisses as lacking scholarly repertoire) lineage. Nagarathnamma came down sharply with the view of Veeresha Lingam that Muddupalani was unchaste. Nagarathnamma defended the minor error in Muddupalani's work to which Veeresha Lingam criticized. She stated that even there were errors in the work of great scholar Bharatam. Responding to the outrage of some of the reformers who declared the poem obscene and vulgar, the colonial authorities seized all copies of the book in 1911 under section 392 of the Indian Penal Code (Nair 1995, Sriram 2007 and Vijaisri 2004:268). Similarly, some of the male historians (Ramakrishna 1983, 1991) looked at the way the reform movement was organized or took shape i.e. organizing meetings, bringing awareness, letting the *Devadasis* to marry etc, but undermined the literary work on the issue by the reformers or failed to interpret critically from those scholarly works which in fact was an instrument for the movements.

The reformists during the freedom struggle were from different social backgrounds and this reform period accordingly was divided into different periods. The main point here is that it is the caste character which played political role in the

movement because the caste biases of the reformers also influenced in problematizing the social issues accordingly. For instance, in the early parts of the 20th century, after the formation of the *Jaganmitra Mandali* by M.G Bhagyareddy Verma, who founded the *Manya Sangham* through which the reformers worked towards the removal of social evils such as the dedication of girls as *Devadasis* (Vijaisri 2004: 179, Abbasayulu 1978) However, his effort at the reform project was directed at the different categories of *Devadasis* (untouchables) who belonged to Telengana and Rayalseema area of Andhra Pradesh and probably were influenced by Jyotiba Phule and Periyar rather than the Dravidian or Backward class movements in the Madras Presidency.

It will be inappropriate if I do not mention about the women's or former *Devadasis*' contribution in the *Anti-Devadasi* movement during the nationalist struggle. *Devadasis* too differed among themselves in the question of nautch practice and hence one group articulated for abolition of *Devadasi* system while another appealed for anti-abolition. For instance, many women from the community particularly led by Muthulakshmi Reddy (although a daughter of a *Devadasi* was not trained in traditional profession but educated in modern school and practiced as a doctor) sought the support of Mahatma Gandhi and later Periyar in striking to raise the demand of abolition of the *Devadasi* system during the freedom struggle (Krishnamurthy & Khandekar 1995 62; Nair 1996, Reddy 2002:183, Srinivasan 1985 and 1988, Jordan 2003, Kannabiran 1995, Sriram 2007:127, Vijaisri 2005 and 2004:162) while the other group belonged to the *Devadasis* (such as Nagarathamma) who were trained in the art and music

opposed to the assertions of Muthulakshmi Reddy and other reformers and resisted the legislative move of the reformers.

Reddy used the case of the Mysore Government (a decision to stop availing the service of the *Devadasis* in the state controlled temples in 1909) as a role model for the Government in the Madras Presidency to step up the legislations against the practice (Sriram 2007 and Nair 1994 and 1996). It is important to note here that her entering into the reform project was in the second phase of anti-nautch movement which coalesce with the Dravidian or self respect movement of the Backward classes. According to Reddy, the young innocent girls who are dedicated and sacrificed on the altar of immorality and vice are victims (Reddy 2002, Kannabiran 1995). And in her massive campaign she urged her sisters from the community to come out of their life of vice and fulfill their role as loyal wives, loving mothers and useful citizens. This step would grant the political right to the women. One finds very strong echoes of Venkatratnam's argument who believed in the civilizing potential of the west and moral superiority of the colonial rulers coexisting with the belief in a glorious Hindu past in which the *Devadasis* who served in the temple were pure and chaste like the vestal virgins of ancient Greece (Kannabiran 1995 and Natarajan 1997). She strongly refuted the *Devadasi* stance that their practices were as per the scriptures (Sriram 2007). This view sets Reddy apart from the reformers who were part of the Dravidian movement. For instance, reformers from Dravidian movement who advocated for the abolition of *Devadasi* system viewed that the practice of *Devadasi* is due to the Brahminical system whereas for Muthulakshmi it is because of not adhering to the Brahminical system.

and more particularly of the Smritis and Scriptures. At the same time some of the questions she raises (being influenced by Josephine Butler who campaigned against prostitution in England) are radically and explicitly feminists that sets her apart from the class she identifies with and the people and institutions she shares political power with (Kannabiran 1995 and Vijaisri 2004.162). Her campaign to enfranchise *Devadasi inams* and de-link them from service to the temple was a certain Puritanism which was at odds with her anxiety to develop women's independence. She, therefore, resolved the troubling question of *Devadasi* sexuality within the parameters set by male nationalists by encouraging them to marry and domesticate themselves

Following Reddy's example, committed members of the community like Yamini Purna Tilakam became active Congress members and in some cases office-bearers in the District-level Congress branches (Vijaisri 2004.186 and 2005, Reddy 1998:108) Tilakamma, whose moral weakness in her early childhood in Guntur led her to the life of *Veshya/Devadasi* continued as a prostitute for 18 years until 1923, in the sacred game of Gandhi, set up an institution *Yuvathi Sharanalaya* (young women's hostel), devoted to the eradication of prostitution, and an end to the *Devadasi* system (Vijaisri 2004.186, Sriram 2007 and Nair 1996) Mahatma Gandhi's tour of Andhra along with Yamini Purna Tilakam during 1921 electrified the reform efforts. Credit is given not only to Tilakamma but to the male Andhra leaders who made her take up this work (Vijaisri 2004.185, Nair 1996). Her immediate task was to enlighten the community and arrange for marriages of girls from Kalavanthulu community. These efforts led to twenty five families in

Rajahmndry, forty families in Machilipatnam and few other families in Eluru abandon the profession (Reddy 1998:112).

The other group that was led by Nagarathamma formed an association of anti-abolition, called *Devadası Sangam* in 1927 which condemned the proposed Bill tabled by the Reddy and defended the *Devadası* practice as part of a noble, ancient religious tradition and appealed to the government not to wipe it out through the enforcement of the law (Sriram 2007 and Kannabiran 1995, Nair 1996, Kotiswaran 2001) In 1927 a Petition against the Bill was drawn up and dispatched to the members of the Legislative Council by Nagarathamma and Doraikannu (Sriram 2007, Kotiswaran 2001 and Kannabiran 1995) They appealed to the Government that this practice bears no connection with the prostitution. They were of the opinion that if the government was worried about prostitution, it ought to be taking steps to improve the morality of the public and not tamper with an age-old institution like *Devadası* system. The *Devadasıs* admitted that a few members of their community had gone astray and asked the Government to punish these rotten apples rather than condemn the system as a whole. Turning to economics, the *Devadasıs* questioned the members of the legislative council as to what they could do for a living if the proposed legislation took away their income from temples. Nagarathamma was of the opinion that the *Devadası* institution was being evaluated by the abolitionists from the standpoint of the western religion and social practice. These groups did not see chastity or sexual conduct as the key issue like that of the reformists. For them the question of identity and the safeguarding of rights tied to that identity was critical.

In the Tamil areas of the presidency, most of the abolitionists were in the non-Brahmin movement. While they supported Muthulakshmi's demand for abolition, there were very significant departures in the frameworks within which they articulated their demand. It would be useful if we mention here the context in which few women from the *Devadasi* community (with the massive male support from the community) campaigned for the abolition of the system. This point has the relevance to the present day caste association in the East Godavari in which only male members constitute the community association. The so called reformist approach which characterized Indian political activity in the latter phase of the reformist movement was reflected in its organization. By the 1920s the anti-nautch agitation had become inextricably linked up with the communal politics of the Dravidian movement. The abolition of the practice of female dedication became a powerful political and legislative cause espoused by the backward non-Brahmins as part of the over all self respect campaign initiated by Ramaswami Naicker in 1925. Embarrassed by the image of their mothers and sisters as prostitutes and resentful of the customary law that gave women control over the family property, males within the *Devadasi* community participated in the backward class movement and supported *Devadasi* reform (Kannabiran 1995). The success of the reforms was connected to the fact that the community men folk stood to gain by legislation- men continued to perform both in the temples and in people's homes whereas *Devadasis* were forced to be domesticated and acknowledged the moral supremacy of the domestic values (Srinivasan 1988). In 1920s the non-Brahmin justice party had taken great care to protect service benefits in terms of lands and

buildings attached to *Devadasi* office. The aggressive anti-Brahminism and anti-ritualism of the Backward Classes movement of the south provided the men of the Devadasi group with a powerful ideology to overcome the humiliation of the anti-nautch campaign and fight for the dominance both within the household and in the wider political party (Srinivasan 1988 and 1985).

Apart from these above reformers, there were other groups who campaigned for the abolition of the Devadasi system. On their part, members of Brahma Samaj convened meetings of Kalavanthula community to fight against evil. One such meeting was arranged at Kakinada in the month of November, 1944 and it was presided over by the local Zamindar, Pyda Venkata Narayana. The meeting was attended by large sections of town's public and considerable members belonging to Devadasi community from places like Tuni and Pithapuram. Pyada Venkata Narayana came down heavily on the evil practice of Devadasi and appealed to all members on gathering to speed up the reform activity in bringing about much desired change in their community. Various other speakers on the occasion reiterated the same sentiments. On one occasion, members of the local reform bodies at Kakinada staged a Satyagraha at the venue of a nautch party and convinced its members to recede from its performance. The movement against nautch parties in Godavari region became intense in Narsapuram and in fact it became a centre of reform efforts. During the time of Dasara festival in 1945 there was a lot of commotion in the town when the trustees of local temple were planning to go ahead with the arrangements for nautch party on the occasion (Reddy 1998:113). Here the purpose of providing a detailed historical account of

the reform movement has been to understand the Kalvanthulu communities and their tradition in the present day context. I am not detailing about how these communities could still carryout their performances covertly as I have already said in the third chapter that how during that time the peasant communities became patrons when Kalvanthulus reached them. In other words, although there was massive movement against Devadasi system and its associated practices such as the rituals and performances in the ideological level, common *Devadasis* resisted these movement in a covert manner and were able to sustain the system

Similarly the other issue that came into the wider discussion is about the dance form itself. The dance forms in Andhra Pradesh which have been claimed as “classical” and hence “pure” Brahminical or devotional has been contested by few groups of *Kalavanthulu* community in East Godavari district with their counter claims that it is their cultural heritage that has been appropriated. Find below some of the narratives by Kalvanthulu community members.

There are different sects among performing communities such as Dommarollu, Naidu, Bogam vollu and Asadhyollu Bogalu According to mythology, we are the progenies of Rambha, Urvasi Menaka, Thilottama, they are four sisters These sisters danced in front of Indra and were recruited by Indra Devata for specific purpose Our (Kalavanthulu) ancestor is Menaka That's it So dance is in our blood From our forefathers' time we have been dancing and performing in festivals Our presence is regarded as so auspicious that we are not even prohibited during the time of menstruation unlike other caste women Dommaras are one of our sects Asadhyavollu are the people who perform feats using bamboos My family has been residing here approximately for the past 80 years There is Divanam (Palace) in our village My grandmother was given land but it was sold by my maternal family members We Kalavanthulu women are like men from other castes Like men we earn and maintain our family and like men from other castes we are given opportunities in education and learn art forms

such as dance, music and we write songs too. Men from our caste follow us i.e. they accompany us in the music programmes, play musical instruments. We dance in marriage ceremonies, during the time of Ammavaru, Sambaralu, Sriram Navami festival etc. Mejuvani dance is performed in these functions. From our childhood we learn dances.

Now a days everything has changed and our girls no longer learn these dances. I learnt dance when I was ten years old. There was a ceremony called "javala" and from that day onwards I started learning dance and started giving performances on stages (raised platform or dias) and during temple festivals. I learnt from a dance teacher for which I had to discontinue my schooling. My mother also taught me dance. She was a famous dancer and received many awards. Even Jawaharlal Nehru awarded her and she trained many heroines in old movies (Telugu). We had a very high status as artists but now we are called as Bhogum (the women who provide sexual pleasure on demand) and people know us as sex workers. In earlier days Bhogum Mela would constitute different types of performances such as Javalilu, Padalu, Warralu, Kirtanum, Asthapadilu, Tarangalu and Tarabarnalu [Some of these compositions are retained in the classical dance]. The present day Bhogum mela is not the same as that of earlier times. There was no nudity displayed in performances. During 1960s our dance programmes were banned saying that it is creating nuisance to the public. We also demanded that if we will not dance then how would we survive? We have been earning through these dance programmes from our ancestor's time. As some of these dances were banned, and due to lack of patronage over a period of time, many of our women became sex workers, as there was no job opportunity from the Government.

There were many girls from our communities who rose up to become heroines^x also in Telugu movies since they were good dancers. Even women from other castes joined in Telugu Film industry also learnt dances from us. It used to be the case that Bhogumvalu [Kalavanthulu] used to have a big name, but this is not the case anymore. Now people in this community are made to feel ashamed to identify themselves as Kalavanthulu because of 'sex worker identity' attached to us. Hence now members of Kalavanthulu identify themselves as 'naidus' a caste that is unrelated to sex work, in their interaction with others in Rajahmundry and other urban locations. In some ways we feel proud as performers because it is an age-old profession that gives self-esteem, while in other ways it is embarrassing because people have started to stigmatize us as sex workers.

[As narrated by one of the older *Kalavanthulu* women]

These quotes explain the process of transformation of the *Kalavanthulu* community from revered performances in *Bhogum melas* (the original form) to perform in record dance programs. Quite parallel to the anti-nautch movements is the revivalists' (who were particularly from Brahmin community) endeavor of restoring the fine art forms which were formerly practiced by the *Kalavanthulu* (Srinivasan 1988 and 1985 and Sriram 2007, Nair 1996, George 2004 28). Revivalists' concern was not so much regarding the plight of the *Kalavanthulu* but more so with the demise of the cultural heritage of India. Hence, a conscious effort has been made by the revivalists to open up dance schools and in fact, they recruited many *Kalavanthulu* to train the Brahmin girls (Sriram 2007, Antez 1998, Srinivasan 1985, Jonnalagadda 2002). In this sense, their concern was different from that of the social reformers (including the ones led by the *Kalavanthulu*). Their urge to resurrection of the Devadasi art, stepped outside the requirements of western scientific traditions like the reformers. The Theosophical Society's notoriously anti-official stance and interest in an Indian cultural and political renaissance bound them with the revival of the dance. Whereas reformers in the second phase were non-Brahmins who sought for suspension of Indian nationalism, the revivalists' interest in promoting the national art is obvious (Srinivas 1988 and 1985, Natrajan 1997). While reformers from the Justice party attacked Brahmin institutions and became supporters of anti-ritualism and therefore advocated for the abolishment of the *Devadasi* system. The revivalists got the support from the Indian elite through their public denouncement and

denigration of Western Christian Morality and materialism (Kannabiran 1995).

There was another event which brought the interest of the revivalists to get back to the traditional dance form. Dancers from Europe and the United States showed an intense interest towards Indian dance, or at any rate in their imagined version of it (Natrajan 1997).

Reformers ostensibly became the adversaries to the revivalists. However, I argue that these two groups revivalists and reformers are not adversaries to each other. Rather, these two groups shared in their endeavors or orientations such as segregating *Kalavanthulu* community from their art and profession (Srinivasan 1988 and Kotiswaran 2001). For instance, revivalists sanctified the very art and exonerated from the obscenity that made other community women to learn the art whereas proportion of the *Kalavanthulu* community dwindled despite revivalists' acknowledgement that *Kalavanthulu* is the community who were engaged in preserving the art and heritage. Similarly, reformists' efforts made these communities to move away from their profession i.e. dance (Subramanian 2006). In addition, the discourses that were generated by the reformers like Veerasha Lingam Pantulu were actually implemented by the revivalists. For instance, long before the revival of the dance forms, Veerasha Lingam in *Vesayakanthala Upanyasam* (1951) actually suggested other women to learn art forms which he viewed that *Kalavanthulu* women used it to seduce the customers through art and *Bhogum melas*. He had also suggested that these art forms should be sanctified and devotional. Srinivas (1988) further contended that Dedication of *Devadasi*

Prohibition Bill of 1930 has been pushed to approve and permit the birth of new elite class of amateur performers.

It is also observed that when anti-nautch movement or *Devadasi* Act was introduced, many of the dance forms of Andhra which were performed by *Kalavanthulu* communities were recognized as classical by the Indian Government and these dance forms flourished (Krishnamurti & Khandekar 1995, Natarajan 1997, Naregal 2008). In this context, the role of the revivalists from the Brahmin community such as Krishna Iyer and Rukmanidevi Arundale were important (Sriram 2007, Srinivasan 1985, Natrajan 1997, Chawla 2002). These revivalists, however, were different from the women from the *Devadasi* community who too tried to rescue the art since the former challenged the image portrayed by the reformers of *Devadasis'* affinity with the prostitution and vulgarity whereas the revivalists from the Brahmin community did not challenge the notion of the reformers. While the first group of revivalist did not opt for the invention of the traditional art, the latter group invented the very art so that it could appease the upper castes. Nevertheless, these two groups of revivalists have common points. For instance, both Rukmani Devi and anti-abolition *Devadasis'* see of continuity with a (partly invented in the case of Rukmanidevi) spiritual tradition which is supposedly millennia-old.

Another event which coincides with the transition of art forms is the establishment of Telugu Film industry²¹ and other varieties of cultural activities. When anti-nautch movement gathered momentum, many of the *Devadasis* began giving up

dance (as it was scrutinized under the movement) and switched to music and became recording artists (Sriram 2007). However, these dance forms were modified with the element of devotion to it since *Sringar* (eroticization)^{xii} gives not so good reputation to the classical dance forms. They considered facial contortions and body movements as distractions that destroyed from the sanctity of the music (George 2004). And through these modified versions of the dance forms, many non-performing communities particularly Brahmin women learnt and adopted, as the 'stigma' of erotic movements was taken away from it (Srinivasan 1988, Sriram 2007, Natrajan 1997). The '*sringar*' dimension actually created stigma for dancers because of which they were labeled as 'public women' for enjoyment or eroticization. As Mohan Khokar concludes,

The Bharatanatyam form dominated the classical traditions. On the one hand, the art had been weaned away from the Devadasis and had been adopted by talented women from upper strata of society, on the other hand, Devadasis themselves turned professional and commercial over night, and with the least effort or pang of conscience, they slid into the common, ticketed, theatre circuit. Balasaraswati, Swarnasaraswati etc- names to reckon with- all readily quit the house of God to serve Mammon (cited in Lakshmi 2000)

This sequence of the process of transformation of the *Kalavanthulu* community as 'popular' performers (vulgar) rather than 'classical' performers, thus pushed them to give more and more performances in *Bhogum melas*, recording dance programs, and Telugu Film industry during 1920s and 1930s.

However, I attempt to convolute the debate of reform and revival process based on the ethnographic data which I collected. The point one has to make here is that

prior to patronizing Kuchipudi by the Qutab Shah, it was originally practiced by the male Brahmins (Jonnalagadda 2002, Krishnamurti 1995, Venkatramnam 2006) who loathed in extending the art form to the *Bhogum* whom they thought were spoilers of the devotional art form. However, when this art form received the patronage, these performing women adopted it (Krishnamurti 1995 and Jonnalagadda 2002). The corollary to this, which adds to the regional specificity is that the original (court) dance patterns of the *Kalvanthulus* such as *Javalilu*, *Mejuvani* etc were not revived or received classical status but the temple art form- Kuchipudi was originally practiced by Brahmin men and later *Kalavanthulus* adopted it (Venkatramanam 2006) It is in this sense, this study is different from Amrit Srinivasan (1985 and 1988) and Vijaisri (2004 and 2005) who explained the politics of becoming classical, that attempts of revivalists resulted in segregating the performing community from the very art which these performing communities have been practicing. I argue that the revival process resulted in partial exclusion because it is only the temple art forms that were modified and therefore secluded *Kalavanthulu* women but not other traditional art forms of *Kalavanthulus* such as court dances which includes *Mejuvani* and *Javalilu* which are still practiced by the community. This point deepens our argument that these labeling processes such as classical and obscene dance are not discrete but are in continuum.

Similarly, *Kalavanthulus* had to explore new avenues of living when they were excommunicated from the modified art forms through its purification and banning the *Devadasi* system. Therefore some of the *Kalavanthulu* women joined the cinema industry and some performed in recording dance programs, some others

have been engaged in domestic service sector such as tailoring, household work while others joined sex work^{xiii}. Another interesting issue one can find due to the revivalists and reformers endeavor is the creation of the modern/ideal woman in which the domestic woman inherits the aesthetic qualities (music and dance) of the *Kalavanthulus* but presents in non-eroticizing way. The modern woman is expected to remain strictly self controlled and provide pleasure to the husband. As an opposite to the classical texts in which domestic woman and aesthetic woman were made distinct aesthetic elements such as music and dance etc were no longer perceived as instruments of sexual seduction but of assuring modern conjugal (Devika 2006: 1676, Skaria 2006)

Bhogum Mela

Bhogum literally means pleasure (implying sexual pleasure) and *melas* means congregation. *Bhogum melas* are congregation of *Kalavanthulu* women performers. It is an occasion where *Bhogumvallu* (another name for *Kalavanthulus* particularly who are the court dancers) display their skills and art. *Bhogum Mela* is at present organized in private places such as bungalows, gardens or farm houses of *chaudhurys* or the political leaders or houses of the *Kalavanthulus*. These *melas* are arranged in the secret places since it is outlawed by the state. The space of the *Bhogum mela* is especially important to mention because the announcement of the *Bhogum mela* is done only to those 'trusted' people and close associates. It is arranged at the time of elections and functions in the family such as marriage ceremony, naming ceremony of the infants and when few men engage in revelries. Similarly, Jordan (2003:1) and Ringdal (2004) explain this feature during the pre-

colonial era as omens of good luck that they were asked to dance in marriage processions and to string some of their own beads into the bridal '*tali*' which was tied around the bride's neck at the time of climactic moment of a south Indian wedding. The audiences of these *melas* are very few and are arranged to draw the favor or win the party politics and maintain the caste status. The peculiarities of the *Bhogum mela* is that these women only perform into their own compositions and those are full of pun and traditional erotic poetry of the court. The performance on the occasion includes *mejuvani* art (a chamber style *abhinaya* with dancer in seated position which is "performed for a host"), *Padmas* (romantic moods depicted by the hero and heroine) and *Javalilu* (a love poem or poem that discusses menstruation). *Mejuvani* is the most aesthetically sophisticated *devadasi* dance repertoire. The term 'Mejuvani' is derived from the Persian term, 'mejubani' which primarily meant 'feast'. Tirumalai (2005) mentioned that during the early periods of British conquest of coastal Andhra, the Zamindars held such *mejuvanis* for their European guests (ibid 40). Generally, there would be six women who dance as well as sing songs before the limited audiences. They charge Rs 15,000 per night. It is customary on part of the elite to invite *Devadasis* at marriages and family functions (Chawla 2002). Generally *Devadasi* girls were patronized by local gentry and this was looked upon as a status symbol (Reddy 1998 107 and Ringdal 2004: 80).

In the pre-colonial period it was organized in the royal courts or the private bungalows of the Zamindars. Social reform movements that sought to dislodge *Devadasi* practices had already made an impact, and *mejuvani* performances lost

much of their courtly patronage. However in the present day, *mejuvani* performances do take place and would begin with composition of salutation to the Maratha kings of Tanjavur indicating the symbolic importance of courtly culture within the *Devadası* community's own perception of its history. The continuation of the salutation to the Maratha king actually corroborates with one of the popular historical tale of the region which narrates the genesis of the *Kalavanthulu* community in the region.

When Raja Raja Mahendravaram married a Tamil girl, his wife was accompanied by many women and men from Tamilnadu. Among those many women some were recruited for the service of the King and some were recruited for the service of Queen and few others served as concubines who were proficient in dance and music. These latter categories of women are court dancers whose surnames would start with 'Puvala', 'Chuttajarulu', 'Sidhhabatula', 'Kottpalli', 'Kale' etc. It is known that they were seven sisters in the beginning and later their numbers increased. [As told by a Telugu poet of the region]

I feel the continuation of these performances itself invoke their courtly past in the volatile conditions of the present. I read the *mejuvani* as an indexical sign for the *Devadası* dance itself, arguing that its survival in contemporary *Kalavanthulu* communities allows for the articulation of *devadası* identity in the post-social reform period.

Older *Kalavanthulu* women mention that in their young age *Bhogum melas* were different from the present day since they would get respect and honor in singing their own composition. In earlier days, in those compositions there was a combination of spiritual, devotional and erotic element in it. The *Bhogum mela*

which was organized till the early period of European incursions denote status symbol to those who organize and brought status and accolade to the *Kalavanthulu* unlike in the present day. Tirumalai (2005) mentions,

‘the English ruling elite in India attended Indian festivals and parties arranged by their Indian counterparts. There would also be drink and dance programmes. The Rajas, nawabs, landed gentry and the village chiefs arranged nautch parties. The nautch girls commanded such respect that the term ‘rani’ was suffixed to their names, in Madras, Masulipatnam, Vizagapatnam and Rajahmundry after Queen Victoria. The zamindars of Andhra region maintained their bungalows in huge gardens outside the city and spent their time with nautch women (ibid 29) ’

Although in the post independence period, AP Sangeetha Natak Academy rechristened the temple dance traditions of Andhra called *Bhogum mela* as Andhra Natyam (Jonnalagadda 2002), the dance form which the *Kalavanthulu* practice in the present day in the *Bhogum mela* is not the same.

Record Dance Programme

Record dance programme is in many ways similar to the *Bhogum mela* in terms of the content of the dance but differs in many respects. Record dance programmes are held in the presence of a large male audience, only during late nights. In both of these performances, *Kalavanthulu* do not have any community obligation to perform it. Unlike *Bhogum mela*, record dance programme is not the traditional performance of *Kalavanthulus* (court as well as temple dancers) but it evolved in the course of time when temple dance forms were adopted by the Brahmin community and court dance forms such as *Bhogum mela* were outlawed by the Government. In order to overcome this crisis, *Kalavanthulu* respondent revealed that they entered into a new cultural form in order to sustain themselves. The

audience of the *Bhogummela* is quite distinct- few men from the landowning community. Although *Kalavanthulu* respondents informed about the sex transactions after the *Bhogum melas*, however this performance is not termed as tasteless or negation of culture like record dance programme.

As viewing the record dance programme is not charged, it has larger audiences. For instance, approximately 1,800-2000 people gather to watch each of the record dance programmes. In this context, it is important to note the period in which record dance program was developed. The emergence of the record dance program coincided with the emergence of the Telugu Film industry. Record dance program was more popular in the villages since films could not reach the rural audiences but catered to the urban audiences.

Record dance programmes are organized by the temple committee particularly by the head of the panchayat (chowdhurygaru). Chowdhurygaru makes payment to the dancers who are brought from Mandapeta and Peddapuram. Otherwise too, people in the temple committee arrange money from the funds they collect from the villagers during the festival. We do not have to spend anything to watch it. [As told by an auto driver]

'Although there are many cinema halls in the district and people are crazy about film stars, these cinema theaters are located in the neighboring towns and mandal headquarters. Visiting a town like Rajahmundry and Kaknada and watching movie is a rare entertainment activity. That is why for the villagers, record dance programme is more popular since it is available in the village itself. Even people from Rajahmundry and Kaknada town too come to Muramunda, Mandapeta and Kothapeta to watch record dance programme during panduga/festival as record dance is not conducted in towns.' [As told by a respondent from the audiences]

The fee or remuneration which these women charge varies according to the popularity of the administrative unit. For instance, *Kalavanthulu* women from the Peddapuram and Muramunda of Kadiam are highly in demand and men spend thousands of rupees for one night whereas women from other areas comparatively charge less. These earnings do not include the amount they earn from transactional sex in which some of the *Kalavanthulu* women get involved. The places which are popular for conducting recording dance programme include Peddapuram, Amlapuram, Antharveedhi, Mandapeta, Muramunda, Tuni, Annavam, Narsipatnum (West Godavari district) and Razole. These programmes are held during the religious festivals like Ramanavami, Vinayaka Navarathrulu and Dassera Navarathrulu and such other festive seasons of different mother goddesses too. As one of the respondent said

'Since in Andhra there are 13 festivals in 12 months, record dance programme is a regular phenomenon in village life. Almost every month, there is a tirtham in some mandal and so is record dance programme.'

Although many *Kalavanthulu* women are denizens of some of the places where record dance programmes are being organized, they nevertheless, do not perform in their own native places in order to maintain the anonymity and moral decency. As Subbachary (2002) states,

'actors are from all castes from the village. But no female actor is coming from the village to act on stage. They feel that it is very bad and low to their social status.'

Record dance programmes are held in different locations such as backyard of the temple, backyard of the stage where gram-panchayat is held and some times the places/dias where the religious festivals are organized. The recording dance programmes start from 10 p m. and last until dawn. During different times of the night, different type of dance forms are displayed. The initial hours of the performances are filled with the duet songs with less bawdy, and improvisational comedy. For instance, in the early evening or early nights *Kalavanthulu*^{xiv} would dance with full clothes, followed by dances with short costumes with the Telugu hit film songs. After 12 a m, the performance takes a different form such as female members mostly narrate how to have intercourse. This form of record dance can be equated as poor man's cabarets and striptease. There would be a male performer too who is the solicitor and girls (some are the supporting actresses to the performances) who dance with semi nude costumes and lift their petty coats. As part of the dance, female actors/dancers have to embrace the male actor. The female actor has to show lot of twists and jerks of her body, which indicate directly the sexual act. Some actresses have to show more than this, like hitting the male actor with her breasts on his chest, hitting him with shoulders and her seat part, kissing them on cheeks and lips, looking at with sexual urge, smoking on stage according to the story etc. These kinds of acts by the heroine are part of her job for which she has been paid. Such acts on the stage before thousands of pairs of naked eyes, brings the social status of these women actresses very low.

There are other forms of dance programmes also in which girls perform- they dance to the tunes of the major Telugu film songs which are played and they dance

with short costumes. Some of the major Telugu film item numbers which are played during the recording dance programme include, "*Aa Ante Amlapuram, Miku Kakinada Gajulu Leva, Banhi Banhi and Babulu Saaya Mandalu Saya*". Here for specific purpose I attempt to stretch the relevance of the song. The lyrics of the song refers to the dressing items which are popular in various towns of Andhra in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century Chandragiri sarees, Kakinada Bangles and Rajahundry *ravika* (blouse) were popular in the Andhra region. Nautch girls were known to be using these items for the nautch performances (Tirumalai 2005 39). It is the women from the upper caste who follow these dressing style first, and then it becomes trendy and popular. The connection here with the reference to the song is that the acknowledgement to the *Kalavanthulu* girls or nautch girl is implicit in this but very subtly. Since cinema has stepped into villages in a wider way such as through the establishment of cinema halls and increasing number of T V channels, this aspect brought changes in the content of record dance programme. As Subbachary notes (2002)

'Youth are more seriously influenced by the cinema and the serials on the small screen now, than never before. All these visual features are inculcating a kind of artificial and commercial culture among rural masses, which is also influencing social drama (record dance program)'

During the dance number, they slightly expose their body parts through lifting the petty coats and men (audiences) throw money to them at this point. Girls define that they find it hard to adjust to dance with those tight costumes. There are other types of dance programmes in which girls do not expose their body parts, nevertheless, those songs have the reference to the body parts, pun songs which

the reference to the extra marital relationships, sex work and other joking relationships. Most frequently it is under the guise of comedy that actresses play the role of loose women for the purpose of humour

Another variety of record dance programme is the mobile recording dance programme in which a group of six women travel in the truck (as a dance troupe) and perform in major spots. They stop the vehicle and perform the Telugu films hit numbers (especially the item numbers). Based on the demand from the audience, they expose the body parts and also charge the money accordingly. For instance, women performers feel that in order to pull more crowd, their organizers ask them to dance with blouse and petty coats rather than with the sari so that each audience would throw higher denomination Rs 100 or Rs50 at them during the performance. Similarly, selection of the songs are done by the audiences in public. Although female members view it for the initial hours, in the recording dance programmes, but for the late night programmes female members are prohibited to watch. In Seizer's (2007) words, in the context of stage artist in Tamil Nadu,

"the public nature of the acting profession, which frequently displays on public stages what are otherwise meant to be the most private of relations is problematic for women who attend Special Drama as audience members as well as actresses. Any woman willing to make herself the object of gaze of strange men in strange places transgresses the norm of separately gendered spheres. The consequences of audience fears that the reputations of local women will be disparaged simply by their attendance at these events include not only the lower attendance of women but also important shaping of performances themselves. (ibid, 80)"

Two of my respondents have the following to say

'In dance programme I get Rs 3 000 for few hours of work and junior artists were paid less than- Rs2, 000. The number of clients have increased since both

the habit of watching record dance and engaging in sexy dance and doing sex after the performance has been on the rise When I go for dance they come to know of me and chances of visting me for sex is higher '[As told by a performer in the record dance programme]

"At present I do not go for sex business separately anywhere When I go for the dance programmes if somebody approaches me, I do business with them."[As told by a performer in the record dance programme]

These quotes explain that transactional sex is carried out during the dance programme – either with the organizing committee members or also with the viewers whoever are interested in them As Subbachary (2002) states

'in most of the villages the youth try to get more from women performers than acting and dancing, which is part of performance '

'When we watch dance programme, generally a group of women dance to a particular film song During that time audience have an eye on a particular girl If any body from the audience is interested during that time he gives signals to the girl Immediately during the performance the girl leaves the stage whereas other girls continue to perform Both of them go to the private place available there After a few minutes the same girl joins the dance programme ' [As told by an audience]

'Once I did not make out during the dance programme that these girls go for transactional sex Even I did not realize that some of our friends have actually got access to them We only enjoy them watching the dance programme But the next morning when I went to meet them, they were laughing at the girls and telling their experiences of sexual encounters ' [As told by an audience]

These quotes indicate that sex transactions take place even during the record dance. The meeting place for the sexual encounter is the backyard of the place where record dance programmes are organized Soon after the transactional sex, the girl

have the reference to the extra marital relationships, sex work and other joking relationships. Most frequently it is under the guise of comedy that actresses play the role of loose women for the purpose of humour.

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"the public nature of the acting profession, which frequently displays on public stages what are otherwise meant to be the most private of relations, is problematic for women who attend Special Drama as audience members as well as actresses. Any woman willing to make herself the object of gaze of strange men in strange places transgresses the norm of separately gendered spheres. The consequences of audience fears that the reputations of local women will be disparaged simply by their attendance at these events include not only the lower attendance of women but also important shaping of performances themselves. (ibid, 80)"

Two of my respondents have the following to say:

'In dance programme I get Rs 3,000 for few hours of work and junior artists were paid less than- Rs2, 000. The number of clients have increased since both

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the habit of watching record dance and engaging in sexy dance and doing sex after the performance has been on the rise When I go for dance, they come to know of me and chances of visiting me for sex is higher '[As told by a performer in the record dance programme]

"At present I do not go for sex business separately anywhere When I go for the dance programmes if somebody approaches me, I do business with them "[As told by a performer in the record dance programme]

These quotes explain that transactional sex is carried out during the dance programme – either with the organizing committee members or also with the viewers whoever are interested in them As Subbachary (2002) states

' in most of the villages the youth try to get more from women performers than acting and dancing, which is part of performance.'

'When we watch dance programme generally a group of women dance to a particular film song During that time audience have an eye on a particular girl If any body from the audience is interested during that time he gives signals to the girl Immediately during the performance the girl leaves the stage whereas other girls continue to perform Both of them go to the private place available there After a few minutes the same girl joins the dance programme ' [As told by an audience]

'Once I did not make out during the dance programme that these girls go for transactional sex Even I did not realize that some of our friends have actually got access to them We only enjoy them watching the dance programme But the next morning when I went to meet them, they were laughing at the girls and telling their experiences of sexual encounters [As told by an audience]

These quotes indicate that sex transactions take place even during the record dance The meeting place for the sexual encounter is the backyard of the place where record dance programmes are organized Soon after the transactional sex, the girl

joins the record dance program and other girls too follow the pattern when audiences approach them.

Hebbar (2007) too points out how popular cultural performances become the pretext of sex work,

‘The kala kendras or dance halls are covers for prostitution though they carry the tag of traditional respectability. Traditionally these were centres that hosted dance programmes, in which dance groups from all over Maharashtra were invited to stage their performances. Nowadays each dance group consists of a group of girls who perform to an exclusively male and visibly inebriated audience. The girls receive money from the clients during the performance, supposedly as a token of appreciation. After the presentation, clients desirous of a private performance approach the manager of the dance group. If the deal is stuck, the girls take their clients to highway (ibid 49) ’

However, we cannot generalize that all women artists in the record dance programme have additional income from transactional sex since few *Kalavanthulu* women informed me that they do not involve nor encourage this trade. Some of the *Kalavanthulu* women also mentioned that they some times decline the offer of the viewers in claiming that they are performing artists rather than sex workers. This claim of *Kalavanthulu* women resonates with the images which Telugu movies would create in 1980s, that despite their dancing roles they are not the sex workers to sell their bodies. As Seizer (2007) puts it,

“As public women, the accusation that actresses are prostitutes to adhere to them, again whether they sell sexual favors or not. Since the social construction of gender places “good women” in seclusion, women who appear in public spaces (such as on stage) are defined as ‘bad’, that is, prostitutes (ibid, 5) ”

Although record dance programmes are outlawed in the region from the past two years, some of the temple organizing committees and youth groups could still arrange these programmes. Youngsters take informal permission from the law enforcement agencies that on the closing day of the religious ceremonies, they be allowed to organize entertainment events for which police is paid.

Many *Kalavanthulu* women (older women who no longer perform) showed their displeasure towards the current forms of the recording dance programme that in their heydays recording dance programme was very different. The songs were sung by the older *Kalavanthulu* women with harmonium and the girls would dance, men from their community would play the other instruments and it was no longer associated with nudity and people used to respect those programmes. One of the *Kalavanthulu* women said that during the festival time, their programme would constitute of singing stories from the great epics, female actors mimicking the popular heroes' (NTR or ANR) dialogues and dance rather than perform dances with obscenity and nudity like now. She claims that because of these transformation in the dance forms, people refer the *Kalavanthulu* women as prostitutes where as earlier it was no longer associated with prostitution. The older *Kalavanthulu* women disdain the present form of dance programmes stating that although *sringar* (bodily movements and gestures) was very much part of their dance, it was no longer associated with the display of body parts. They state that since these dance forms have assumed commercial dimension, there is no need for *Kalavanthulu* to practice any more as women from any other community easily

perform these programmes. However, *Kalavanthulu* women perform in impromptu, as they are not amateurs rather they are professionals.

Along with these popular performances, which is illegal in nature, there are other kinds of cultural industry such as Telugu Film industry in which *Kalavanthulu* women are also known to be associated with. Although this industry holds the accreditation to produce cultural performances, this industry has stopped recruiting the *Kalavanthulu* women unlike in the beginning days of the Telugu Film industry. In the beginning days of the Telugu film industry, many of the *Kalavanthulu* women joined film industry for two reasons. Firstly, working in the film became a kind of alternative avenue for the *Kalavanthulus* as *Bhogum melas* were illegal and secondly, there was revival of dance forms into classical in which these community women were segregated (Jonnalagadda 2002).^{xv} Their dancing skills facilitated them to adopt to the popular industry and it shows how these groups were co-opted into the film industries. Mrinal Pande (2006) too mentions about the Hindustani Parsi theatre and Early Hindi films where many nautch girls from North India were introduced. He also notes that many Muslim nautch girls from Hyderabad were brought to Bombay to act in a musical '*Inder Sabha*'. A caste of 'shameless women' was necessary so that 'honest women' could be treated with the most chivalrous respect: both upon the stage and within the society (ibid, 1649). Oldenburg (1991) mentions that the style and entertainment of courtesans was widely imitated in Hindi films. Women from performing community were necessary so that the honest women from respectable families would not enter this field given the fact that the profession being stigmatized of performing girls

association with the prostitution. This point also coincides with the field work data that first the Telugu film studio was set up in Rajahmundry which in later period was shifted to Hyderabad and many movie producers and directors belonged to the region. This fact provided an opportunity for the community in the region as an entry point to the movie industry. This process resulted in migration of these communities (*Kalavanthulu*) in a small way to Hyderabad. The other point which is worth mentioning here is the significance of the *Kannerikam* ceremony in terms of recruiting the *Kalavanthulu* women to the Telugu film industry. For instance, many *Kalavanthulu* women cited the *Kannerikam* ceremony as one of the media through which their women could come in contact with the Telugu film industry personalities and through this contact, they could enter into Telugu film industry and Television soap operas through regional channels^{xvi}. Apart from their rituals, certain type of sex work such as sex work based on contract [which is discussed elaborately later] that is prevalent among the *Kalavanthulu* community. These activities facilitated their exposure into the T.V. serials and anchoring programs in many T.V. channels.

There are many old actresses who are from our community. They are all into Telugu cinema. Recently one girl who would work at Peddapuram brothel had gone to Hyderabad as part of her contract work. From there she came in contact with a customer who works in Telugu serials. Through him she got to work in daily story serials offer. [As told by a Kalavanthulu woman from Peddapuram]

These events explain the entry of *Kalavanthulu* women into the film and Television industry. Similarly, there were also many movies whose themes were focused on the life stories of the *Kalavanthulu* (*Shankara Bharanum, Kalyana*

Mandapam, Meghasandesam, Sannayi Appanna, Vipranarayana, Ramalamma etc
Although the movies 'Ramulamma' was on the jogini Vyabastha/system, the female actor was known to be the child of the Kalavanthulu who does not claim her performing community status) as well as mention of the Apsaras/Seductive goddesses (*Yamagolla* in 1977 in which one of the leading actresses such as Jayaprada who belonged to the Kalavanthulu community was in prominent role)
Many of the Kalavanthulu men (like Sobhen Babu) also directed movies and composed songs Saran (2008) narrates a case of Alvi (a script writer of many Hindi cinemas)

'He met a nautch girl, whose life caught his fancy He then put down her life on paper and what came from it was the character of Gulaboo, immaterialized by Waheeda Rehman in "Pyasa"(ibid 2008 49)

Over the years, these *Kalavanthulu* women developed a sense of belonging or attached to the film industry when they had prominent role to play In the recent years, they got detached because of their limited roles in the Telugu films usually confined to the dance and song sequences and insignificant roles As Jonnalagada (2002) states,

'From 1940s, patronage for performing arts came also from the motion picture industry if indirectly, by induction of artists into its various fields of acting, scenic design, music and others In the case of Kuchipudi, the artists joined initially as dancers and later as dance directors '

However, the Telugu film hit songs have the reference to the geographies/landscapes of the community, the sexual relations of the community

etc. *Kalavanthulu* women narrate their decreasing role in the Telugu cinema due to various reasons such as the contemporary films no longer require earlier dance forms which *Kalavanthulu* are known to be skilled with and also since women from other communities have become the experts of the dance forms of the *Devadasis*. Telugu movie industries' requirement of the ideal/specific bodies are no longer fulfilled by the *Kalavanthulu* women alone. The scripts are changing as well as the notion of anonymity in which girl from the north India can enact as vulgarly as possible in south India film industry and vice versa

Another point which one has to take note of from the connection of the film industry is the co-existence of sex work. When *Kalavanthulu* and non-*Kalavanthulu* girls work as junior artists in the film and small role in the TV serials, they supplemented their income with occasional transactional sex in the film fraternity. Mahajani (2007) too reports of the small time television actresses and models' involvement in sex trade. It is operated under the guise of escort services. Similarly Chandra (2006) in his novel narrates about how women in the showbiz too engage in sex work or become 'trader in bodies' but not on a regular basis and with limited high standard partners. He mentions of the progression of a dancer in the bar to the film or video albums, Hindi serials but continuing sex work. There is also a mention of descent from film parties into many kinds of underworld through transactional sex. There is also a system of pump, the women/male producers of the television serials. We should differentiate the issue of casting couch of movie industry from the phenomenon of the affinity of popular culture industry with sex trade while underplaying movie industry. In the case of

latter, progression is made from bar dancer cum sex worker to the small time actresses or models. In other cases, these small time actresses involve in transactional sex with the corporate and big sorts as an escort agents while formally working in the movie world. However, casting couch is to serve sexually a person from movie world to get a favor or so that the latter would provide an entry ticket into movie industry.

II

Ritual

In this section, the commodification as well as the secularization of the rituals associated with the *Kalavanthulus* have been discussed. The traditional rituals which *Kalavanthulu* follow include (*gajjela puja /anklet puja*) the initiation of the dedication of the girl to the deity or the initiation ceremony to start performances such as music and dance (before girls attain puberty) and *Kanerikam* the actual dedication ceremony or marriage to the deity (immediately after the girls attain puberty). Consider this exchange by one of the older *Kalavanthulu* woman

"In Muramnda there is a famous temple and we all are the temple dancers or the wives of the Gods. First we have this kanerikam ceremony. We would be pushed to the room where the deity is being worshiped by the priest. We are given a glass with milk and locked from outside by the priests to perform in front of the god. Before getting inside the room, temple servants apply wheat flours on the floor and then we step in to the room. These flowers are put in order to ensure that God has really come to enjoy the dance and meet the Kalavanthulu. We will come to know from his footsteps which would be printed in the flour. Priest would provide one room in the temple and other arrangements i.e. food and clothes to the girl during that tenure. The tenure is for one year. The village head would decide and entrust the particular girl for temple service. For the one-year tenure of temple service the girls were provided with land and gold. After finishing

temple service, these girls would entertain the public by performing in fairs, tell folk stories through singing songs etc "

It symbolizes the marriage of the *Kalavanthulu* women where a maternal aunt ties the knot to the girl. The *tali*-tying ceremony (*Kannerikam*) which initiated the young *dasi* into her profession was performed in the temple through the mediation of the priest. The occupational morality of the *Devadasi* system is epitomized and celebrated by the folk notion of 'sacrifice'. It is through sacrifice – dedication of their life for the temple service by discarding from the worldly pleasure or mundane world- they become sacred. It is this sacredness that masks the profane activity- sexual activity and it is the sacrifice that is one of the yardsticks to gain professional status. The insistence on the pre-pubertal status of the girl was in imitation of Brahminical custom which saw marriage as the only religious initiation (*diksha*) permissible to women. Similarly puberty ceremonies of the *Devadasi* which confirmed her married status as wife of- the-god were performed with an emblem of god borrowed from the temple as stand-in 'bridegroom'. On this occasion the procreative and nuptial rites performed at the time of actual consummation of a Brahmin marriage, (shortly after the girl attains maturity) were also carried out and auspicious wedding songs celebrating sexual union are sung before the 'couple'. From now onwards the *Devadasi* was considered as *nitya sumangali*, a woman eternally free from the adversity of widowhood and in that auspicious capacity, she performed for the first time her ritual and artistic duties in the temple. So auspicious that they were allowed into the temple even during the menstruate cycles; and they could give water to the Brahmins even if they are from lower castes (Srinivasan 1988 and Jordan 2003:18). The puberty ceremonies were

an occasion not only for temple honour but also for community feasting and celebration in which the local elite also participated. The music, dance and public display of the girl was meant to attract patrons (Srinivasan 1988 and 1985 and Chawla 2002, Jordan 2003).

A variety of competitive social pressures and traditional community obligations worked towards the setting up of particular arrangements between dancing girls and the rich, landed or business households. The men of the patron class were expected to accept a young *Devadasi* as a concubine despite the enormous expense it eventually entailed. The fact that it was the eldest son alone (and that too one who was already married) showed the *normative* co-existence of a private decent way of life with one that was more wayward and idiosyncratic. For the *Devadasis* their temple attachment granted sectarian purity and the promotional avenues to pursue a prosperous career. The economic and professional benefits were considerable and most importantly, it was not perceived as lacking in social honour. Touching the dancing women, speaking to them or looking at them was mentioned as ritual offence in the sectarian texts laying out the etiquette to be followed by worshippers when visiting temples (Chawla 2002, Srinivasan 1988 and 1985).

Although this ritual is meant to initiate temple service, during the pre-colonial period (when temple land became privatized and *Jamindari* system began) the symbolic meaning of the ritual got transformed into initiation ceremony in which *Kalavanthulu* have to serve sexually the temple priests and the land lords. Men

from the upper and land owning communities were invited to fix a price for the girl. The girl is offered for sexual pleasure to the highest bidder among them for three days. Generally the bidder is from the Kamma, Raju and Reddy castes. Desai (2008) and Srinivasan (1988 and 1985) too support the view that the patrons are generally from the Raju and Chowdhary in the Andhra Pradesh and land owning community in Tamilnadu. But the important point is that these women did not prostitute themselves although they were hired for promiscuous relations and since their sexual services were embedded within the wider cultural sphere of symbolic and material exchanges in the temple, they enjoyed a position quite distinct from those of the proletarianised sex workers (Vijaisri 2004: 103 & Nair 1996: 254). It is not necessary that man has to marry or maintain the girl for the rest of the life. The ritual pertaining to *Kannerikam* ceremony is no longer followed by the *Kalavanthulus*, but this has ritual taken the fossilization^{xvii} form i.e. a ceremony is retained when its function has ceased. Although at present *Devadas*i system is banned, this ceremony still continues in different form in which these girls have to serve sexually first the land owning community or the dominant class men.

The aftermath of the ritual connotes different actions in the *Kalavanthulu* women's life span. For example, after this ceremony, if the bidder is interested to maintain the *Kalavanthulu* woman, then she only associates herself with the bidder despite staying in her natal family. Even if the girl is maintained by the patron (*Unchukuna varito*), they carry out sex transactions with other clients. However, these *Kalavanthulu* women always pretend in front of the *Unchukuna varito* that they do not carry out sex transactions with any others and give all the importance

to their *unchukuna varu*. This is because temporary husband has social and symbolic significance for the sex workers and *Kalavanthulus*. Even these men curtail women's movement in order to control the woman and their sexuality. However, sex workers pretend that they are loyal to their temporary husbands but they do sex work at their home in the absence of their husbands. In the areas like Tummalova, older *Kalavanthulus* earn money only from their regular clients. In another case, the girl may take up sex work as their profession. In some other cases, the girl can only limit herself in giving performances rather than sex work.

As the legislation bans this kind of religious dedication and sexual services to the rich patrons, this practice is continued in different forms. For instance the initiation ceremony of the dedication is no longer followed (as it will have the implication of being charged under the Suppression of Dedication of the Devadasi Act) but the *Kannerikam* ceremony continues to be practiced clandestinely. Desai (2008) points that today, the women dance at fairs to advertise themselves, but in earlier times, the first performance was the, *gajjela puja/the anklet puja*, when a girl is ready (meaning for *Kannerikam* ceremony) to dance before the Shiva Lingam, and subsequently entertain the rich clientele to start with.

The legislation made the dedication practice underground, outlawing the dedication of young girls and threatening any priest who assisted in such ceremonies with years of harsh imprisonment. On the other hand, the priest takes huge amounts to officiate the dedication, as this ceremony is to be carried out invariably with the presence of the priest. Hence, given these above constraints, at

present *Kalavanthulus* conduct this ceremony even without the priest officiating. For all their efforts, the reformers have not succeeded in ending the practice, and on the contrary the number of girls getting initiated into a *Kannerikam* ceremony is increasing (Dalrymple 2008:36)

Although this practice is common among *Devadası* community, but in the region women from other communities are also found to be emulating this practice since it provides higher economic incentive which is one-time big money^{xviii} This practice is followed due to the commercial value attached to the rituals. This practice is emulated not only by the lower castes such as Mala women but upper castes such as Padmasalis, Kapus and Balijjas also emulate the practices. Other caste women too use the caste names of the *Kalavanthulu* in sex work in order to earn more money. Consider the testimony of a non-*Kalavanthulu* sex worker

'If the customer does not fix a good price for me I have to negotiate with him. So I tell him that I do not agree to go with him with the small premium placed on me as I am from Bhogum community (a category of Kalavanthulu community who are court dancers) and not desperate for money. After that the customer increases the payment since they have a feeling that Bhogums are superior to others.'

Blanchard et al's (2005) study on the Basavis of Karnataka too mentions

It is not uncommon for non-devadası women to dedicate their daughters to the Devadası tradition as a somewhat-sanctioned means of deriving economic gain from sex work (ibid 144)

The ritual gets transformed not only when non-*Kalavanthulu* community members follow it but also in the present day, *Kalavanthulu* follow this practice differently

than earlier. It was evident through the following testimony of a *Kalavanthulu* woman.

'Now a days we follow it according to our own convenience Many Kalavanthulu girls undergo this ceremony even after doing sex work for a few years Similarly, in other cases, some of the Kalavanthulu girls undergo Kanerikan ceremony for more than one time as arranged by their mother or paternal aunt (older Kalavanthulu women) In these cases the bidder thinks that the girl is younger because of Kannerikam ceremony If we conduct the ceremony in our own village then we could be caught Neighbors (other Kalavanthulu households) can point that out to the Chowdhurys That is why we conduct this ceremony in different places to encash money '

The ritual has been re-invented since it implies high monetary incentive. The other change which is noticed in this ritual can be termed as the appropriation of the ritual according to the context and commodification of the ritual For instance, respondents informed that although women from this community initiate sex work without undergoing this ceremony, later they undergo this ritual whenever they experience the financial crisis On the other hand, many women from this community also get married without undergoing this ritual but continue sex work

The other transformation which can be brought into the discussion of the emerging category of the *Kalavanthulu* is that many young girls from the prominent towns/cities of Coastal Andhra -Vijaywada, Vizag and Guntur- are being brought by their family members to the *Kalavanthulu* household in Peddapuram. They work as traditional sex worker in those places for five to six months and earn money. Later they return to their houses and use this money as dowry in the

marriage. Hence, by explaining the ritual, I tried to bring in the changing face of the sex work and how tradition is being reinvented. As Shesu (2005) mentions

‘However, the religious panoply of the practice continues in a new variant. Families in extreme poverty now tie a pendant of particular design around the neck of daughters to symbolize their status of being left entirely on their own to fend for themselves. These women seek security with other women from their own kin group, village or circle of friends who got initiated into the sex trade in a similar manner. This group of peers within the kin groups or village provides some cushion against the severe trauma of being initiated into sex work (ibid, 140)’

As we see that women from other caste emulate the practices of *Kalavanthulu* women, which is not a recent phenomenon. Right from the colonial period and even earlier, the art forms, music, dance, dressing style of *Kalavanthulus* have all been adored and imitated by women from other caste. As Tirumalai (2005) states,

“What was important from the nautch parties with respect to dress was that the fashions followed by the nautch girls created the impressions of a trend for the rest of the family women and men. The costumes with heavy gold work and embroidery, and the varieties of jewels made of gold, diamonds and pearls, dazzled the spectators. Not only the men get carried away by the nautch, but the women too were impressed by their dress and jewellery. There were men who wanted their women to wear it too. Similarly, the *Lehenga* was primarily used by the dancers or the nautch woman at the time of performance. However, the *Lehenga* and the long *ungeah* with cords evolved during pre-British period, young girls in Andhra wore this dress. Rich peasant women, belonging primarily to the Kamma and Reddy castes were the first to adopt the *Lehenga* with *myarukattu* (ibid 43)”

The other practice of *Kalavanthulu* which is being emulated by women and men from other communities is the concept of *Chinna Illu* which I have already

mentioned in the third chapter. As discussed earlier their life styles have always fascinated the Telugu Film industry which produced several movies on the subject. However, this dimension does not get its place in the conceptual framework of Sanskritisation as described by M N Srinivas probably because Sanskritisation does not talk about higher castes emulating the practices of lower castes. This is also the reason that perhaps public health discourse does not take cognizance of the emerging category of the non-*Kalavanthulus*, changing aspect of tradition when view them as simply traditional sex workers

The problem arises in this context, when public health intervention constructs all these *Kalavanthulu* women into an omnibus category in terms of clubbing three different categories of women. The first category is those who are *Kalavanthulu* by birth and undergo the ritual and practice sex work, the second category is those who are *Kalavanthulu* by birth but neither undergo this ritual nor do sex work but are married or in some other occupations and the third category is those who aspire to be *Kalavanthulu* (as we have seen in the case of non-*Kalavanthulu*). As the public health interventionists define them as the 'traditional sex workers' and here the question arises which kind of work is traditional, is it temple service or sex work? Public health strategy misses the complex diversity prevailing within particular communities and their traditions by labeling them as a 'homogeneous category' called traditional sex workers and hence produce a very restricted health discourse.

Different Patterns of Community Associations

Although the political position with regard to the question of the *Devadasis* varied among different social groups and one can see the different types of associations among Devadasi community in the pre-Independence period, this continues in the post colonial period which is influenced by HIV/AIDS discourse. Following the concept 'interpellation' as defined by Althusser- by which ideology addresses the individual, I seek to argue that human beings are enmeshed in numerous discursive and social structures that to a greater or lesser degree shape an individual's identity (cited in Sharrock *et al* 2003.144). In this sense, I attempt to explain how in numerous discursive practices which are upheld by reformers, revivalists, British in the pre-independence period and 'propertied classes' and dominant biomedical approaches in the post independence period shaped the identity of the *Kalavanthulu* community. As, Althusser argues, ideology may be what creates the individual, but it does not exist for that purpose, but rather, for the purpose of maintaining control over the society. This explains how public health approach absorbs some of these ideologies of the colonial period as its purpose is utilitarian. In its eagerness to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, public health approach actually reinforces the stigma on certain social groups as they intend to reach out to the poor and marginalized groups.

In this section I endeavored to explain the formation of two kinds of *Kalavanthulu* associations. These representations or the impulse to form the community association is the response against external sources – various discursive practices as listed above as well as to retrieve the monopoly over the beauty and

entertainment industry. We explain that these formations are a process through which they respond and confront the national discourse on HIV/AIDS. As I have discussed in the second chapter the national discourse on HIV/AIDS is based on the polarized category- victims vs. agency/right based perspective. The proponents of agency based perspective argue for recognition of sex work as a legitimate form of sex work. Conversely, those who view sex work as a form of exploitation against women and female slavery primarily focus on the issue of trafficking of women and children into sex work

Attempt has been made to explain how sex workers get caught in the web of these identity constructions and try to negotiate these identity constructions. It was demonstrated through the formation of the community associations- one group disowned the tradition and in that way fitted themselves in the anti-trafficking framework where as the other group represented the identity of the community, accordingly the right based framework of the HIV/AIDS discourse and viewed themselves as traditional sex workers rather than sacred performers. Community wanted to wriggle out of sex worker identity at one point of time and at the same time have the urge to enter into it. Hence *Kalavanthulus* or sex workers are not a static community but has the dynamic identity which is represented through the community association. I lay out the strategy which *Kalavanthulu* women resorted to get rid of the HIV/AIDS discourse in these two associations. This strategy indirectly has implication on HIV/AIDS.

Neo-Kalavanthulu Reform Association

The first form of *Kalavanthulu* association refers to the anti-nautch movements which were formed by the *Kalavanthulu* men who tried to stop recruiting their girls in the temple service as well as in the performances. This association has the long history i.e. it was formed as a response to the National movement against the Nautch performances and dedicating their daughters for the temple service during 1920s. Vijasri (2005) highlights,

The *Kalavanthulu* had watched closely the program of the Devadası abolition movement in Madras, and determined to emulate its success. During the 1920s local *Kalavanthulu* bodies sprang up throughout the Telugu-speaking regions of Bellary, Guntur, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Eluru, Repalle and the Narsapur districts of Mysore. The country's first province-wide devadası organisation—the Andhra Kalavanthula Social Reform Association—held its inaugural meeting at Guntur in 1921. Gathered together in their local organisations, and at the annual provincial conferences held from 1921 onwards, the *Kalavanthulu* undertook to have their personal relationships legalised under the Civil Marriage Act, to protect their offspring from getting trapped into prostitution, to campaign for public recognition that the 'performance of the present malpractices termed Gajjala Puja [or] sword marriage [and] teaching [of] the "so called" art of dancing intended for nautch performances' constituted immoral acts, and to educate the boys of the caste to the unavoidable economic necessity of finding new forms of livelihood. Indeed, participation in the annual conferences was reserved exclusively for those who had agreed to renounce the custom of adoption for 'prostitution' and had accepted legal marriage as a solution. At the same time, *Kalavanthulu* leaders used the platform of the conferences to speak out against 'pseudo-religionists who want to accept the name of religion for purposes which are entirely foreign to the very spirit of Hindu religion (ibid 400)'

This association tries to purify its community profession and women through disowning the rituals portraying it as 'Brahminical'. Their practice of dedication of the young and minor girls became the issue in the Indian Penal Code (Kannabiran

1995, Srinivasan 1988, 1985, Sriram 2007 and Jordan 2003.42). They became the benefactor of the anti-nautch drive of the colonial and post colonial state. This association became assertive by demanding developmental rights and welfare services such as land for housing, alternative employment, reservation for their children etc. This association in alliance with the Christian based organizations such as AMG Foundation and Saint Paul Trust has been also demanding for developmental rights which helped them to disown their rituals.

Although this group tries to project modernistic demands for their community, their demands have been changing from time to time. For instance, from the beginning of this association, men took the vow to abolish the tradition by denouncing their rituals, men disassociated themselves from the very art form and let their sisters get married rather than letting them to experience *Kannerikam* ceremony and temple tradition. In this sense, in the beginning of the formation of the association, their work has been cultural. It is only for the last few decades, their demands have turned out to be developmental. With the help of the Christian missionaries and Christian NGOs they could get the land from the Government or other welfare initiatives such as getting sewing machines so that *Kalavanthulu* women could start of small scale entrepreneur activities.

This association became one of the policing agents to prohibit *Kannerkam* ceremony when they kept track of their community women and adolescent girl's engagement into record dance programme, *Bhogum mela* and *Kannerkam* ceremony. Later they inform the police and rescue the girls. In this way, they act in

cooperation with the state and law enforcement agencies. The men also did not like to bear their caste name, *Kalavanthulu* but they use another name *Suryaballija*. And they succeeded in accomplishing it because state Government at present accepted their demand to change the name of the caste to *Suryabaliija*. It is this activity that is prohibiting the rituals of the community, distancing themselves from the performance and changing their community name from performers to the *Suryabaliija*, circumscribe their community women's participation in the popular cultural performances.

In this context we can raise questions about *Kalavanthulu* men and the activities the association, particularly the way they represent their community and what issues get prioritized in their representations etc. For instance, in the anti-Devadasi movement, they demanded for a change in their name of the community from Devadasi to performing or *Kalavanthulu* but in the post independence period new demand in the change of caste nomenclature to *Suryabaliija*. This is primarily because of the public knowledge that '*Kalavanthulu*' are identified with the obscene dances and sex work. The second related factor to change the name of the caste is interlinked with their affinity with the Backward Class Movement. Men from this community started this association after influenced by and participating in the Backward class movement during colonial period. At present too, this influence is apparent since men from this association aspire to be recognized as OBC group (like *Kapus* and *Baliijas*) by the state government. In the present day this association consists of largely the youth groups from *Baliijas*, *Kapus* and not exclusively by the men from the *Kalavanthulu* community.

The *Kalavanthulu* reform association never demanded health rights for the community directly like other sex work organizations in India such as DMSC but demanded health rights in a different sense by asking the state to help them in the prevention of trafficking. This association sympathizes with the anti-trafficking perspective in the AIDS discourse and they project that they have been participating in the health intervention programme. In the present day, this association tried to accommodate itself in the AIDS discourse, when it framed their work as anti-trafficking. And in this way this association projected that their work complements AIDS prevention programme. This association's stand does not deviate from the cultural purification movement of the earlier days rather it strengthens its stand. In fact, in the colonial period too, some of their practices such as adoption of the young girls from other community and later dedicate them into Devadasi system was interpreted as immoral and trafficking. But it is through the intervention of the Indian judges, *Kalavanthulus* were barred from such penalization (Kannabiran 1995, Sriram 2007, Jordan 2003 49 and Vijaisri 2004.230). However, these demands catered to the needs of their men rather than women and the properties rights which were earlier given in the names of their women are given to the men. One can see here how the agenda of the association keeps changing according to the dominant discourse and impulse to project the identity of their community which corresponds with the external impulse/discourse. The formation of association is not necessarily displacing the nationalist discourse of HIV/AIDS but is only negotiating their identity.

Laying out the feminist reading of the reform movement- anti-nautch movement and prohibition of *Devadasi* system Act, it was clear that their critique was based on the fact that *Kalavanthulu* men benefited from the reform movement. This is evident in terms of acquiring the property rights of these women when their matrilineal system was transformed according to the Hindu tradition, *Kalavanthulu* women lost their livelihood as there was no provision for alternative livelihood. Men could control their caste women in making them domesticated women and curtailing their outside movement (Srinivasan 1988 & Vijayari 2005). Nevertheless, while the *Devadasi* system is banned legally, their ritual (Kanerikam) still continues in the present day despite the fact that *Kalavanthulus* no longer follow the temple activity.

The question which arises here is about how is it possible that *Kalavnthulus* perform in these religious ceremonies (which we have narrated in the *Bhogum mela* and record dance program) and that they are very much in demand? It is public knowledge that *Kalavanthulus* perform in these popular performances but some of them are actually non-*Kalavanthulu*. Meanwhile non-*Kalavanthulu* women get benefited from the activity of community association which translates in preventing their community women from performing. Also that how *Kalavanthlu* women got rid of this ideological discourse by the members of the *Kalavanthulu* reform association and recover from the loss of the popular performance and dedication of the daughters to deity. In these two associations, what women from *Kalavanthulu* actually did can be framed as a strategy rather

than docile action which simply means that *Kalavanthulu* women just internalized the ideological constructions that were bestowed on them

Women from the community usually get rid of the troubles from their caste men (from the *Kalavanthulu* reform association) by publicly supporting their demand and succumb to the developmental agenda. Therefore, it is the public/official knowledge that these women got house benefits which is one of the prevention strategies of the state to resolve the problem of trafficking. However, even after receiving the welfare benefits from the state they continue sex work clandestinely. Many of my respondents informed that *Kalavanthulu* women sustain in sex work and popular performances as the economic opportunity that were provided by the state based on the demands of the community association is too little to maintain their family. This kind of alliance with the state by the *Kalavanthulu* women through the leadership of their community men actually resolves the problem created by the law enforcement agency. For instance, surveillance by the state regarding sex work does not include the 'beneficiaries'. The law enforcement agency conducts raids on some of the *Kalavanthulu* households when minor girls disclose the information or through the informers of the police. Secondly, *Kalavanthulu* women overcome the hurdles created by this association in terms of adopting girls from other community as their daughters and running the brothel through the adopted daughters while at the same time letting their own daughters marry. Another strategy which these older *Kalavanthulu* women resort to is sending their biological daughters to other cities such as Vijay, Vizaywada and Hyderabad on a contract sex work^{xix}. In other cases, if their own daughters are

employed in other occupations, through networking with their kinship members these women resort to transactional sex in the neighboring cities such as Vizag, Vizaywada and Guntur occasionally. These trends are particularly prevalent among the women who are the courtesans or court dancers in Tummalova, Peddapuram, Pithapuram and Amalapurma.

Through this case I tried to explain the discrepancy in conceiving 'risk' between the *Kalavanthulu* women and HIV/AIDS discourse. For instance, for *Kalavanthulu* women, losing economic opportunity from sex work by policing problem is the highest risk than risk from HIV/AIDS. Therefore they turn on to sex work and popular performances irrespective of receiving the welfare benefits from the state. HIV/AIDS discourse based on the anti-trafficking framework conceives HIV risk when women enter sex work. Therefore attempt has been made to disassociate women from sex work and performances and compensate the loss of employment through providing land for house site and small scale entrepreneurship activities etc.

Neo-Anti-Abolition of Devadasi System

In contrast to Neo-*Kalavanthulu* Reform Association, there is a new kind of association recently initiated by the older *Kalavanthulu* women from the community. This association has the similar claim to make as that of the anti-abolitionists of Devadasi system in the colonial period. Some of the older *Kalavanthulu* women mentioned about their grand mother who had negotiated with the Government to provide a space for the performance if the public nature of

immoral performance created nuisance. However, this group differs significantly from the anti-abolition of Devadasi system group in many ways. The advocates of anti-abolition of Devadasi system during the colonial period did not represent themselves as sex workers or prostitutes rather as sacred performers although they admitted that certain sections of them indulged themselves in sex work. As a contrast, the members of the neo-Anti-abolition of Devadasi system represent themselves in an ambiguous manner. At one level, they refer themselves as sacred performers and at another level they represent themselves as traditional sex workers. Secondly, the members of the present group do not mention about the anti-abolition of Devadasi movement while narrating the instances of the older *Kalavanthulu* women.

Similarly this association is very different from the neo-Kalavanthalu reform association in many ways. For instance, this group still holds their caste name *Kalavanthulu* unlike the neo-Kalavanthulu Reform Association. This group becomes assertive in holding and monopolizing the profession. We have to keep in mind that these *Kalavanthulu* are from the former temple *Devadasis* than court dancers as we find in Amalapuram, Kakinada and Peddapuram.

The formation of the second kind of association serves three purposes in the given context- one, dominant nationalist discourse on HIV/AIDS, secondly, visibility of women from other caste in the sex work and following the ritual of the *Kalavanthulu* and thirdly, avoiding policing problem from law enforcement agencies. Similarly, this kind of association also addresses some of the pitfalls of

the first kind of association. When there was much visibility for the other caste women because of following the traditional rituals and also sex work tradition of the *Kalavanthulu* women, *Kalavanthulu* women became assertive and formed association with the help of the upper caste/dominant caste men. The *Kalavanthulu* women developed a sense of defiance towards the non-*Kalavanthulu* women

"At Present in Peddapuram the other caste women outnumber us although it is known as the hub for Kalavanthulu women We are 150 in number while sex workers from other castes are about 300 "

[Excerpted from the Field notes]

This insight depicts how *Kalavanthulu* women are increasingly becoming intolerant about the growing number of sex workers from other communities. High monetary incentive for emulating the ritual of *Kalavanthulu* provided by the propertied classes induces other women to follow the life style of the *Kalavanthulu*. And it is the motivating factor for the older *Kalavanthulus* to feel insecure about the competition or threat posed by the presence of the non-*Kalavanthulu*. However, the *Kalavanthulu* women responded to the crisis by forming their own association at Muramunda^{xx} and reintroduced the tradition of the *Kalavanthulu* so that the community women could hold their sway over the entertainment industry

Sex work is our hereditary occupation, Kalavanthulus are superiors since they carry out sex work with limited number of partners, our partners are from higher castes, we are unlike the Guddisetallu who stand in the platform (meaning on the road or in public places), we have the (social) license to do sex work."

[Excerpted from the Field notes]

The self representations of *Kalavanthulu* community women indicate how they are different from the women from other caste who practice sex work. They viewed themselves different and in fact superior to that of the other community women in the sex trade through religious justification that they undergo Kannerkam ceremony. These self representations help them assert against the other group in terms of monopolizing entertainment industry. Desai (2008) and Dalrymple (2008) too mention the differences that are portrayed by the *Kalavanthulu* women from the lower caste women in the sex work

'the class girls do not talk to her, she says, they resent others muddying the famous *kalavanthulu* name, they have glamour and color, name themselves Kareena Kapoor and Sonali Bendre after film stars, without it seeming absurd, they leave the brothel only if a client sends for them an air conditioned Maruti car- otherwise you never see them (Desai 2008) '

Similarly, Dalrymple (2008) points out that the *Devadasis* draw elaborate distinctions between their sacred vocation and the work of their straightforward commercial sisters, and they take great pleasure in looking down upon others. They usually work from the home rather than the brothels or on the streets and tend to take marginally more from clients per week than non-*Kalavanthulu* sex workers (Dalrymple 2008). Their clients are rich men and like captains or sailors from China, South Africa, Croatia, Sri Lanka and Madras- ships docking over weeks sometimes in the Kakinada coast (2008).

Their assertion was evident through various ways i.e. projecting the superior qualities of their community so that they would be distinct from women from the other caste and forming their own association so that they will not allow other

women to practice sex work in their villages. Their primordial assertions which they make by citing the mythological histories (such as their progenies being the Apsaras/seductive goddesses such as Rambha, Urvashi descendants of royalties and justification for their fine looks and beauty^{xxi}) and as many Telugu film actresses made them to claim their superiority from other community women Desai (2008) too supports this view of tracing their lineage to the celestial dancers. Apart from their self representations which claim the superior status among the sex workers, there is a popular view in the region that these women are hereditary courtesans and temple dancers famous for their elegant beauty (Desai 2008).

‘We are famous because we are the descendants of courtesans and royalty, so we have that poise, those fine looks, the kalavantulu women say (ibid 43) ’

Even though women by tracing their lineage justify their beauty and accord supremacy compared to the other sex workers in the region, they construct it to get the demand from the customers

The other method through which they portrayed their superiority was by maintaining a distance from the other sex workers via depicting their soberness, working from home, approaching different type of clients and religious justification for their work that is *Kannerikam*. Although it may sound contradictory at one level, they form association in order to assert themselves or to challenge the competition posed by the non-*Kalavanthulu* with the charge that they are cutting into their share of earnings, at another level, for demonstrating their supremacy from the non-*Kalavanthulu* women they make the distinction that they

earn more money and economically stronger than the non-*Kalavanthulu*. Their self representation acted as a political fiction of the unified group and it is these dimensions which make their groups as real and substantial as opposed to relational and in disaggregated terms. Their assertion remained fictional since at one point, *Kalavanthulu* stated that they are sacred performers rather than sex workers but in this context, they constructed their groupness through the claims of 'social license' to practice sex work through the *Kanerikam* ceremony. Through the formation of the association, they claim that they were known historically as sex workers but not similar to the sex workers in the street or public sex workers *Kalavanthulus* claim that they are cultured sex workers since they undergo *Kannerikam* ceremony. As Agrawal (2008) states in the context of another performing community- Bedia in North India,

'These snippets reveal that sometimes the Bedias attribute their practice to immoral traditions, at other times its more acceptable aspects are attached to tradition while the disreputable dimensions are attributable to individual women's mischief Thus if singing and dancing or being concubines for the royalty are acceptable 'traditions' the transition to crass prostitution is conveniently attributed to the sisters who 'spoil' everything (ibid 20) '

In this context we can say that although these communities want to glorify their tradition through citing the accepted part of tradition, in other instances they try not to enter the activities which brought shame to the community i.e. profane sex work. Hence, they used *Kanerikam* ceremony as the pre-condition to carry sex work where as the ceremony symbolizes marriage and initiation ceremony to do temple service. Although *Kalavanthulu* claim their superior status from sex

workers belonging to lower caste and public sex worker, it is political in nature as Ringdal (2004) states,

“The Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Dravidian languages of today all distinguish between prostitutes with links to the temples and those without. This could certainly have been a less significant distinction in ancient times, although older texts hardly reveal particular antagonism between a temple servant and luxurious prostitute (ibid 81) ”

The other method through which they resort to retain the monopoly of entertainment is through vigilantism which prevented women from other community doing sex work at Muramunda. Another method is that they restrict themselves to dedicate their own daughters rather than the adopted daughters. The outcome of this kind of association is observed when one looks at the proportion of non-*Kalavanthulu* in different mandals^{xxii} where there is a mix of *Kalavanthulu* and non-*Kalavanthulu* in the cultural performances and settlements. Another peculiarity of the Muramunda (a hamlet of Kadiam mandal) is that women who carry out sex work and performance are older women as well as young women as opposed to other mandals such as Peddapuram and Amalapuram where young women including their adopted daughters are more visible in entertainment activities. In Peddapuram and Amalapuram older women become the brothel madam or pimp.

As I have discussed in the previous chapter that the propertied classes patronized the entertainment culture, in this case this association had nexus with the

Kalavanthulu women. Their association also takes the consent of the village head who belongs to the Kamma community. As Sheshu (2005) mentions,

‘the fact that these women also became very powerful due to their sexual proximity to the leaders in the village The system thrived because of the older *Devadasis* who used the system to gain money, power and status in the village (ibid 139).’

I narrate how the activities of the *Kalavanthulu* women resonate with the ‘practical reasoning’ since *Kalavanthulu* women benefit from the alliance For instance, firstly, the areas which are predominant in terms of *Kalavanthulu* settlers (many hamlets of Kadiam Mandal) are not policed by the law enforcement agencies because men from dominant *Chaudhury* community and police have nexus and *Kalavanthulu* women informally pay some of their amount to the police Consider the exchange below in which a *Kalavanthulu* woman discloses,

‘Police comes in either civil or normal dress to collect the monthly payment [here she is referring to the hafta- informal bribe] At other times generally constables come to inform about the fine [referring to the formal/legal/actual payment] and the requirement of our presence at the court without fail They do not arrest us nor do they scold us nor create problems in the house We just go to the Rajhamundry court to pay our fine of Rs 200 Police comes once in three/four months Police have never raided the houses of the sex workers in the village Neighborhood do not have any complain against us We are given due respect ’

This quote describes the two types of payment system that *Kalavanthulus* practice and the second mode of payment [informal payment] to the police actually helps them to continue sex work whereas the first mode of payment is the fake arrest The benefit from the nexus also extends to the record dance programme that is

sponsored by the dominant community. For instance, when police arrest sex workers and stop the record dance programme, men from the dominant community post the bail for them. Secondly, *Kalavanthulu* women become the surveillance agency of women from other communities and other villages as they report to police about the other caste women's involvement in transactional sex. This activity actually benefited them in preventing other caste women in performances and sex trade. If they find other caste women, then they inform the police or the village head and then the family gets ostracized. Thirdly, the manner through which these *Kalavanthulu* women (which is one of the agenda of the community association) carry out sex transaction (from home and maintaining formal decency) actually do not violate the instructions of the law enforcement agencies.

At one level, this association helped them to claim their superior status from women from other caste and have benefited from the alliance. At another level, through this association *Kalavanthulu* institutionalized the entertainment culture by networking with the dominant caste men and referring their community women who are formerly the leading actresses in the Telugu cinema. The other thing is the way these women internalize the dominant caste men's ideology/ upper caste patriarchal ideology - women from *Kalavanthulu* family are meant towards the enjoyment for the upper caste men.

The second kind of association negotiates with the national discourse or AIDS discourse through adjusting its agenda towards a right based perspective on sex work that is sex work is work and sex workers are best situated to prevent AIDS.

In this context, the second association projected themselves as traditional sex workers. Through this approach it is expected that *Kalavanthulu* women would take the charge of the condom promotion programme and STI treatment programme. However, this way of reference contradicts with their earlier claim that they are performers rather than sex workers. The second kind of association in the process of glorifying their past, also acknowledges as the acceptable part of the tradition that they are performers. When they view themselves as performers they share the view point of the first community association

While analyzing from the point of view of the HIV/AIDS discourse which advocate the right based approach, I find that there is a gap between its ideology and its practice. In other words, for the *Kalavanthulu* women prevention of the HIV risk becomes a low priority compared to other risks – for example, policing problem (although these women aspire to fit themselves in the right based ideology). For instance, one of the premises of the right based ideology was to turn the sex workers into a visible category and then take up the responsibility of HIV prevention programme. While these *Kalavanthulu* women label themselves as traditional sex workers, they encounter problem from propertied classes who are their temporary husbands/patrons when they participate in the HIV prevention programme. Consider the exchange.

I am married. My husband is from Kapulu caste (She does mention about him as a temporary husband. In fact, husbands provide economic favors in terms of gifts or other exchanges although their approved marriages are all from among the same caste or endogamous). His house is just 3 kms away from my place. He stays with his family members and the first wife. He visits me whenever he feels like 1 e twice or thrice in a month. He keeps an account of mine 1 e where I am

going My husband does not allow me to practice sex work outside Hence, whoever comes to my home, I entertain them Therefore, I do not want to join the NGO as a peer educator as my husband would not like it because this work needs frequent visit to the Rajahmundry and visiting people's house to distribute condoms I have once visited the STI clinic as I have gone to seek treatment [As told by a Kalavanthulu woman]

This quote explains that it is the alliance with the propertied classes that prevents them to become active members of the right based organization for sex worker and participate in the HIV prevention work In one way, this new public health programme endeavors to collectivize these women so that they would participate in the HIV prevention programme, however, in the other context this new initiative does not reach the other stake holders such as propertied classes who actually prevent these women from participating. Although the propertied classes build alliance with these women and perpetuate the entertainment culture in the region, it is also the fact that these propertied classes do not engage anything publicly since this action would become the antinomy to the modern state or diametrically opposite to the dominant discourse of morality. This dimension actually explains the politics of risk that links risk with social position and power Similarly, *Kalavanthulu* women too list out various risks (policing problem, loss of monopoly in the entertainment industry and health problem) which they encounter in their everyday practice and from these risks they prioritize the first two risks as the priority. In this way, there is a gap between the way HIV/AIDS discourse perceives the risk and that of *Kalavanthulu* women.

Two kinds of community histories were narrated by the *Kalavanthulu* women and other informants during the Field work. It is interesting to note how these community histories were interpreted and appropriated in a diametrically opposite way by these two kinds of associations. The first one includes, as mentioned above, the mythological history that they are the progenies of these Goddesses who would dance in front of the god. The other history which we have already narrated in the chapter dates back to the medieval period that Chola Raja Mahendra Varma encouraged and honored the *Devadasis* /*Kalavanthulu* women. Adding to the point, respondents stated that during the medieval period, temple building initiatives were at the peak and through that *Kalavanthulus* were mostly honored. However, *Kalavanthulu* men stated that it is the kings who shifted the cultural activities from the temple to the court and from there onwards exploitation of their women started. In contrast to the Neo-*Kalavanthulu* Reform Association, the second association views that during the tenure of Chola Kingdom Devadasi system was highly auspicious and their women were not engaged in sexual service of the upper caste men. This association mentioned medieval period as the starting point of exploitation of their women and condemned it. It is interesting to note that the second kind of association represents the first story as well as refers that Chola Raja honored them with land and gold for their temple and court service (accepted part of the tradition). In addition, the second association provides the symbolic meaning of their rituals

'There is a temple where the Godavari meets the sea. Here, each year a Kalavanthalu girl is married to Shiva.'

is, how these two varieties of associations interpret and appropriate one historical period and represent the community history.

Summary:

Through the historical account, the complex and contentious identity of the community is discussed. The reason behind discussing this aspect is to explicate the way public health frames the identity of traditional sex worker- is too simple to hide the contentious identities and masks how the communities (not just *Kalavanthulus* but non-*Kalavanthulus*) appropriate and negotiate these identity construction within each specific region. Other studies (Banerjee 2000, Vijayashree 2004, 2005; Chatterjee 2006, Sathyamala and Ritupriya 2006; Jordan 2003:9; Dalrymple 2007; Blanchard et al 2007, Shesu 2006, Banerjee 2000, and Evans 2000) which mention how traditional/sacred performers demote into sex workers, always explain it through the legal intervention that occurred in the colonial era which outlawed the performances and the *Devadası* system. However, I explain the contentious identity through various explanatory variables which sometimes backlash and overlap with one another. These explanatory variables include i.e. claiming of the *Kshaytriya* status by the rulers/propertied classes who are from peasant community through patronizing the performances, land reforms movement and agricultural development (that is covered in the third chapter), British Government and missionaries, reformers from various caste groups, varied stances on the abolition of *Devadası* movement among the *Devadasıs*, revivalists, legal intervention and recently the AIDS discourse. By looking at the identity

construction, this study also covers how *Kalavanthulus* internalize these identity constructions and negotiate with it. It was evident from the way community associations have been formed and projected. In two of the instances of the community association which adapt itself to the macro/global initiatives to combat HIV/AIDS problem, attempt has been made to see, how sex work is sustained by the variety of actions

In this way, the study is distinct from the feminist scholars such as Amrit Srinivasan, Kannabiran, Janaki Nair, Vijaisri and Dattar- who viewed that the reform process brought another form of patriarchy and domesticated the women by destroying matrilineal family system. Although they mentioned about the kind of resistance the reform process created among the *Devadası* community who appealed for the anti-abolition of the *Devadası* legislation, it was stated that their attempts were not successful. The present study extends to look at the new forms of associations and incorporated how women used their agential power in their mundane activities or manipulated the HIV/AIDS discourse. Similarly I agree with Oldenburg (1991) who viewed courtesans use covert strategy or resist patriarchy covertly but her study was exclusively on the courtesans. Although the study focuses on how *Kalavanthulus* negotiate with the HIV/AIDS discourse, attempt has been made to highlight the discrepancy between *Kalavanthulus*' and public health interventionists' prioritization of risk. I too highlight how the process of negotiation by the *Kalavanthulus* resolves some aspect of HIV/AIDS Discourse but raises questions problems in other dimensions of HIV/AIDS discourse. For instance, through community associations, *Kalavanthulus* get rid of policing

problems but they compromise with the health surveillance which has negative implications for them as well as for the public health. This latter aspect also explains how public health interventionist does not cover the alliance or complex social process (with the propertied classes) through which sex transactions take place.

The concept of religion has been problematized since in one context, entertainment is justified through the medium of religion, and in other contexts, religion becomes the ethical critique of the sex work. All these aspects have implication for the HIV/AIDS situation. For instance, entertainment is justified through religious context in which propertied classes both sponsor the event and gain dominance. Similarly in these events sex workers are inducted and for sex workers it becomes a pretext to carry out sex work. The underlying reason to explore these dimensions is that it helped examine the process through which gray zone is created. In other words, it is in the non-risk zones i.e. religious events, the risk activities actually take place. But the propertied classes have the capacity to mask this space as non-risk zone and 'habitus' of the policing and health interventionists to perceive it as a non-risk zone. While examining the rituals, the concept of 'tradition' has been interrogated and that helped us to unravel how they reinvent tradition and 'create possibility within the tradition (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967)' and commodification of the ritual. This way of analysis critiques the medical anthropologists who cite tradition as the cause of the HIV/AIDS situation.

¹ Bhogum in generic sense means enjoyment and possession. It also means a kept woman, mistress, a concubine or a prostitute

² Here *Kalavanthulu* community women should not be confused with other categories of *Devadası* women. Although different names have been accorded for *Devadası* communities in Andhra Pradesh across different regions, in delta region of Andhra Pradesh these communities are significantly different from other region. Their functions, their spatial structuring and mode of remuneration varied significantly. For instance, *Kalavanthulu* or the *Devadası* community of the East Godavari comes under the BC category whereas *Jogini* who are from the Telengana region falls under the scheduled caste groups. Another area of differentiation is that whereas *Joginis* are dedicated to the village deity or local deity because of the mishaps, however *Kalavanthulu* are dedicated to the macro goddesses (Vijayashree 2006). Similarly when we compare the *Kalavanthulu* with the *Bedia* community (which is one of the performing community in North India) there is no social sanctity or imperative through religious lines in the case of the latter (Agrawal 2008). The point which cuts across in these comparisons is that as in the case of other castes the social status varies from region to region, it is also true of the *Devadası* community. The other difference between a *devadası* and *joginis* is that the former do not belong to a particular caste but they are occupational groups but the latter belonged to untouchables (Chawla 2002, Srinivasan 1985 and 1988, Nair 1996 and 2000, Jordan 2003). Similarly, Pati (1995) mentions of the *Devadasıs* in Orissa who lead a vegetarian life unlike other *Devadasıs* in India.

³ Following Tamsin's terminology "AIDS industry" which comprises of governmental and non-governmental agencies, academics, health educators, scientists, social scientists, medical professionals, writers, publishers, journals, newsletters, conferences and symposia

⁴ It was only after the reforms that these individual and distinctive service categories merged under the prestigious caste title *Kalavanthulu* in a bid to overcome the disrepute attaching to their past association with the *Devadasıs*. This view is also supported by Vijaisri (2004 and 5) and Srinivasan 1988 in the context of *Sadir* community in Tamilnadu.

⁵ As Kannebiran (1995) uses in her work

⁶ Since they are known as auspicious, in the villages they continue to attend the initiation ceremony, during the birth of the child. In some of the religious festivals such as of Laxminarasimha Swamy in *Antaraveedi* festival, *Kalavanthulu* women dance in front of the God. In some of the festivals, *devadasıs* are known to be showing skills other than dancing and singing. For example in 'panduranga mahatyam' tenali rama Krishna, one of the court poets of Krishna deva raya describes about the shakti jatra, annual celebration of goddess sakti. In this jatra to fulfill their vows to the goddess, women used to pierce themselves with knives, walk in the fire and perform such other activities (Cited in Lakshmi 1993). However, this performance was not covered in this study considering the HIV risk as the objective of the study.

⁷ They are one of the categories among the *Devadası* community who are known to be performing in King's courts and temples. They are different from other performing communities like *Dommarulu* and *Naidulu* in terms of their dance forms- folk performances.

⁸ The very use of the term *nautch* (a corruption of the Hindi term *nach*, a dance performed by a more common class of northern dancing girl) suggested the smear campaign that was to follow *Nautch*, as the *Devadası* system described by the westerners to begin with (Kannabiran 1995, Srinivasan 1888 and 1985 and Srinam 2007).

⁹ Bangaluru Nagarathamma published a book called 'Radhika Santvanam' which was a romantic poetic work composed by the eighteenth century poetess Mudu Palani. What is of importance is the fact that Nagarathamma had critically intervened to contest male dialectics on decency, morality and feminine identity (Vijaisri 2004: 266).

¹⁰ Ethnographic accounts trace the social profiles of the Telugu movie cine actresses (for instance, Anjali Devi, Jamuna Devi, Jayaprada, Aarti Lakshmi, Korukunda Subbalakshmi, Sulakshmi, Sukanya, Jayamala) with that of *Kalavanthulu* community of the region.

^{xi} The Telugu film industry was originated with the silent film 'Bhisma Pratighna' in 1921. Initial films were mostly based on religious themes.

^{xii} Sringar was the element known to be associated with the performances of the *Devadasis*. It is told that when they would dance it would be like earthquake or thunder and when they would sing it would be like lightening emanating from them as opposed to "modesty" which is found in the newer forms of Bhartanatyam dance.

^{xiii} There is no agreement with regard to locate the exact era when these community started practicing sex work. For instance, some view that when their patronization was withdrawn during the colonial period as the indigenous rulers were no more enjoying the economic and administrative power. Others views that particularly from the account of the revivalists that (before the freedom struggle and reform movements) already Kalavanthulu had become sex workers as well as sexually serving the priests and landowning community.

^{xiv} Non-Kalavanthulu too participate in this dance form in identifying themselves as Kalavanthulu and their inclusion depends upon their association with the level of the association of the Kalavanthulu community of the region.

^{xv} The Telugu film industry was originated with the silent film 'Bhisma Pratighna' in 1921. Initial films were mostly based on religious themes.

^{xvi} One well known film actress in both Hindi and Telugu movie industry first introduced with a film person through the Kannerikam ceremony. He became the keep of this woman when she joined the film industry from the contact of him. She was sharing the income from the movies with him and later she moved out from him when she became famous and successful in the movie industry.

^{xvii} This concept was used by the Derret J Duncan M.

^{xviii} The minimum price for bidding starts from Rs 50,000 onwards to five lakhs. This amount too supported by Desai (2008) and Dalrymple (2008).

^{xix} Contract work is generally continued for two weeks to a month. Some also use the English word 'dating' as an alternative to the term 'contract work'. In a typical case, the madams or broker fix the price with a customer to take the girl outside the Rajahmundry or East Godavari. Apart from this price, the customer spends on the girl during her stay with him. During this time, the customer may bring his friends for the revelry. In other instance, the brothel madam may send more than one girl for a single customer but the price varies. Although Brothel madams receive more money at a time from the contract base work, some of the madams inform about the risk this work involves.

^{xx} Although in Muramunda it is known that these women were danced in the temples, in the later period many court dancers were migrated from the Peddapuram (court dancers) and settled in Muramunda. But now these women are part of the Kalavanthulu association which was formed by the Kalavanthulu women who were temple dancers and they too refer them as temple dancers.

^{xxi} This view too was supported by the Desai 2008.

^{xxii} Mandal is an administrative unit, which is larger than village panchayat and smaller than the district administrative unit.

Chapter- V

Gray Zone: Female Emigration, New Form of Patronization and Shifting Identity

have already discussed in the previous chapter the social-space depicting how the growth of the region through success in agriculture brought social and economic mobility among the *Settybalyjas* who could achieve higher status on par with dominant community in the region. In this chapter, we intend to discuss the social mobility of the other caste groups which has social ramifications for the region. In the process of mapping mobility patterns of different social groups, we intend to focus on how risk situation is being produced in the gray zone or spaces which are not accounted as risk zone in the public discourse. We mainly discuss the impact of the female emigration to gulf countries which brought economic mobility among the lower caste men. Combining the economic/social mobility among the *Settybalyjas* and husbands of female emigrants we seek to explain the creation of the new forms of risk culture in the region. This risk culture is reflected through formation of a large clientele base in the region which explains the demand and condescending attitude the entertainment culture receives in the region. This chapter intends to explain the emergence of a new category of patrons and the consequent perpetuation of entertainment culture.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the supply side of the entertainment culture by way of looking at how women from the informal economy too occasionally get involved in the sex trade which addresses the new demand of the sex trade. It has

found that transactional sex becomes the survival strategy of some women in the formal economy in order to resolve the crisis situations or penury. This is coupled with the aspect that sex workers move out of the entertainment to domestic sector as part of their coping mechanism from the problem created by the law enforcement agencies. For instance, it is observed that many of the *Kalavanthulu* women emigrated to gulf countries to work as a domestic servant on a provisional basis and after their return from gulf, continue to work in the sex trade. Nevertheless, there is a clear link between these two social actors- female emigrants and women in the informal or subsistence economy in the region. It has been observed that when women are confronted with economic problems or penury, they resort to different risk routes. For instance, the field data indicated that some of the agricultural workers particularly from Mala and Madiga community are also forced to take up sex work. Consider the following testimonies.

In our place (Peddapudi), we do not go outside but we work from the fields. We do not depend on sex work exclusively as our income but work as the agricultural laborers. We solicit clients whenever offered. We solicit/encounters with the clients either in their fields or in the home. [Talking about sex workers from outside who work in Peddapudi] There is also other category of women (implying seasonal sex workers). These women move to Peddapudi from other mandals such as Tuni, Golapuralu, Gutaipalem and Domada in search of agricultural work in the sowing and harvest season (4-5 months) of the year. These women work as the agricultural laborers in the field as well as exchange sex whenever they are approached. [As told by a sex worker who is also an agricultural worker]

Chowdhurygaru [implying agricultural land owner] drops me at my door and ask me to arrange (5-7) girls to work in their field during the harvest season. I too work in his field. While working in the field he (Chawdhury) whispers me to come near the hut. Then I go silently so that others will not suspect me as other workers will be busy working. He and his friends wait for me in the hut. He does not pay me

instead he supplies pockets of rice or black gram Sometimes if I run out of cash he helps me [As told by a sex worker who is also an agricultural worker]

These quotes explain the linkage of the propertied classes through whom the sex actions take place. The other instance illustrates the impact of the developmental projects which too creates the risk producing situations. A Dalit woman from Athanapally, a village in the Papikondalu sanctuary talks about the anticipated impact of the Polavaram project

"This project is not for our benefit We do not know what they are making, but people are telling us it is for the moneyed people We have also understood that Government people came for a survey but they never talked to us or our elders They did not seek our opinion Here we have the forest and the Godavari to fetch fruits, nuts, fish, and we have our agricultural land We have never gone hungry in this village There is always enough food to eat If we moved out of this village we will have to buy food from the shops Here we have it in our homesteads We also store grain in the palaasa (a collective grain storage system) Each family gives a share from the produce to the palaasa Any family or individual in need can take grain from here Tell me, will we get all these things in that place? Even our hamlets will be broken if they move us out from here "

This quote explains how women from dalit communities face the negative consequences of the developmental project in the region. In this case, women too resort to sex work when their traditional livelihood options get shrunk through these developmental projects Similarly, a few women from fisher community also get engaged in transactional sex temporarily and in other cases women who are employed in domestic service or agricultural work emigrated to gulf countries These are different survival strategies which women from lower class employed in the study region. The common line among these women is that they remain in the domain of

al sanction to illegality (Ghosh 2003) The unintended consequences of these
val strategies have been in terms of belonging to an impossible domain and
efore new risk producing situations and new risk groups in the region. Thus, this
o way process- demand of the entertainment culture by the new patrons and the
ply of the women in the entertainment culture actually help us to understand how
'sk is being produced and sustained in the region.

The emergence of gray zone¹ is due to three conditions i e both the element of risk
and non-risk is embedded in the risk zone itself, the implications of policing practices
in which risk zone actors are moving to the non-risk zone and lastly, shifting identity
of different social groups This complexity is the amalgam of risk zone with non risk
zone or risk zone actors' movement to the non-risk zone and change in the structure
and organization of sex work. More and more sex workers are on the look out for new
alternative avenues such as new spaces in unconventional sex locations These new
kinds of work are conflated with the result of policing practices and the vested interest
of the dominant castes. Borrowing the Beck's later phrase about risk

Beck argues that because of the patterns of globalization resulting from late
modernization, risks have become more and more difficult to calculate and control,
crossing national and socio economic boundaries Unlike in previous eras, risks are
no longer easily calculable because of their scale and magnitude (cited in Tulloch &
Lupton 2003 3)

The point, which we are trying to make is that since the parameter which defines risk
zone and non-risk zone seems inseparable, controlling and managing risk also
becomes much more difficult and needs a broader frame work Beck's framework

us to understand the complexities of the risk zone in the context of HIV/AIDS which is exacerbated by social and economic factors. Although I take this point from Beck to explain the difficulties one encounters in defining risk, I encountered a problem in accepting the Beck's thesis fully on 'risk society' and instead relied on the Lash's concept of the risk culture. Beck's thesis is overly rationalistic and individualistic model of the human actor and does not pay sufficient attention to the roles played by gender, social class, and ethnicity and experiences on risk situations (Tulloch and Lupton 2003.6, Lash 2000, Ekberg 2007). As I have already mentioned earlier that the concept 'risk culture' of Lash is more suitable than the 'risk society' as it considers the way people respond emotively as members of cultural subgroups, their unarticulated assumptions and moral values etc. Lash also asserts that contradiction, ambivalence and complexity are far more a part of the individual's response to risk than rationalized and systematic actions. This dimension is discussed in the previous chapter when I describe about the articulations and actions made by the Kalavanthulu women to negotiate the identity constructions in the HIV/AIDS discourse. Similarly, Bourdieu's concept of the "practical reason" which is one dimension of 'habitus', one can find a number of ways in which the self is managed through employing different tactics and strategies. I employed Bourdieu's framework of practical reason and strategy as it explains improvised action rather than the rational action or choice which Lash (2000) outlines in his framework of 'risk culture'. The management of self through different acts is imbibed in order to avoid different risks from different social actors i.e. law enforcement authorities.

d Side of Entertainment Culture: Female Emigration

Historically speaking International migration from East Godavari district took place in the following manner. There have been instances of people emigrating to the Gulf countries ever since the delta sub-divisions of East Godavari. This international migration has large historical antecedents which took three different forms over time. For instance, in the pre-British period the connection with the foreign land or emigration to these places are in terms of business relations. As Baru (2007) points out:

“Golconda and Hyderabad had the port of Machilipatnam linking them to the world outside. The road connecting the two was umbilical cord that linked Hyderabad to the Andhra coastline from there to global markets, contributing to the region’s prosperity for several centuries. Historians are familiar with the vital strategic role of the Machilipatnam port, also known as ‘bandar’, the Persian word for port. But long before the Persians and Europeans arrived at the Bandar, the Hindu kings of the Satavahana dynasty set forth across the waters from the port of Masalia, later Masulipatnam.”

During the British rule that is from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the pattern of migration was little different in the sense that it was the migration of the indentured labourers, domestic servants from lower classes and castes and few business entrepreneurs from the upper castes (Satyanarayana 2001, Kannabiran 1998 WS 53). During the British period migration took place to the plantation areas of Malaya or Burma, Mauritius, whereas in the recent period, the emigration pattern is heavily inclined towards the Middle East countries, as domestic servants rather than as plantation workers. Under colonialism, when a large number of male populations were uprooted and transported across the land and sea to raise vast brigades of

orce, their sexual and physical needs were provided for by colonial states and
ters. Thus women from Indian subcontinent were transported to Fiji, Malaysia,
outh Africa and Surinam, West Indies and the Caribbean to sexually service the
dentured male workforce from the subcontinent (Sangera 1997) Kannabiram (1998)
entions about the migration of the dancing girls and women already practicing sex
ork to the Trinmad during the British period

During the British regime, international migration took a particular form as different
sets of people migrated to foreign countries primarily as workforce in the plantation
sector and other such sectors. Additionally, this pattern of emigration reflected the
colonial encounters. According to some historical accounts, the ships sailing from the
mouths of the Godavari and the Krishna rivers were calling at the seaports of
Kakinada and Koringa on their way to and from Burma and Malay Peninsula
(Ramsen 1979). The imperial expansion drive of the colonial rulers had the influence
of the colonized, which led to the movement of the latter which is revealed in the
following accounts. In 1840, both the Collector of Godavari and the Commissioner,
Tenasserim, reported a large movement of labour from the North Coromondal coast.
After the annexation of Pegu 1862, the Government of India took steps to encourage
emigration to Burma. These became increasingly active after the opening of the Suez
canal which had increased the demand for Burmese rice. And in 1876 provision was
made for the appointment of a recruiting agent for labour from Madras. Ceylon (now
Srilanka) and Burma were the destinations for the bulk emigrants from South India, of
course but there was also emigration to other British colonies and to Dutch and
French possessions. In 1834 the collector of Godavari, wrote to the Board of Revenue

men from the district, usually washer men and weavers thrown out of employment from the company's factories, were going to Bourbon in large numbers to Mauritius and in 1843 the emigration to Mauritius was estimated at 11,000 other factor that led to the emigration from the region was the great famine of 1876 (umar 1992).

However, one finds a very different kind of international migration in the recent period which combines certain social characteristics from the earlier periods as well as few new characteristics. For instance, the current migration can be compared with the earlier trends in two ways. At present it is mostly the lower caste people who migrate like in the British period. However, upper and middle caste people also emigrate in terms of skilled work such as nursing and engineering occupations. Men migrate to gulf countries when there is a requirement of skilled jobs like driving, skilled work in the construction sites and any other machine operating jobs. As Asis (2007) has pointed out,

“Labor migration can be classified according to gender such as male migrants in agriculture, plantation, construction and manufacturing sectors while female migrants in the entertainment and in domestic sector ”

Nevertheless, the number of latter two categories are very low as compared to the former. Similarly, following the trend of the pre-British period, this populace migrated to the Persian gulf rather than to the countries such as Malay or Burma or Mauritius during the colonial regime. The current trend of international migration is distinct from the earlier period of migration in the sense that it is mostly the lower caste women who migrated in contrast to men in the earlier periods. Although during

colonial period women migrated, their number was quite insignificant. For
ance, Satyanarayana (2001) mentions

“Telugu Males easily out-numbered the women in the proportion of four/five to one, for instance the number of females for every 1000 males in Burma during the period 1921-31 was 208, compared to 430 among Tamils²⁴ Thus the proportion of females was very low among the communities from coastal Andhra districts ”

The major transition in the scenario of international emigration is the female emigration to the gulf and their employment in the service sector This shift can be accorded to many inter-related factors. It was the oil boom in 1970s when the Asian gulf or inter Arab migration took place (MacMurray 1999, Shah 2000, Asis 2007, Halabi 2007). The oil price hike turned the Middle East countries into extremely rich nations and they utilized their suddenly acquired wealth for developing their economies (Manhappulan 2008 1) There is an ongoing demand for immigrant workers and a significant supply of old and new low wage jobs that require little education. As Sassen (2002) explains,

“Global cities concentrate some of the global economy’s key functions and resources There, activities implicated in management and coordination of the global economy have expanded, producing a sharp growth in the demand for highly paid professionals Both this sector’s firms and the life styles of its professional workers in turn generate a demand for low paid service workers (ibid 2002).”

The study respondents revealed about the labor demand in the informal service i.e., as baby sitters or domestic servants or helpers. Most of the countries have a huge population of domestic workers In UAE alone, there are 6,00,000 domestic workers, most of these women are employed in individual households (Aneja 2007) This

tion becomes serious with another fact i.e., own country female laborers feel hesitant to choose this kind of occupation. Hence, there is a huge demand of cheap labourers for the domestic help

We have discussed in the earlier chapter that the growth of region resulted producing propertied classes. However, this economic growth helped certain social groups of the region to consolidate their economic gains and later social and political power as well. This economic prosperity of the region did not trickle down as much to the middle and lower social groups, although consumption, aspirations, new values, etc have tremendously increased. This is illustrated in the way female international migration took place in the region and it becomes another factor which induces risk culture in the region. Another illustration is that loss in one business compelled some women to join sex work for a few days and return to the former business when the repayment is completed.

However, we argue that materialistic explanation i.e. macro factors that is neo-liberal economy is not sufficient enough to analyze the female emigration and therefore risk analysis of HIV/AIDS situation. It is because these aspects undermine the micro realities or rational decision of women and mediating factors. For instance, although women from lower caste and class immigrated to gulf, the reason for emigration is not poverty. Rather, maintenance of status quo in terms of consumption habits such as owning a house, possession of gold, land purchases, maintaining electronic gadgets, loan for consumption expenses in case of marriage, repayment of loans etc compelled women to emigrate to gulf countries or join sex work on a provisional basis. The

Observation from the field revealed that women from lower socio economic classes see a rational decision of earning money through one or the other means in the context of prevailing 'culture of poverty'. This helps us to understand that women from lower castes do not conform to the social norms and structure rather apply the strategy with their specific interest in the pursuit of expanding economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2003). They migrate in order to maintain better financial position or to cope with family trauma including violation, exploitation and desertion from their husbands. Female migration to the gulf countries took place not because of lack of employment opportunities in the districtⁱⁱ but better employment opportunity motivated them to migrate to Gulf countries. For instance, women informed that their migration resulted in getting financial benefit of five times their earlier incomeⁱⁱⁱ. Families encourage this female emigration, since it is now consciously regarded as a privileged opportunity to increase social mobility (Percot 2006).

Another fact is that women have not been migrating only to improve economic situation but in order to achieve higher social status in the villages on par with the upper caste community people i.e., Kapulu, Reddy and Chowdhury community. The social status is characterized by the possession of their materialistic phenomena i.e. land, owning a house and possessing gold. This kind of migration takes place in delta regions i.e., Konaseema regions^{iv} such as Saketnetpally, Amalapuram, Antarveedi, Razole and other delta regions such as Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Ravulapalem and Tuni of the district. Sometimes the issue of women's mobility and migration intersects with the notion of caste, class and gender. For instance, female migration to the Gulf has been confined to the lower caste middle class women such as women

Mala, Kalavanthulu community, artisan community especially potter making community, washer men, fisher folk, Vellama and Shepard community rather than the upper caste groups. As Satyanarayana (2001) mentions,

"The coastal Andhra women in domestic service and prostitution invited other women from their villages and neighbouring areas to migration and offered to help find jobs in Burma. The port-towns like Cocanada (Kakinada) had also played a significant role in this type of migration."

The particular caste and regional (delta) dimension of the female emigration is determined by the social demography of the region. For example, the numerical proportion of the Scheduled caste community is higher (5, 17, 791- 16 77%) in East Godavari and particularly in the Konaseema region compared to other region of the district (Venkatswaralu 1990 38). It is mostly the scheduled caste community along with few backward communities who emigrate to gulf for the domestic work. The caste distinction of the female emigrants in the domestic sector is related with the concept of stigma. There is a stigma attached to domestic work as it is identified with lower castes and hence unacceptable feature among the upper caste women to do domestic work. Thus only women from the lower castes went for the domestic jobs. However, I argue that this stigma actually did not give negative results but it became an opportunity for the women from lower caste community. It is because a stigma is associated with the domestic help/ work which prevented the upper caste women from emigration. And later, it is the emigration itself becomes a 'privileged position' for the women from lower caste to achieve higher social status and mobility.

destination countries' legal policies of emigration also favour the female emigrants because they want the supply of labor for the short period not on a permanent basis. Discussion with the female emigrant households indicated that the women also want to migrate to gulf for a short period of time to earn money and return after they fulfill it.

The initial period of gulf migration after the oil boom (early 1970s) resulted in the migration of the men for the service sector such as painters, carpentry, water repairing, helpers in the automobile services, masons, tailoring and construction^{vi} This first generation of workers provided information to the women in their villages about the demand for household work. Through this social networking, women could migrate. This first generation of migrants, mostly men, helped women in obtaining VISA, provided initial shelter in their houses, informed the women before hand about the job requirements and helped them in obtaining the job- in the destination countries who are mainly from the same class and caste backgrounds. Another factor which helped women to experience international migration apart from the availability of the immediate job is that the travel cost for women was comparatively much lower than the men. ^{vii} Hence women arranged the travel amount by pawning from individual money lenders and repaid the amount easily within a year.

Another factor which helps us to understand the gendered nature of the migration is that the men's chances of emigration to the Gulf is limited to the skilled occupations whereas for women it is not limited to skilled occupations. Other aspect of the gender dimension is evident through the testimony of a respondent who said

Women mostly migrate because they can easily adjust to the situation and can work in other people's houses For men it is a problem '

Another reason is the cultural conception among the family members that women are known to save more money from their earnings than their male counterparts. This conception favoured women members to be allowed to emigrate, then save and send home money regularly. One of the respondents informed that the general trend of the male emigrants who work in the construction is that they send less amount of money and not on a regular basis as some of them maintain the second family in the gulf and in the case of others they spend their salary in consuming alcohol. Fourthly, the differential wage pattern prevailing in East Godavari District for the women and men in the construction work goads women to emigrate. For instance, in the agriculture sector, women are paid less such as Rs50-Rs 80 per day whereas for men it is Rs 100-Rs150 although both do the same work. However, in the gulf these women earn at least seven to eight times higher than the agricultural work or construction wages. This becomes the rational calculation for the women and their family members in their decision to emigrate.

These women are mostly married women who leave behind their children back home. The characteristic feature of female migration in this region to gulf is that, they migrated as 'single women' whether married or not. Surtees (2003) aptly writes about female migration,

'this feminization of labour migration is due, in part to the increased demand for female workers, who are assumed to be 'submissive' and 'obedient', and the

increased availability in destination countries of what are considered 'female jobs' such as domestic work. Another aspect is the vast female labour supply in Indonesia and the fact that many women have low education and limited economic opportunity. A further factor is the social obligation that women- as wives and mothers and as daughters- contribute to household incomes (ibid 100) '

It is this profile of the women that had implications in terms of creating risk producing situation on the one hand and contributed to the social mobility of certain groups. Emigrating alone became the leverage as it helps the women save most of the money earned. One of the respondents said,

"If they earn Rs 10,000 from the work per month, they can save Rs8,000 as they spend very little in the gulf. It is so because they are provided accommodation in the employer's house and provided meals for three times. Additionally, during the festivals, when the employers' relatives visit they provide gifts since they work for them. Employers too provide them clothes during the festivals. So they do not have to spend for their own maintenance from their salary in the gulf. But their job demands long hours of work- it starts from early morning till the late night. Although in their houses, machines are used, still it is a mammoth task. They wash clothes, cook and sometimes are abused by their employers' family members if there is delay in work. Sometimes these women are sexually oppressed in the absence of the females."

This quote explains the savings aspect that motivate them to migrate as well as the boundary between work and leisure is regularly transgressed with many domestic workers reporting long working hours. Bose (2003) too confers the utter helplessness of the female migrant workers especially in the domestic and informal sector in the gulf countries. So it is not possible for them to keep their family members with them as the nature of the work does not permit it and they can not afford for the maintenance of their family in the gulf. Although it has disadvantages in other sense i.e. risk producing situation, the benefits of savings is quite visible to the women and

ily members at the outset. Narrating similar accounts of nurses from Kerala, it is
'd that living alone there has advantages in the sense that they provide
accomodation free of charge as she will live in the hospital hostel, the female
emigrant stays generally for three years, saving as much as possible in order to make a
large part of her own dowry (Percot and Rajan 2007).

In the initial period of female emigration particularly in the 1990s, the emigrant
population barely touched 5,000 from East Godavari district whereas in the recent
years the number increased substantially.^{viii} According to one of the key informants
(NGO personnel in the HIV/AIDS project) approximately, the Konassema region
alone (which includes the administrative units of Saketnatpally, Antarveedi,
Amalapuram and Razole) accounts for more than 30,000 female emigrants whereas
from the other administrative units of the district it accounts to 10,000^x. The increase
in the number of female emigrants can be attributed to recent provision of the direct
air service from Hyderabad to gulf countries whereas earlier they had to take the route
of Rajahmundry to Hyderabad, Mumbai and Gulf countries This direct air service
from the state capital in turn minimized the travel cost of the emigrants Given the
geographical position of Hyderabad, it lies in a four hour radius from all major cities
in west Asia (Rajeev 2008:92).

The implication of migrating as a single woman is manifold Male migration and
female migration has different sets of consequences for the families left behind (Asis
2007). When men migrate it is generally for the technical jobs such as driving and
electric works, few men go for tailoring, but in case of women it is for the domestic

Although men have migrated to foreign lands, their migration did not bring the kind of risk culture in the region. Women emigrate with the intention of getting better earnings and spend productively for the household particularly for the education of the children and construction of house. However, the insights from the field indicated that in the process their remittances back home have been used more in exhibitionism and less in productive activities. The emigrants' family members in order to create a distinct social status in the region, emulate the consumption habits of the propertied classes while denouncing their traditional ascribed status. As Bourdieu (1998) states the main idea is to co-exist within the same social space, to occupy a point or to be an individual within a social space is to differ, to be different. The female emigrants' households in East Godavari District started imitating the upper caste's consumption practices in order to attain the higher social mobility index and this is done through the display and exhibition of material and non-material things in the public. This exhibitionism includes possession of gold, owning property, purchasing electronic gazettes, motor vehicles, spending on fancy clothing, building houses as well as patronizing the entertainment or leisure activity etc. These kinds of consumption patterns and new life styles are ways through which lower castes are ascertaining themselves. In the process, older women of the villages in the Konaseema region revealed that their children have been neglected from studies and care and their earning is spent on conspicuous consumption rather than saving money for the future. It is the latter aspect which is of interest to us in terms of analyzing 'risk culture'. The field observations indicated that, female emigration^x disrupts familial relation – husbands visit sex workers, invest their migrant wives' remittances into gambling and consumption of alcohol and inadequate care that children receive in

families despite the remittances sent by their mothers. Similarly as Ehrenreich and
d (2002) summarize

“This is the female underside of globalization, where by millions of Josephines from poor countries in the south migrate to do the “women’s work” of the north- work that affluent women are no longer able or willing to do Many female migrants tell of unemployed husbands who drink or gamble their remittances away” [ibid 2]

It has also been reported that the hangover of this conspicuous consumption is of short span if women do not send their earnings regularly. In these situations, their husbands’ mortgage the household belongings in order to have their spending uninterrupted in the entertainment activities. In this process this region emerged as the clientele base for the sex workers from other parts of the region According to one account of an NGO which focused on the prevention of HIV/AIDS in the region, the HIV prevalence rate in the Konaseema region among Mala and Madigas is 5% which is well above the prevalence rate for the district which is 3%

There seems to be a clear linkage between international and internal migration (Barbora *et al* 2008) as exemplified in this case When the new category of patronizers for entertainment emerged in the region one could see new form of risk culture emerging through the internal migration of the Kalavanthulus and other sex workers. For instance, many *Kalavanthulu* community members migrated to economically prosperous locations such as Amalapuram over a period of time because of the emergence of new patronizers like that of coconut traders (Settybalijas) and husbands of female emigrants In this way our causal analysis of risk is distinct from the way public health specialists look at risk, because these are many pathways to

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In the official and public health discourse simplistic assumption is being made on the positive correlation between the poverty, trafficking, lower economic status of women and risk of HIV/AIDS through critiquing neo-liberal economic policies and attributing these policies as the cause of trafficking and the spread of HIV/AIDS. In this way public health specialists accord the recent increase in the prevalence is to the trafficking of women to the gulf countries who gets infected with the disease and spread the disease in the region after their return. However, we locate the virus in other way- because of the emergence of new kind of patronization. In this way, we looked at how this phenomenon contributes in reproducing a new kind of clientele base or patrons for the sex trade.

Supply Side of the Entertainment Culture: Shifting Identity

In this section, the supply side story is described, having discussed how the demand for the entertainment culture emerged with new kind of patrons in the region. This supply is done through maintaining shifting identities- women moving out from informal economy to the entertainment industry and vice versa. In the process it explains how certain caste women are prone to enter into risk zone as they do not succeed in their economic activities as opposed to the upper castes who take the advantage and make surpluses from their economic activities. In other words, it explains that different social groups have different access to social mobility which creates a distinct risk producing situations in the region. Therefore, this signals the constant shifting arrangements of these lower caste groups in the subsistence economy for their survival. A close look at the social profile of the entrepreneurs in

Rajahmundry town gives an indication of the accessibility to social mobility. A brief profile of the entrepreneurs is given below:

The table indicates that Reddy, Komatilu, Devangalu and Kammias are mostly engaged in the gold business (Komatilis are engaged in gold credit business) and hospitals are known to be owned by the upper castes Brahmins, Rajulu, Kapulu, Kamma. Majority of the higher rank employees of the hospitals also belonged to Brahmins, Kamma and Reddy community. Brahmin community in the region is also known to be employed largely in colleges and schools as teaching staff, as librarians and other kind of jobs. Several of them also practice alternative systems of medicine. Whereas Kammias own the hotels, hospitals, real estates, cinema halls (so also the Kapu i.e. three cinema complexes are owned by the present MLA who belongs to Kapu Community), agricultural lands, farm houses and many alcohol shops in Rajahmundry. Reddy community is also one of the dominant communities in Rajahmundry but they are more or less confined to the finance business. Settibalija community are known to be engaged in the coconut business. It is interesting to note here that a sub-division "Anapathy" is known to be the home of the Reddys who are into the finance business including investing money to the third party settlers such as pimps and madams in the sex work. Padmasali community people are engaged in the textile and cloth business. Komati community are although known as the business community, their business is limited to grocery business or vessel (steel) business. Most of the agricultural land belongs to Kammias and Kapus, while the agricultural labourers belong to Mala and Madigas. Other work in which Madiga community are

Table no. 4.1. Caste Wise distribution of Ownership of the business shops in the Rajahmundry¹

Type of Ownership	Caste Wise distribution of Ownership of the business shops in the Rajahmundry												
		Kamma	Komatis	Brahmins	Reddy	Rajulu	Kamasali	Marwari	Kapu	Mala	Muslim	Devangalu	Tatagroup
Gold	Big retail shop							2			2	2	1
	Small shop	33	3		32		35						
Hospitals	Small hospital	30		2	25	15		35					
	Big hospital	5+1			2	2		5	1				

(Source Primary Data Collected from the field during 2007)

¹ The case of Rajahmundry was only instantiated here rather other cities of the district since Rajahmundry is the business capital of East and West Godavari district

gaged in is the shoe-making and scavenging work Washermen communities are gaged in washing, ironing clothes and some work in the cloth manufacturing industries.

Fisher folk communities which are known to be residing near the Dowleswaram barrage are engaged in aqua culture and so also in selling fish There are 1, 05, 106 fisher folk communities in the district.^{x1} When these communities could not accomplish financially well in recent years due to various factors such as the use of new technologies by the Department of Fisheries which resulted in cutting the manpower in the economy and also the advent of Reliance Gas Industry which produces the wastes in the sea and therefore affected fishing business and their very survival. Another area in which these communities faced financial crisis is when they moved to aqua-culture Sangera (1997) points out the reasons for the marginalization of women in the traditional sector in the context of agriculture,

“The substitution of traditional subsistence farming with modern technology based, commercial agro business on account of former’s inability to transform itself into a viable enterprise for capital accumulation has meant that large masses of rural people who subsisted on traditional agriculture has been disposed and displaced

In order to cope with the crisis, the women from these communities adopt many of the survival strategies such as seasonal migration to other districts or neighboring states such as Chilika, Orissa to engage in fisheries (Coastal Livelihood Information paper, 2000) or join sex work provisionally Similarly several other occupational groups joined sex work during their down time The point which can be made here is that although occupations are correlated on the caste lines, it is largely men who get

nfinned to these occupations. However, women take the responsibility to move beyond the caste occupations during the critical periods to sustain their family. This finding confirms with one of the studies by Merten and Haller (2007) which states that fisher folk communities exchange sex, based on the economic opportunities provided by the fish trade in conditions of poverty and changing livelihoods. Similarly, women from the *Mala* and *Madiga*^{xi} community who work as agricultural and construction workers, transact money through sex with their agricultural land owner, the plantation supervisor or construction supervisor (during harvest season) occasionally to have additional income Steinbrook (2007) too mentions about women from the agrarian economy in India that when the rains are insufficient in agrarian areas, women become sex workers. Thus, it is quite evident that sex work is not practiced exclusively by one community of women- *Kalavanthulu* but also by the other community women in East Godavari district

Another instance that can be cited here is the SHG (Self Help Group) programmes. The field data indicated that many a times SHGs programmes are used as a pretext by some of the women to move out of their villages to do sex work This also explains how the micro-finance programmes are not adequate in terms of coping with the poverty and they are not able to prevent from doing sex work Large number of DWACRA (Development of Women and Children in rural Areas) projects¹ or other

¹ DWACRA is a central level programme which was launched in 1982 as a third sub-programme of IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme) The aim was to form women self help group to empower as a strategy of poverty alleviation The basic objective was to provide income generative skills and activities to poor women in rural areas, thereby improving their social and economic status (Galib and Rao 2003)

micro-finance related activities such as Velugu, Indira Kranthi Pathkam etc projects² are very much visible among women in the region and also among the women who are part of the sex trade. Women respondents revealed the reasons behind their decisions to enter into sex work saying that the conditions of poverty and large amount of debts compelled them into it. A few women respondents informed that when they leave their house for transactional sex, they use micro-finance programmes and its meetings as a pretext to cover up. It is not that they do not attend those meetings rather they also do sex work in addition to attending the meeting. It has been found that the neighborhood which is largely inhabited by the Kalavanthulu community (Tummalova area), women are seen to be engaged in SHG activities. For example, the front room of the Kalavanthulu households are used for paper binding or lace making activities for which micro-finance programmes provide loan in the name of small scale entrepreneurship activities. However, it is also observed that the other rooms of these households are used for the sex work. Kalavanthulu households do so in order to avoid policing activities. Desai's (2008) study also mentions about secret sex work where the home turns to the brothel,

'In homes all over the district, secret housewife sex workers wait for their cell phones to ring. One woman and her daughter in law transform into a brothel as soon as the son and husband leave for work [ibid 48]'

² The Government of Andhra Pradesh has also its state owned programmes for empowerment of poor people such as Jannabhumi, Adarana, Girl Child Protection, Roshni, Kott Varalu, free power scheme and Deepam, Velugu (at present it is changed to Indira Kranthi Pathakam). Velugu's objective was to improve opportunities for the rural poor to meet their priority -social and economic needs and reduce the incidence of child labor and school drop out rates of girls. The project proposes to achieve its objectives through social mobilization and empowerment of the poor, especially women, improvement of their livelihood skills, and providing access to productive assets, infrastructure and social services (GOAP 2005)

The reason for these women to enter into sex work despite these programmes is that micro finance programmes do not help reduce poverty or prevent them from entering into sex work or target the social condition of the women. Micro finance programmes do not provide loans for agricultural activities but for small scale activity which is part of subsistence economy. When they receive loans, women do not feel burdened as it is a group loan rather than individual loan. However, they face problems when repayment phase starts

I have taken loans from Spandana from the government. Spandana is a government initiative which gives money with low interest. Rs8 interest for 100 rupees and the time period to repay the loan is 50 weeks. I am part of a group of 30 members. They provide some literacy programs as well. I had to take a loan from Spandana when my daughter was unwell. I had initially taken 6000 rupees and repaid it. After that I was given a special loan from them for three thousand rupees and that is the debt I currently have. I have another 4000 rupees or so debts which were made by her husband. I am repaying the debts through the money I earn through sex work. [As told by a sex worker]

What happens is they spend money for betterment of their social conditions such as expenditure on their daughter's marriage or their children's education, health etc. Most of women from SHGs revealed that meeting their social consumption needs assume more importance than utilizing the money towards development of entrepreneurship. So when they have to repay the loan, they borrow money from other sources or get money from other work to repay it. During these times either they mortgage their belongings or join sex work. So the micro finance programmes neither mitigate sex work nor poverty. Both these things feed on to the other. In this sense, DWACRA and other micro finance or anti-poverty programmes actually do not lead to the empowerment of women but provide more opportunity to the women. It is

equivocally empowering as this new visibility (Nair, 2005; 330), adds possibility to the women to spend on marriage and other family functions. This instance postulates a mismatch between the women's attitudes to and expectations of the state and the modernized welfare state's view of welfare programme. According to the Andhra Pradesh Government account, SHG programme is successful as there is 100% repayment, women were able to save

'The self help groups in Andhra Pradesh have attained the dimensions of a movement, which has given realistic hopes for the poor people to organize, and through their collective strength prove that they are bankable and can enhance their social and economic position by operating in the mainstream market systems. The performance of self help groups has been commendable in terms of the number of poor people getting organized the activities they undertake, and even presenting itself as a viable model to make many other ailing welfare deliveries systems efficient and effective. There are many instances of SHGs of women growing at a fast pace in Andhra Pradesh. The SHGs at the mandal level get organized into mandal samakhyas, which have substantial amount of money as savings. Recently, the Govt of Andhra Pradesh has registered 5313 village organizations and 211 Mandal samikshyas as primary cooperatives under Andhra Pradesh Mutually Aided Cooperative Societies (MACS) Act under the Velugu project (GOAP 2005')

What misses from this account is the intermediary process (transactional sex) through which women make the savings and repay the loan. These two cases- women from fisher folk community and DWACRA programme substantiate how women dwell in a space within the binaries or merge moral (agriculture, fishing etc along with domestic roles) and immoral work (sex work). This particular instance actually negates HIV/AIDS discourse particularly the radical feminist's agenda of rehabilitation which advocates for materialistic solution for the sex work. Kotiswaran (2004) too explains

ut secret sex work in Tirupati where an *actor* within the institution of marriage, amely, the wife engages in prostitution.

'The phenomenon of wives who sell sex seems to be quite widespread in India Based on my field work in Tirupati over the past few months, I gathered that such wives are colloquially thought to engage in "secret prostitution" in Tirupati In Tirupati, wives engaged in 'secret prostitution' might either rent a room in a residential neighborhood or might go to a madam's house in the neighborhood on ad-hoc basis to do sex work (ibid 2) '

Rajahmundry is noted for business of clothes, wooden furniture, steel trunks and ceramicware (Singh 1997.15) It is the second largest cloth market of India next to Mumbai. Since Rajahmundry is known as one of the main business centres of the Andhra Pradesh, one can also find gender differentiation in various forms of the business. The impression one would carry from the first instance of arriving in Rajamundry is that women are very advanced, employed in the business on a large scale and are quite independent because of the visibility of women in various public spheres. However, one finds contrary picture with the deeper insights of Rajahmundry. For instance, one would find that women especially young girls are employed in the grocery stores, super bazzars, petrol pumps, cloth shops, gold shops, watch shops, restaurants, food worlds, vegetable shops whereas the owners of the shops are mostly men The complex factor to these gendered aspect of the employment is that these women are forced to use their bodily disposition to add up their meager wages from these subsistence or informal economy The shop owner may hire them to serve (sexually) the male customers who occasionally visit these shops or these women serve sexually their owners to add up their income For instance, many gold shop owners^{xiii} (who belong to Reddy and Kamma community)

ploy women to attract the gold supply agents (who purchase it on a large scale and sell it in other towns) so that the owner gets the maximum profit. Rajahmundry is one of the important whole sale gold market and the per day business transaction in the small shop and medium shops are estimated to be fifty thousands and fifteen to twenty five lakhs respectively on a minimum basis. Consider the following testimony of a rickshaw puller who is a broker

'Mostly business men frequent sex workers. Only few employees frequent sex workers. It is because businessmen have money to spend on sex workers. Business men who visit Rajahmundry for their business dealing, have the extra money [here he meant both the profit from the business dealing]. They are not so particular about the extra money. Whereas the employee keep account of their earning since they have to spend it for their family and they do not have extra money. They will think twice before they spend on 'majalu (entertainment)''

Similarly, in many other jobs, women are compelled to transact sex for money sometimes with the employer in order to add up their income. In other occasions these working women transact sex for money independently with the customers to compensate their insufficient income. Women are employed in the category of sales girls and low paid jobs and very few women own the shops. For Adkins (1995) most women's work is the work of dealing with their positioning as sexual objects and she sees the appropriation of their bodies in employment as indicative of the very pervasiveness of the sex work beyond the sex industry (cited in West & Austrin 2002). In these three instances of women, I attempt to explain the influence of external determinations i.e. constraints created by the economy of the region and power of the propertied classes- upon the individual practice. And it is 'a field of struggle' (Bourdieu's term) in which agents or actors' strategies- joining sex work on

a provisional basis- are concerned with the preservation or improvement of their positions with respect to the defining capital of the field (cited in Jenkins 1992.85)

It is not only the women in subsistence economy who enter sex work on a provisional basis but also men who in order to cope with the insufficient income become the agents in the sex trade. As I have mentioned in the third chapter, about one form of multiple sex relationship- 'Ronkamogudu' that how women in the sex work pose themselves to be the wives of a particular group of people for social protection and in return financially maintain these men. For instance, many of my respondents' temporary husbands include rickshaw pullers, karate masters, police constables and auto drivers who support the sex workers in getting the clients, help from neighborhood complaints and policing problem. All these people work as brokers in order to add up their income since their income from the formal/legal employment is not adequate to maintain their legal family. I narrate here the case of a rickshaw puller, who would find extra business when auto rickshaw drove down their income. Increase in the demand for the auto defunct the business of the rickshaw pullers. This particular rickshaw puller hardly earns Rs 2000 per month from driving the rickshaw. He takes the customers to various lodges and brothel houses where he uses his informal wife for sex transactions.

I can make out easily. Local people move in the town differently from the non-local people. One can make out separately who are local people. Village people and those who come from the long distance would be different. Suppose you are not from this place-your language would be different. To know whether you are from Hyderabad or Telengana or Guntur or Ongole I ask about the time. Now the time is 12:45 and the local people would say panendu nalapeyi aidu in East Godavari district. This language is different from other languages. Hyderabad and Guntur language is

different although also speak Telugu When I come to know from their language that they would be from Madras, Guntur, Oongle and Hyderabad, then I ask whether they want candidates (sex workers) I know them automatically '

There is also another kind of brokerage system in which men need not have to be involved in *Ronkamogudu* kind of relationship with the sex workers but they take commission from the business transaction. For instance, court attendant in the magistrate's office, the gas station men, *dhaba* men, tea stall workers, vegetable vendors, ticket collector in the cinema halls and employees in the lodges were also pimps who take 20% or 30% 'cut' from sex transactions. The common point that cut across all these categories of men is their underemployed status. However, these men are agents of sex trade rather than the one who exploit sex workers. This way of analysis would lead to us explain how capital from sex trade is being utilized and indicate the economy of the region.

Policing Practices: Risk Activities in the Non-Risk Zone

This section explains how the activities of the women are always on the constant move or shift according to the contexts that is very difficult to reach out to the risk zone. Although sex work is practiced in varieties of forms and many women are engaged in sex work, however, this does not imply that law enforcement agencies are in the dark about their activities. Policing practices resulted in raiding the sex work hotspots and arresting sex workers and extorting money from the sex workers instead of legally prosecuting them. Many sex workers from Mandapeta too reported about the police arrest when they were performing in dance programme. However, policing practices coincide with these vested interests as I have already discussed in the case of

ukaveedi. Many a times, these law enforcement agencies pretend arresting sex workers as a response to the disclosure of the electronic media or the visibility of the AIDS problem that it is one of the highly affected districts by AIDS and transitory point of trafficking of minor girls to the city. However, sex work is continued in a covert manner, carried out in different forms such as many women shift their place of sex work to the agricultural areas or work in their own house or friends' houses. Another technique that sex workers resort to after police raid in the hotspot is the temporary migration to the metro cities i.e. Kolkatta, Mumbai, Bangalore, Goa, Chennai, Hyderabad and Delhi for three-six months. In this case, the sex workers or the 'madams'/mediators who have good social network/contract work with the agents in these cosmopolitan centers drop these sex workers and induct them in sex transactions. Meanwhile sex workers enquire about the situation in Rajahmundry and when the police violence is resumed, these sex workers return to Rajahmundry. This kind of migration is different from the 'contract based sex work' or 'dating' which I have explained in the community association. It is different since the duration for the migration is long.

Policing practices have the implications of sex workers moving out from risk zone to non-risk zones i.e. leaving to operate from street, highway and brothel to the invisible zones and resort to other part time occupations. In this way policing practices do not produce the teleological results but have other implications. Policing practices^{xiv} have the implications of sex workers moving out from risk zone to safer zones i.e. leaving to operate from street, highway and brothel to the invisible and non-stigmatized zones and resort to other part time occupations. When sex workers move to non-risk zones,

deploy several strategies to overcome the formal and informal social norms. These strategies which sex workers resort to in avoiding the structural problems such as policing practices can be understood with Bourdieu's concept of 'practical reason' Bourdieu argues that

'it is the capacity of people to make sense of, and negotiate, the situations they are confronted with, in the social world Practice is always informed by a sense of agency but that the possibilities of agency must be understood and contextualized in terms of its relation to the objective structures of a culture (Webb *et al* 2002, Jenkins 1992)

It would be pertinent to mention the agential aspect of the sex workers and this agency does not become radical of the power structure but an improvised strategy However, it is the individual or lay people (in this case sex workers) who normally think that the possibilities from which they choose are in fact necessities, common sense, natural or inevitable. The strategy of the sex workers can't be termed as radical since they do not protest against the law enforcement agencies' action nor continue to work publicly in the street or brothels as a form of symbolic protest Rather, they operate from non-risk zones while maintaining formal decency This aspect coincides with the intention of the law enforcement agencies who view

'Sex workers are arrested when they create public nuisance but not when operate secretly Policing of sex worker is not as priority as the naxalite problem, however they should be intimidated not to carry out it publicly As long as these poor sex workers do not disturb the public and create nuisance such as drinking alcohol and use slang language we do not trouble them We also understand that they do sex work because of poverty [Told by an Sub Inspector]

gency areas such as Rampachodavaram, Y Ramavaram, Addateegala and Maredumilli witness intensified naxalite problem in the district. Sex workers take the opportunity of this viewpoint and are well aware that law enforcement agency can't operate without the funding from the sex trade

'Police can't patrol everyday to our hotspot For that they need more state funding In fact they use our money for patrolling in other locality They periodically collect hafta from us to conduct their own activities in the Department i e felicituation of the officers ' [Told by a sex worker]

'Every new SI (implying the trainee) is informed about our operation by their informers and junior level staff But they do not arrest us except in the month of March since they have to present that (to the higher officers) they have achieved the quota (meaning arrested the sex workers to prove their credentials) ' [Told by a brothel madam]

Similarly, this strategy is in improvised state since this does not entail permanent solution to the policing practices since after a point of time police too would scrutinize the non-risk zone However, although this strategy or practice is in improvised form it is not without it's purpose i e avoid policing problem (Jenkins 1992:71) In this way, these sex workers acted in cooperation but not in anti-thesis with the modernized state This way of analysis of agency is not the synonym of resistance to the relations of domination but as a capacity for action (Mahmood 2004:573) That is why Gramsci's notion of resistance is not applicable here However, these strategices of sex workers have different implications- spread of infection from risk to non-risk zone When sex workers move to non-risk zones, there are two kinds of implications Infection spreads to non-risk zones if women continue sex work in cohort occupations Because here sex worker will not use condom as she

icipates that customers will suspect her that she is a sex worker. In a way, sex workers who undergo periodic treatment from the public health services, their treatment get interrupted which has health implications.

When sex workers adopt a multiple identity, they not only shift their occupation, they change many other things such as area of work, change their name, change their partner (who act as agents in the trade) and change their place of residence. As Shah (2006) puts it,

'I conclude by addressing the question of whether public discourse and regulation of visible sexual commerce in the city, such as those which swirl around Kamathipura (red-light district of Mumbai), may inform the degree to which sexual commerce, rather than being a primary income-generating activity, may increasingly be practiced in less visible and more episodic modes. Kamathipura stands as one example of how the politics of prostitution and visibility produce one another in Mumbai.'

Extending this argument beyond Kamathipura, there are myriad spaces throughout Rajahmundry city where sexual commerce occurs, including agricultural fields, cinema halls, lodges and spaces for soliciting other kinds of manual labor. These spaces being less visibly used for sex work, and more liminal as zones for soliciting labor, contribute to a less regulated degree of stigma, police raids, and the like. As Shah says (2006), in a sense, the visibility of prostitution in Kamathipura produces the invisibility of sexual commerce throughout the city by essentially driving it underground, which is evident in Rajahmundry as well.

olicing practices enable us to understand how sex work is stigmatized and controlled while at the same time it is tolerated. For instance, under certain conditions the element of *china illu* culture and sex work is tolerated (where the woman is a divorcée or widow or hails from *Kalavanthulu* community) and in other conditions these are resisted (if she lacks these attributes). This is one of the influencing factors for the knowledgeable social actors in sex trade (sex workers and customers) to “perform or enact another role” to mask the role of the sex work, to operate from the alternative sites who maintain formal decency so as not to reveal their identity as sex workers. For instance, these women enact different roles- as agricultural workers, fish sellers, maid servants, work in the petrol pumps, sweepers on the road and low paid jobs in the hotels, or run a Tiffin centre, work in railway stations and hospitals; travel to the nearest town for shopping or watching cinema, leave house by posing as if one is attending marriage ceremony or meeting the relatives, bringing lunch boxes to the husbands, working in dance programs, cinema shootings and sales girls in various shops but actually doing sex work. Hebbar (2007) too remarks in the context of Gujarat that the *kala kendras* or dance halls are covers for prostitution though they carry the tag of traditional respectability.

These characteristic features make the zoning a difficult task since the boundary line to differentiate a sex worker from other women or the other spaces where risk activity and non-risky activity take place is very thin. On one side, sex workers are moving to cohort occupations and spaces as a consequence of large scale policing practices and on the other side, women from the subsistence or domestic economy resort to sex work for a limited period of time. For instance, although sex workers are into the sex

business, they are also equally employed in dance programmes, film shootings, event management activities such as marriage and religious festivals where they may not necessarily get engaged in risky activities as well as it is one of the coping strategies (to work from a safer zone) to get rid of the problem of policing. However, women from subsistence economy enter into sex work to add up their scanty wages. As Lupton Tulloch and Lupton (2003) puts it,

‘against the dominant discourses on risk that portray it as negative, there also exist counter discourses, in which risk taking is represented far more positively’

On the other hand, those who are not considered as sex workers are also known to be transacting money for sex.

Summary:

This chapter encapsulates the process through which gray zone is being created and the mediating factors to explain HIV/AIDS situation. Initial section focuses on the demand side of sexual economy through focusing on the mobility of certain social group via female emigration. This dimension aids us to see how risk culture is created through intermediary processes i.e. migration of the women which creates risk. In this process, it describes the emergence of new kind of patrons and clientele base which explains the demand side of the sex trade. Focusing on gray zone demonstrates the politics of risk. The first point of the process of gray zone that is both the element of risk and non-risk is embedded in the risk zone itself and it was dealt through multiple partner sexual relationships in the region. In this chapter the other two processes such as the shifting identity of the women and men from the subsistence economy and

plications of large scale policing practices are analyzed. In this context, I discuss how different social groups such as women and men from the subsistence economy adjust to neo-liberal economy, dominance of propertied classes and dynamics of the region or socio spatial changes. In this process, it has been depicted the way these groups involve in sexual economy. I discuss how the demand from the new patrons has been supplemented by these newer categories of women from subsistence economy and how sex work becomes the survival strategy of these women. In this context, four case studies (agricultural workers from Mala and Madiga community, fisher folk communities, women in the DWCRA programmes and women employees in the gold shop) have been presented. While the third chapter describes the new development and urban planning of the district, this chapter focuses on the implications of the development activities such as Reliance, SEZ projects and Polavaram on different social groups of men and women.

By looking at the policing practices, I attempt to discuss the agential actions of the sex workers which demonstrate the way sex work is sustained as well as the gray zone is created. Here I explain the gray zone through the movement of the actors from the risk zone to the non-risk zone. The whole idea of describing the gray zone is that how the complexity of the gray zone is beyond the HIV/AIDS discourse. Policing aspect (specifically the actions of the law enforcement agencies) too explain how there is a gap between the way 'risk avoidance' is framed or theorized and practiced. For instance, law enforcement agency justifies policing action towards sex workers in order to respond to the problem of HIV/AIDS but the policing practices are conflated with the real estate demands and therefore interests of propertied classes.

In focusing on these two aspects, it critically questions the dominant mode of understanding. Firstly, as a contrast to the radical feminist understanding that it is through poverty and migration women become the victim of international trafficking and therefore exploitation and affected with HIV/AIDS, this study narrates the case of women who take rational decision to emigrate to improve their social position and we discuss it through the concept of relative poverty. Although scholars (Sassen 2002 and Cunha 1992) look at relative dimension of poverty in the context of international migration of the poor and lower caste women, they view relative poverty in terms of wealth gap between the Northern countries and Southern countries like India. Their analysis is at the macro level whereas this study looks at the culture of poverty at the micro level that there is a wealth gap between the propertied classes and lower castes. In this case, the explanation of risk situation is not because of trafficking but through the intermediary process such as when the husbands of female emigrants emerged as patrons.

Secondly, this study questions the efficacy of the materialistic solutions advocated in the HIV/AIDS discourse that economic rehabilitation or the micro finance programme would prevent the women from joining sex work. It was particularly evident through the case of DWACRA women.

¹ Actors in the gray zone include both the hidden sex workers and also the non-paid partners of the clients

¹⁹In fact the district attracts large number of people from the poor regions and Telengana regions to migrate for few months because of vast agricultural production related activities. Added to this, is the film shooting (Hindi, Tamil and Telugu movies) and growth of real estates which opens up large scale construction works

²⁰In East Godavari a woman gets Rs 400 per month for each individual house. Generally domestic servants work in three-four households which amounts to Rs 1200-Rs1600 per month. Similarly, in agriculture, women are paid the daily wage of between Rs 120- Rs150. As a contrast, women are paid Rs 7,000-Rs10,000 per month in the gulf to work as a domestic help

²¹ which is famous for its coconuts trees analogous to Kerala

²²In the Konaseema region majority of the population belongs to scheduled caste community. Among them Malas dominate numerically over the Madigas. That is why one does not notice conflict among the two communities in East Godavari district whereas it is prevalent in other districts. Konaseema region was the constituency for the former late Lokasbha speaker. Even some of the sub-divisions of the Konaseema region i.e. P. Gannavaram, Razole and Amalapuram, Mumudavaram, Allavram, Nagaram is always known to be SC reserved constituencies (Bhaskar 2008 4, Rao 1980 174). Even the present MP is from the region belongs to scheduled caste

²³Helpers are paid DHs 550 per month, whereas skilled workers like painters, carpenters, mason and tradesman are paid DHs 700 (Rs 7,000) per month

²⁴The travel cost for men costs to approximately Rs 70,000 where as for women it is only Rs30,000. Since this travel cost is less, it becomes easier for the women to repay the money borrowed from the money lenders

²⁵However, in the year 2007, it has been reported about the return of the large number of female emigrants from the gulf countries. This is primarily because most of them were deported because they entered to these countries by the tourists visa or they obtained a fake passport through the trafficking agent (Deccan Chronicle 2007, January 11)

²⁶A group of Non- Resident Indians (NRIs) from United Arab Emirates estimated the number of immigrants from the state who overstayed across the gulf is two to three lakhs (The Hindu 2008 7)

²⁷An CID (Crime Investigation Department) study explored that more than 5,000 women from the state went to work to Gulf (cited in Deccan Chronicle, January 11, 2007)

²⁸As enumerated by the Andhra Pradesh Darshini in 1996

²⁹Madigas too emigrate although they are socially and economically lower than the malas in their native place. Nevertheless, the number of women migrate from the former community is very low compared to the malas and malas are the first settlers among the Scheduled caste community. The related factor to this configuration lies in the fact that in the Konaseema region particularly and East Godavari in general malas are in great number compared to the madigas unlike the other districts of Andhra Pradesh where madigas dominate numerically. When women from mala community emigrated and sent money home, madigas too followed their pattern

³⁰There are many gold shops in Rajahmundry and historical accounts reveal that gold washing was started from the river Godavari

³¹Policing practices does not imply that it results in removing these sex work economy rather it intends to extort money from the sex workers and their allied groups at the same time giving the impression to the populace that law enforcement agencies restored the civic order. These latter group too have their own interest in highlighting the episode of sex work since it increases the viewer-ship as it produces the spectacle and creates a titillating story, and in fact some of the reporter unveil the stories of clandestine sex work by becoming the customers in the brothel houses. Nag (2001) too mentions that the Devadasis of the Southern state are attracting the attention of journalists and have provided poignant materials

Chapter – VI

Summary and Discussion

This study discusses that the public health programme in the context of HIV/AIDS operates through a biomedical framework. This actually means pigeonholing, scrutinizing and reproaching certain communities, certain social-spaces and social relationships. One of the arguments of the thesis is that the present HIV/AIDS discourse reproduces the national discourse on morality. The objective of the study is to look at how communities themselves perceive, negotiate and adjust with the HIV/AIDS discourse and explicate the politics of defining the boundaries between risk and non risk groups.

In reviewing the available literature on HIV/AIDS, attempt has been made to understand the discourse it generates or to explicate politics that governs the discourse on HIV/AIDS especially in India. We discussed how sociology of health as a discipline emerged in critiquing biomedical and public health approaches which put onus of the disease on the individuals, and undermines social factors but intervenes through utilitarian perspectives. Based on these critiques, public health discipline also underwent changes and modified some of the classical approaches. This new public health endeavored to provide critical support to these vulnerable groups by helping them organize themselves, develop a sense of community and re-position themselves in relation to the rest of the society. It is in this context, the right based approach within public health, its complexities and ambiguities have also been critically examined.

In this new public health framework, one finds two diametrically opposite approaches whose ideological moorings vary from liberal feminist framework to the radical feminist framework. At one level, fear of AIDS produces stringent policies such as renewed interest in anti-trafficking laws which means control and containment of the border, giving more policing power to the law enforcement agencies and the proposal to penalize the clients. The penalisation aspect is evident if one takes into account recently introduced ITPA Bill (2006) in the parliament. This approach has been supported by the radical feminists who viewed that sex work is a form of exploitation against women and they can prevent the risk from HIV/AIDS only when their clients get penalized and women get rescued from sex work.

At another level, as the stigma attached to the disease gets severe, the groups affected by the disease, unite themselves to fight for their rights over health and for their livelihoods. The new public health approach recommended that sex workers are best equipped to prevent AIDS and this view indirectly meant sex workers will have to bear the onus of the HIV/AIDS prevention programme. It is through this responsibility, that the public health activists advocated decriminalization and destigmatisation of the profession, defined sex work as work and supported the liberal feminist position on sex work. Hence, in this perspective sex workers are represented not as victims or vectors but as fighters or agents and this portrayal of 'fighter' was expected to relieve them from the societal stigma. Ekberg (2007) pointed out that the proliferation of contested, conflicting or contradictory risk

definitions create obstacles to effective risk communication (ibid 344) Following this parameter of Ekberg, it has been evident if one looks at the community association of the *Kalavanthulus* that one association adapts or adjusts its agenda according to the anti-trafficking framework, whereas the other association attempt to fit into the right based perspective. I argue that the present dominant HIV/AIDS discourse is actually the continuation of the discussions/ contestations that surrounded at the time of enactment Contagious Diseases Act, Immoral Prevention Trafficking Act and Prohibition of *Devadasi* Dedication Act. However from a sociological approach, I do not only look at the continuities from the past but also the discontinuities from the past. In other words, what is new about the HIV/AIDS discourse is the addition of the contestations in terms of the neo-liberal agenda.

Focusing on the regional dynamics and specificities, I explain how the social profiles of the patrons for entertainment activities change. It was demonstrated through the exogenous factors- growth of the economy through construction of anicut, land reforms and green revolution that produced propertied classes. Hence, this characteristic i.e. continuous presence of the patrons despite the change in social profile of the patrons becomes the invariant and invisible phenomena through which 'risk culture' is discussed. While mapping out the processes through which risk culture is produced, the intention was to position risk to be more effective as a social critique (Lash 2000:41) than risk society (Beck 1992 and 2000). When I delineate risk through intermediary and mediating processes, I seek to argue that risk culture (following the framework of Lash (2000)) is not a determinate ordering that Beck talks of 'late modern society', but, a reflexive or

indeterminate disordering and the media is not procedural norms but substantive values. The proposition of Lash (2000) that risk culture is associated with the substantive values and indeterminate disordering, is actually substantiated through the field situation, when I describe various forms of sexual relationships prevailed in the region. The argument here is that although 'heterosexual monogamous relationship' is the institutional norm and rule, people get involved into the other forms of sexual relationships as is found in the region such as *Chinna illu*, *Unchukuna vadu* and *Ronka mogudu*. The reasons for getting into these relationships are related with the social values, gender socialization and social class position which constrain women to prevent risk situation rather than the rational and calculated action which Beck argues would prevent individuals from risk. Hence, Beck's (1992 and 2000) thesis is overly rationalistic and individualistic model of the human actor and does not pay sufficient attention to the roles played by gender, social class, and ethnicity and experiences (Tulloch and Lupton 2003 6, Lash 2000, Ekberg 2007). In this way, as Lash (2000) defines, risk is little indeterminate in modern society because these instances offer the fluid and interchanging ways of viewing risk, drawing on habitual, embodied and affective judgments which are subjective (cited in Tulloch and Lupton 2003).

This study also discussed how the patronization of the entertainment culture and sponsoring of the religious events, by the propertied classes such as *Kamma*, *Kapu* and *Reddy* communities provided political power in the region. This is reminiscent of the dominant culture of Kings in the pre-colonial period. Traditionalist ideology goes away but practices remain. For instance, during medieval period, temple was

the prime social and economic institution and gods were provided a superior status than the kings. There is also a reason of condescending attitude towards the temple culture by the kings. In fact patronization of temple culture legitimized their supremacy and accorded princely status as some of the kings were not from *Kshatriya* community but from the peasant communities. This aspect actually supports the argument of the Lash in his framework of 'risk culture' that in modern society too it is through the actions of propertied classes, traditional values and religion, entertainment and risk actions continue. As I have discussed in the HIV/AIDS discourse chapter, Beck views that late modern society can generate isolation, alienation, fragmentation and discontent. However, projecting a more optimistic view, Lash (2000) argues that with the collapse of a social solidarity and coherence based on tradition and religion, communities have not disappeared, rather they have reformed around risk and safety. Hence, continuing with the traditional actions these propertied classes reform around risk and safety since at one level, they marginalize/displace sex workers in the name of restoring public morality and at other level, they induct *Kalavanthulu* and non-*Kalavanthulu* in the entertainment activities in the pretext of safeguarding and promoting religious values and national culture.

This chapter also describes socio spatial dimensions of different social groups, their interactions and appropriations in time and space. It attempts to explain that socio-spatial space is not only produced by the exogenous factors such as poverty, inequality etc but the space itself produces social settlement and social entities as a result of the interaction between social, economic and physical changes. Attempt

has been made to describe the sexual economics of the region that unraveled the affinity of sex workers with the industries that are owned by the propertied classes and subsequently how these two actors take advantage from the alliance. In many instances that describe the alliance between sex workers and propertied classes in the socio-space, I tried to explain how propertied classes through their power relations influence the HIV/AIDS situation. For instance, through the access to the social capital, they have the capacity to produce a risk zone into a non-risk zone. This specific hidden social space brings another dimension against the HIV/AIDS scenario. In other words, public health actors (who are engaged in health surveillance in terms of distributing condoms and providing STI treatment) do not recognize the complexity and intricacies of this hidden space and reach out to this space for the health prevention targeting certain social groups. Although public health people reach out to the sex workers their identity is constructed as homogenous and undermine the multiple identities and their complex social relationship which is much more than health and HIV/AIDS disease. It is in this context we frame the sexual economics and the affinity of it with the propertied classes as 'Politics of Risk', which links risk with power and knowledge, the tension between real and socially constructed risks (Ekberg 2007). Also attempt has been made to explicate the risky relationships in the non-risk zones by analyzing these overlapping forms of sexual relationships in the region.

While the third chapter discussed the exogenous factors that led to the changing profile of the patrons, the fourth chapter maps out endogenous factors such as reform movements and legislations against *Devadasi* system which resulted in the

loss of royal patronage in the art forms and *Devadasi* system and revival process. The continuities of the performances (in new forms) are also depicted by looking at the alternative avenues which the traditional performers explored continuously for their livelihood. While analyzing these endogenous factors, intention was to understand how the present HIV/AIDS discourse absorbs some of these arguments from the reform and revival movement and therefore constructs a specific identity of the performing community as traditional sex workers. Through the concept of 'interpellation' by Althusser I explain that the purpose of the identity construction is to maintain control over society. In this chapter the attempt has been made to bring the historical account (not just through the reform and revival process in the colonial period but also the medieval period) so that we could trace out the complex and contentious identity of the performing communities. The purpose here is to critically look at the public health classification which categorizes the community in a simplistic way that does not give leverage to the contentious identity of the communities.

The other argument was that through various actions (political alliances, sponsoring of the religious events and grabbing the land of Kalavanthulus) these propertied classes too become part of the identity construction against the community in the HIV/AIDS discourse. It was evident that they promoted religious events and inducted *Kalavanthulu* women as the object of 'entertainment'. Following the concept of 'practical reasoning' of Bourdieu, this chapter also discusses how sex workers negotiate the HIV/AIDS discourse and identity construction while internalizing these identity constructions. It was demonstrated

through the formation of the community associations- one group disowned the tradition and in that way fitted themselves in the anti-trafficking framework whereas the other group represented the identity of the community according to the right based framework of the national discourse on HIV/AIDS and viewed themselves as traditional sex workers rather than sacred performers. The other reason to form the association is to prevent women from other caste entering into the entertainment industry Analyzing this instance through the Bourdeiu's concept of the "practical reason" which is one dimension of 'habitus', one can find a number of ways in which the self is managed through employing different tactics and strategies. I employed Bourdieu's framework of practical reason and strategy as it explains improvisatory nature of practice rather than the rational action or action that is governed by rules (Jenkins 1992:68). This improvised nature of practice and strategy actually points out the fluidity and indeterminacy which Lash frames for 'the risk culture' Lash asserts that contradiction, ambivalence and complexity are far more a part of the individual's response to risk than rationalized and systematic actions The contradictory response of the *Kalavanthulu* to address HIV/AIDS discourse was quite evident It is argued that these association formations and the women's affinity to the association is not simply the result of dominant HIV/AIDS discourse but it is a strategic action of the *Kalavanthulus* and they get benefitted and compromised as a result of these kinds of representations For instance, in one way sex workers got benefits from having alliance with the propertied classes since they could get rid of policing problem and maintain monopoly over the entertainment industry However, at another level, it is their alliance with the propertied classes which prevented them from being a part of the

HIV/AIDS prevention programme and led to compromises regarding their own health risks. In this way, I describe how *Kalavanthulus* list out HIV/AIDS and health as low priority in comparison to policing problem. In Bourdieu's words, the practice of *Kalavanthulu* is not wholly consciously organized or solely in terms of decision making –which Beck proposes (cit in Jenkins 1992:70)

In the fourth chapter, an attempt has been made to describe the current ways through which rituals and performances are being represented and practiced. The purpose behind examining these issues is manifold, 1) to explicate the dominance of the propertied classes and their capacity to produce the risky zone (by way of religious festivals, record dance programme, *Bhogum mela*, film shooting and *Kannerikam* ceremony) as non-risky zone, 2) to highlight the alternative locations in which sex transactions take place which is completely undermined by the HIV/AIDS Discourse, 3) to explain the complexity of the 'space' within a region, 4) how sex workers take advantage of the HIV/AIDS discourse in terms of using these performances as a pretext to carry out sex work, 5) to analyze the changing aspect i.e. how tradition is reinvented by the *Kalavanthulus* and non-*Kalvanthulus* and changing forms of performances. It is in this context that, I attempt to critique medical anthropologists who over-emphasize tradition and the feminists who describe the politics of labeling certain art forms as classical and others as 'commercial and obscene'. The former category of scholars reproach tradition as the cause of HIV/AIDS risk and in this way they do not include the changing features of tradition, how the tradition is reinvented and how community appropriates the tradition in the HIV/AIDS discourse. The latter group explained

how through the revival process, performing communities were disassociated from the traditional art form. However, in this study I argue that the revival process resulted in partial exclusion because it is only the temple art forms that were modified and therefore secluded *Kalavanthulu* women but not other traditional art forms of Kalavanthulus such as court dances which include *Mejuvani* and *Javalilu* which are still practiced by the community in the *Bhogum mela*. This point deepens our argument that these labeling processes such as classical and obscene dance are not discrete but are in continuum.

Another point which made the study unique from others is its focus on those aspects of patronization of art forms in the context of HIV/AIDS. Although other studies focused on the patronization, it viewed that patronization of the cultural performances was stopped with the advent of the legislature. In these studies the legalization against *Devadasi* system becomes the contributing factors for the spread of HIV/AIDS among the communities since these communities adhere to sex work in different forms. However, in this study we explicate the continuation of the patronizations and performances through the concept of propertied classes.

The fifth chapter narrates a particular pattern of female emigration through which it discusses the social mobility of lower caste groups in the particular region of the district. By analyzing this particular case, I attempt to bring forth how this particular form of migration resulted in forming a new clientele base for sex trade and therefore the creation of risk culture. This chapter also explains how the social profile of the sex workers changes and this point has been substantiated through

four cases such as fisher folk community, women in DWACRA and women employed in gold shops and agricultural workers from *Mala* and *Madiga* community who join sex work on a provisional basis. Looking at the changing profile of the sex workers is actually the continuation of the earlier point about dynamics of the region which explains the incessant feature of the entertainment culture through new categories of the patrons

While describing about the process of land acquisition for developmental projects such as SEZs and Polavaram, an attempt has been made in this chapter to explain the impact of these projects on the women from fisher folk communities and agricultural workers. In the DWACRA project it is described how some of the welfare projects are inadequate to mitigate poverty. By narrating the case of women employed in the gold shops it is described how they enter into sex work on a provisional basis to add up their income. And this is also the reason for some lower class men in subsistence economy to act as the agents of the sex trade. This has been described through the concept of *Ronkamogudu*. In all these cases it has been described how women from the subsistence economy too join sex work on a provisional basis, therefore there is shift in the identities of these groups which explains the basis through which gray zone is created. The reason to describe gray zone is to highlight how HIV/AIDS discourse does not acknowledge this zone at all. Another method through which gray zone is described is there is a movement of actors from risk zone to non-risk zone, which is the result of large scale policing practices. So there is a two way process- women from the informal economy join sex work on a provisional basis and movement of risk zone actors to the non-risk

zone through which gray zone or hidden space is being created that has implication for the risk culture. However, public health approach undermines the hidden space and the complexity of the hidden space. The point, which we are trying to make is that since the parameters which define risk zone and non-risk zone seem inseparable, controlling and managing risk also becomes much more difficult and needs a broader frame work. Beck's framework helps us to understand the complexities of the risk zone in the context of HIV/AIDS which is exacerbated by social and economic factors. Although we take this point from Beck to explain the difficulties one encounters in defining risk, we encountered problem in accepting Beck's thesis on the risk society and instead relied on Lash's concept of the risk culture.

In this study attempt has been made to explain that policing and health surveillance as the two dominant methods to curb HIV/AIDS. Although 'risk avoidance' has been framed in this way, field situations revealed the 'politics of risk avoidance' i.e. there is a tension between the way it is presented and practiced. For instance, law enforcement agencies engage in risk mitigation through policing. And this is what the idea that has been communicated to the people but in reality policing is many a times intersected with other social aspects such as interests of the propertied classes which was described in the case of Isukaveedi. In another instance- by looking at various forms of sexual relationships in the region- attempt has been made to reiterate the point 'politics of risk' and gap between the 'ideology of risk avoidance' and practice. In other words, although various forms of multiple sexual relations prevail, these are not recognized as pathways to risk

transmission, these relationships are eschewed from scrutiny by the public health agencies. In the other hand, commercial sex is scrutinized for many reasons, as the HIV/AIDS discourse is confounded with the moral and commercial sex work and is easy to scrutinize. It is in this way, health surveillance takes place and therefore scrutinizing 'risk' is conflated with social, cultural and administrative aspects despite the claim of the public health interventionists of security as neutral and scientific. While depicting these two ways of policing in which 'risk' is framed in the official and health discourse, this study argues how risk is social or socially constructed (Lupton 1993) and much more complex

While discussing the two methods through which 'risk' in the context of HIV/AIDS is addressed, I too narrate how sex workers and performing communities adjust to these situations designed by the HIV/AIDS discourse. This aspect actually explains how sex work is sustained through improvised strategies of the sex workers I discuss that these strategies are in improvised form and indeterminate but not without purpose. These strategies are in improvised form since it does not provide permanent solutions to the dominant discursive practices. This process also explains the movements of risk activity in the non-risky zone and how they compromise with the health risk. It too explains how policing practices have health implications such as risk of the sex worker not going for protected sex, prevent sex worker from regular check up for STIs etc. We discuss it through the instance of Isukaveedi and what actually the women from the *Kalavanthulu* do while they become part of the associations. Another important aspect is that it is women's involvement in the multiple occupations and 'maintaining formal

decency' helped them to sustain in sex work and eluded them from scrutinization. This instance explains the different pathways through which risk culture in the context of HIV/AIDS is produced.

One of my arguments in this study was against the materialistic explanation in the HIV/AIDS discourse that is sought for the cause and solution of the production of the risk situation. For instance, in the HIV/AIDS discourse, 'poverty' is emphasized as the cause or the structural factor for trafficking and sex work which produces risk situations in the context of HIV/AIDS. Subsequently in these discourses, economic solutions such as monetary rehabilitation, anti-poverty programmes etc are propagated as the structural solutions for the problem of HIV/AIDS discourse. This approach is popularly held in the anti-trafficking framework of the HIV/AIDS discourse. However, when this study looks at the world of the women in three cases such as Kalavanthulu women, female emigration and women who are involved in DWACRA and other micro finance programmes, it does not support the above proposition. I argue that materialistic explanation is not adequate to analyze the risk situation and anti-poverty programmes and hence rehabilitation is not the appropriate solution for the HIV/AIDS problem. Instead, one needs to look at the mediating process that creates risk situations. For instance, I explain that it is the relative poverty and elite culture of the propertied classes which motivate these women to imitate and compel them to emigrate. Through this process their husbands become patrons in investing the remittances of their wives which has impact on the risk culture in the region. Similarly, in the DWACRA programme I attempt to explain that how anti-

poverty measures advocated by developmental bureaucracy and a set of social scientists are not adequate. Study findings indicated that women who are part of these programmes too involve in sex work on a provisional basis. Similarly, *Kalavanthulu* women from the *Kalavanthulu* Reform Association, were provided housing site as part of the rehabilitation package. However, after receiving these benefits, *Kalavanthulu* women continued sex work in cohort way since the economic opportunity from these welfare programmes were insufficient. While explaining about the micro finance programme and rehabilitation package there is an attempt to explicate how there is a mismatch between the requirements from the community and the way state designs the welfare programme. These instances also explain how anti-trafficking framework through the economic rehabilitation is not sufficient to dissuade women from sex work and prevent risk situation. These many pathways and mediating factors produce risk culture.

Also we discussed how the social space changes through neo-liberal policies and its impact on the performing communities and how it contributes in producing risk situations. For instance increase in the land value via SEZs as we have seen in the case of Isuakveedi led another area to flourish or the movement of risk to non-risk zone. While discussing the impact of development projects such as Polavaram irrigation project and Reliance oil project, we discuss how other communities such as fisher folk communities and agricultural workers enter into sex work on a provisional basis. However, this study does not explain the impact of these neo-liberal policies through simple and direct correlation but through the mediating

factors such as through the concept of propertied classes in terms of surplus getting channalized into entertainment which produces risk culture.

I provide the instances in which the new public health programme- right based approach is problematic in local context. I explain its limitations in two instances.

1) The public health programme through right based framework encourages the community women to refer them as sex worker whereas public health actors view them as high risk group, intervenes through health aspect (distribute condoms, encourages them for health check up for STI and HIV/AIDS) and advocates the decriminalization of sex work so that sex workers would not face policing problem. It is through including the latter aspect, these programmes claim that the intervention is structural and community oriented. However, the attempt has been made in this study to show that these communities avoid policing problem in their own way- through the nexus with the propertied classes and the attempt of new public health initiative in creating another system that is the legal intervention to tackle the problem of policing. In attempting to do so, this new public health is not reaching out to the propertied classes and understanding the complexity of the nexus between the sex workers and the propertied classes but simply critiquing the law enforcement agencies. The other problem one encounters with this way of categorizing the community is not taking account of the 'reinvention of the tradition', emergence of non-Kalavanthulu communities and 'the contentious past' that the community seeks to represent.

2) Through the concept of *Chinna illu*, *Ronkamogudu* and *Unchukunavadu* I argue that public health programme does not understand the complexity of these relationships but only recognizes commercial form of sexual relationships and hence are subjected to scrutiny. In mapping out its implications towards creation of risky situations, I describe that 1) in these relationships there is less chance to go for safe sex, 2) the concept of *Unchukunavadu*, helps the women from Kalavanthulu to avoid policing problem but at the same time this relationship prevents them from becoming a part of health promotion programme as already discussed in the second form of community association 3) through the concept of *Ronkamogudu* it is described as how sex workers pose to be the wives of the certain groups of people who are part of the subsistence economy and it is these people who become the agent of sex trade. Getting into *Ronkamogudu* kind of relationships benefited sex workers from other community to prevent certain risks such as policing problem, social recognition etc but they compromise health risk in these kinds of relationships.

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Appendix-A



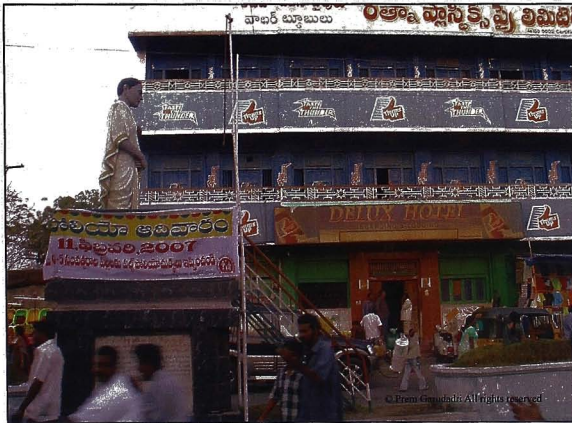
3 1 Agricultural Lands



3 2 Coconut Plantation at Konaseema



3 5 Cinema halls – Hot Spot for Sex Transactions



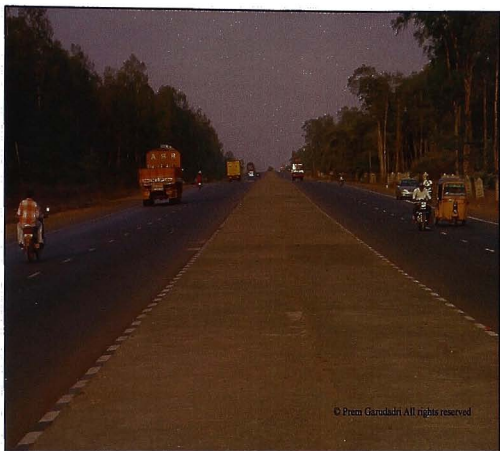
3 6 Lodges Used for Sex Transactions



3 3 Lodges Used for Sex Transactions



3 4. Syamala Centre- Bus Stop and Lodges where Sex Transactions Occu



3 7 Highway Where Sex Transactions Take Place



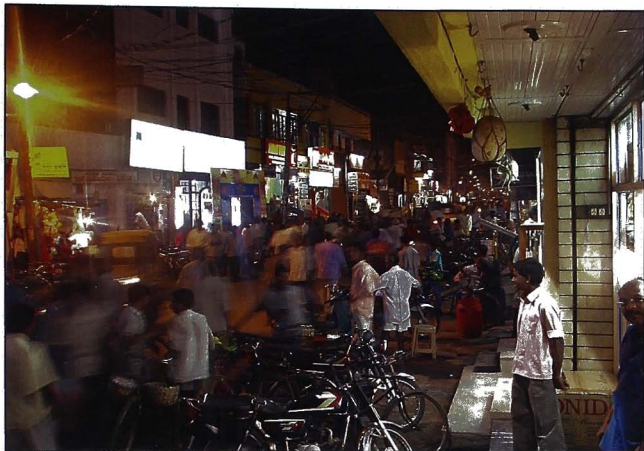
3 8 Houses Used for Sex Transactions



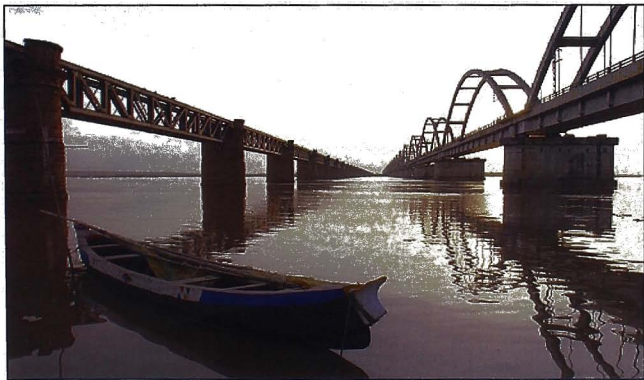
3 9 Houses Used for Sex Transactions



3 10 A Known Locality for Business Transactions in Rajahmundry



3 11 A Busy Market Place (consists of gold shops, groceries, electronic goods) of Rajahmundry- Kottagumam centre



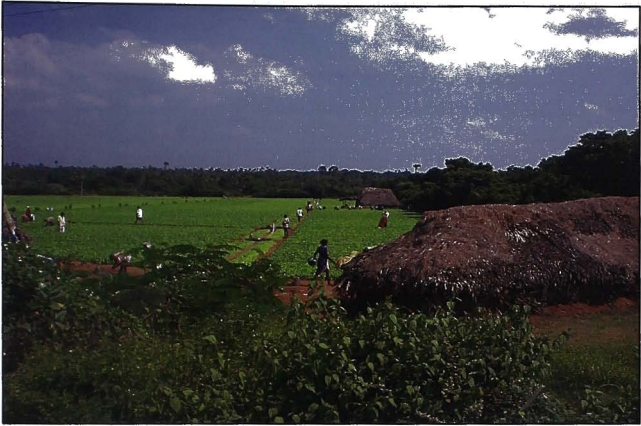
3 12 Rajahmundry Bridge- A Location for cinema shooting



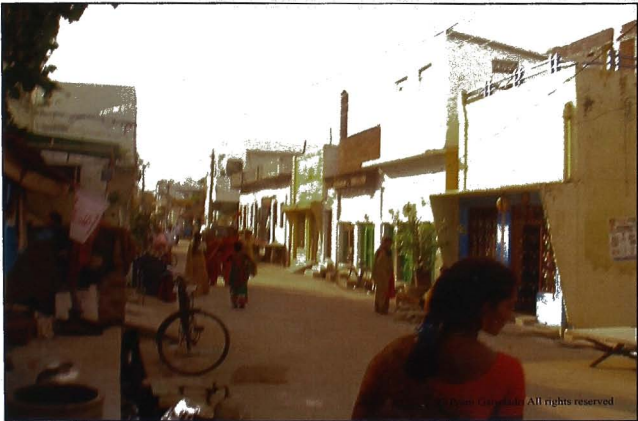
4 1 Korukunda temple, Art Forms Depicting Devadasi system on the Temple Walls



5 1 Agricultural Fields Used for Sex Transactions



5.2 - Tobacco Plantation and 'Huts' in the Fields for Sex Transactions



5.3. Tummalova- Known as Chinna Kamathipura, Houses Where DWACRA Programme and sex transactions take place

Appendix -B

Time Line: Legislative Enactments and major landmark events pertaining to the performing communities / sex workers during 1830 to 2006:

- 1830- Efforts at reform began in Madras Presidency
- 1861- Section 372 and Section 373 of the Indian Penal Code prohibiting the prostitution of the minors, challenged Devadası customary law
- 1868- Enactment of Contagious Diseases Act of 1868 which sought to control the spread of venereal diseases
- 1882- Educated Professionals and Hindu reformists began attack on the Devadası dance
- 1887- Kandukurı Veeresalingam Pantulu published the compilation of the Telugu poets including a brief write up of MudduPalani and denounced the latter as adulteress.
- 1905- Nagarathamma began featuring in a new form of entertainment, namely recorded music
- 1909- A rule, passed in Mysore that the state controlled temples would not avail themselves of the services of the Devadassis
- 1910- Nagarathamma publish a poetic work of Radhika Santvanam
- 1911- Colonial Authorities seized the book of Nagarathamma under section 392 of IPC
- 1921- The country's first province-wide Devadası organization the Andhra Kalavanthula Social Reform Association held its inaugural meeting at Guntur
- 1925- Self Respect Campaign
- 1925- Devadasis such as Doraikannammal, nagarathammal met the law minister opposing muthulaksmı Reddy's assertions that there is no connection between the performance of religious services in the temple and prostitution
- 1925- The Radio under the auspices of the Madras Presidency radio club had grown into a popular form of entertainment
- 1927-30 Muthululakshmi Reddy being in the legislature attempted to abolish the Devadası system
- 1927- Formation of the anti-abolition Devadası Sangam

1927- A Petition against the Bill was drawn up and dispatched to the members of the Legislative Council by Nagarathnam and Doraikannu.

1930- With the help of Muthulakshmi Reddy the Act for the Suppression of Brothels and Immoral Traffic passed in Madras

1930-1933- set up of Music Academy by E Krishna Iyer to showcase the dance to the public

1947- Formal Legislation Against temple Dedication

1963- Establishment of Kuchipudi Dance Academy in Chennai by Vempati Chinna

1972- A seminar on Abhinaya Sadassu was organized in Rajahmundry where serious effort has been made to brought together 70 surviving temple dancers of Andhra

1982- The Karnataka Legislature passed new legislation banning the Devadasi dedication in 1982

1987- Andhra Pradesh passed similar legislation

1921- Release of first Telugu Silent Film "Bhisma Pratigyan"

1931- Incorporation of audible dialogue in Telugu film- Bhakta Prahalad

1949- United nations conventions of suppressions of trafficking in persons and exploitations of minors in which Indian became one of the signatories

1956- Enactment of Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act

1986- Enactment of Immoral Traffic Prevention Act

1989- Introduction of HIV/AIDS prevention Bill

1992- Establishment of a Sex worker organization DMSC at Kolkatta

2005- Release of an autobiography by a sex worker from Kerala

2005- Proposal for amendment of ITPA

2006- Trafficking Bill to amend ITPA was moved into parliament by Department of women and child development

- 1927- A Petition against the Bill was drawn up and dispatched to the members of the Legislative Council by Nagarathnam and Doraiannu
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1882- Educated Professionals and Hindu reformists began attack on the Devadasi dance

1887- Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu published the compilation of the Telugu poets including a brief write up of MudduPalani and denounced the latter as adulteress

1905- Nagarathamma began featuring in a new form of entertainment, namely recorded music

1909- A rule, passed in Mysore that the state controlled temples would not avail themselves of the services of the Devadasis

1910- Nagarathamma publish a poetic work of Radhika Santvanam

1911- Colonial Authorities seized the book of Nagarathamma under section 392 of IPC

1921- The country's first province-wide Devadasi organization the Andhra Kalavanthula Social Reform Association held its inaugural meeting at Guntur

1925- Self Respect Campaign

1925- Devadasis such as Doraikannammal, nagarathammal met the law minister opposing muthulakshmi Reddy's assertions that there is no connection between the performance of religious services in the temple and prostitution

1925- The Radio under the auspices of the Madras Presidency radio club had grown into a popular form of entertainment

1927-30 Muthulakshmi Reddy being in the legislature attempted to abolish the Devadasi system

1927- Formation of the anti-abolition Devadasi Sangam