



Parrhesia & Governmentality: A Foucauldian Study on Sex Workers in India

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ABSTRACT

Sex trafficking is one of the most heinous crimes in the world. Generally, these acts are covert in nature. The main aim of this research is to study the life of the prostitutes using ethnographic research methodology. By employing Michel Foucault's notions of Parrhesia & Governmentality, it is intended to be seen if the streetwalkers are willing to express the truth about themselves. It has been found out from the research that corruption and coercion are the two main contributors to trafficking and the eliciting of parrhesia from the victims and the police leads to positive transformation, thereby ushering in governmentality. Studying the lives of this underrepresented community following an interactionist approach motivates them to take better care of themselves.

Keywords: coercion, parrhesia, sex trade, vulnerability and women

INTRODUCTION

Prostitution or sex trade is a transnational phenomenon as globalisation has resulted in making it easier to transport women and children from one country to another. “In an age of globalisation of capital, information and technology, organized trafficking operates as a transnational industry not restrained by national borders” (Raymond, 2002, p.492). Also, migration is generally observed from a less developed nation to a more developed nation. This research is carried out, predominantly on the women from across the borders who have been trafficked into street prostitution in India, and sporadically on a few Indians involved in the trade. The research does not deal with forced labor, which is another reason for human trafficking, apart from sexual exploitation. The area taken under consideration is Law Gate, a developing area confined to the vicinity of a prominent university in Jalandhar, Punjab. This place is home to several students who have come to study in the university but do not wish to stay in the hostels. These students could be the potential customers who propped up the demand side of the trade in the initial stage.

Prostitution is legal in India. However, soliciting in a public place, trafficking and pimping is illegal and therefore these tasks are carried out secretly in the country. A system of deceit perpetuates crime against women and this is rendered possible because of the silence that grips the contours of this trade. As prostitution is carried out secretly, the prostitute as well as the customer tend to remain elusive as much as possible due to which all sorts of malpractices erupt in the transactions of this trade. For example, police take money to keep the business running, brothel conditions remain unhygienic, women are at risk of diseases etc. According to R.Y. Thornton (1956), Open commercialized prostitution can exist only with police protection, active or passive (p.776). If those indulging in flesh trade have the courage to tell the truth about themselves or in other words exhibit parrhesia, it would lead to a change in the existing understanding of transnational prostitution and ultimately better lives for the sex workers. Parrhesia is meant “to tell individuals the truth of themselves hidden from their own eyes, to reveal to them their present situation, their character, failings, the value of their conduct, and the possible consequences of their decisions” (Foucault, 2011, p.19). It is also true that prostitution goes on covertly away from the eyes of the government. The prostitutes themselves would never wish to reveal their identity. By exhibiting parrhesia, it is intended that these prostitutes will lay bare their problems, the circumstances that led them into prostitution and whether they intend to come out of it or not. Thus, parrhesia in a way would lead to the transformation of the soul, the *Psukhe*. Its function would be less

of salvation of the city and more of salvation of an individual's soul or ethos. Thus, parrhesia would help in awakening among the prostitutes and they would be able to govern themselves in a better way.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Foucault (2011) states that Socrates won't let go until his interlocutor has been led to the point where he can give an account of himself (p.143). Thus, in Socratic parrhesia, a person is asked to give an account of himself to show the relationship between himself and logos that is reason. It means to describe how one lives and how one has lived his/her life in the past. By focusing on the domain of existence, one can focus on what is good and what is bad in one's life. It is like rubbing oneself against a touchstone, the *basanos* which divides things and enables one to distinguish between what is and is not gold.

Thus, by telling the truth about oneself, one can know about life what "may be ratified and recognized as good and what on the other hand must be rejected and condemned" (Foucault, 2011, p.149). In other words, one can undergo *epimeleia*, that is the care of the self as "Socrates defined his parrhesia, his courageous truth-telling, as a truth-telling whose final objective and constant concern was to teach men to take care of themselves" (Foucault, 2011, p.110) and if a man can take care of himself, he can also take care of others. *Epimeleia* "is the positive concern of a father for his children, of a shepherd for his flock, of a good sovereign for the citizens of his country" (Foucault, 2011, p.100). The concept of parrhesia when applied to the gamut of prostitution would enable the sex workers to undertake *epimeleia*.

The notions of parrhesia lead to governmentality as "this ethical veridiction puts itself forward and justifies itself, in part at least, by its usefulness for the city and by the fact that it is necessary for the good government and safety of the city" (Foucault, 2011, p.157). Parrhesia leads to governmentality as when one speaks the truth, it brings transformation in society and therefore society begins to function in a better way. Truth is bitter, but when said, shatters established notions, thus giving rise to new thought and wisdom. Parrhesia helps the individual receiving it to introspect and rectify his mistakes. By realising one's follies, one is in a better position to conduct himself appropriately in society. In a way, one governs oneself positively, without being compelled to do something. This, in Foucault's terms, is defined as governmentality.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research employs a qualitative approach to explore the life of the prostitute using interviews to gain a comprehensive understanding of her life. For doing this, the theory of Socratic parrhesia has been invoked. By interviewing women inveigled in prostitution, it is intended to be seen whether these marginalized sections of the society are ready to come out and talk about themselves. By involving them in a game of parrhesia, the researchers intend to find out if there are any discrepancies in their lives. These disparities are related to their health and living conditions. By indulging the participants in ethnographic research methodology, which means interacting with the potential participants in their natural environment, the incongruities in their lives can be gauged. The research also follows an interactionist approach in which the researcher is positive that the interaction with the respondents, in this case sex workers, will lead to a better understanding of the situation for these people and enable them to lead a better life. This determination comes from the theory of parrhesia, as exhibited by Socrates, and involves the “method of dialectic, involving the back-and-forth questioning and answering, aimed to expose contradictions in people's beliefs and notions of morality” (Aithor, 2024).

QUESTIONNAIRE

People privy to the sex trade were interviewed which included the prostitutes (see Appendix A) and the vendors near the site of street prostitution in the designated region. The questions that were asked to these sex workers tended to explore the circumstances that led them into prostitution. Were they doing it out of their own will? Or was it that they were coerced into it? Did they feel guilty about what they were doing? Had they ever been caught by the police? Who were their customers?

Similarly, the police were also interviewed (see Appendix B) on questions like the nexus between themselves and the sex trade, between sex & drug trade, deportation of foreign nationals after being caught, number of women caught or languishing in jails etc.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several researchers have tried in the past to interact with the victims of sex trafficking. The term "traffic" was first used at the turn of the 20th century to refer to movement of persons for immoral purposes, e.g. prostitution (Howard and Lalani, 2008). It has got nothing to do with the fact that the act itself is voluntary or involuntary which means that women who voluntarily enter another country to involve themselves in sex trade are also

a part of the sex trafficking racket. Women who do it on their own will demand respect and wish others to see them in good light. Overall (1992) in her paper *What's wrong with prostitution? Evaluating Sex Work* implies that sex workers “resented the assumption that their work was demeaning and never freely chosen” (p.705).

However, O’Hara (2019) in her work *Making pimps and sex buyers visible: Recognizing the commercial nexus in ‘child sexual exploitation’* argues that coercion is endemic to the sex trade and that coercive control is used by pimps to entrap both children and women. Here it needs to be investigated that what could be the inducement for women to be bludgeoned into whoredom. Mcarthy et al (2014) in her research titled *Sex Work: A Comparative Study* points out two underlying facets for this. Although women are doing it of one’s own volition yet there are some detrimental forces at the subconscious level that expose their vulnerability. The prime one is the historical experience that they have gone through like child abuse, domestic violence, family instability and drug addiction. The other factors are the immediate circumstances, such as current economic needs, human capital, and employment opportunities (p.1379).

Secondly, in their study *Cognitive Impairment as A Vulnerability for Exploitation: A Scoping Review*, Lambert et al (2024) concludes that cognitive impairment is a factor that increases vulnerability to exploitation wherein “the relative powerlessness of the victim is taken advantage of by the more powerful exploiter” (p.1).

Thirdly, debt can also become a factor in women monetizing their bodies as Guerin et al (2023) point out in their work *The indebted woman: Kinship, sexuality, and capitalism* that “Debt can dispossess and govern bodies and subjectivities” (p.6). One of the questions that the research seeks to answer from questioning the streetworkers is whether their work is peremptory or not. With the application of parrhesia and governmentality onto the nitty-gritties of sex trade, which has never been done before, it is intended to bring forth the rudimentary aspects of the trade.

Additionally, Slezak (2023) explores the power dynamics that play out between the interviewer and the interviewee, in this case, the researcher and the sex worker, in a virtual set up as her research titled *Navigating Power Dynamics in Virtual Interviews with Sex Workers during COVID-19: A Researcher-Participant Perspective* was conducted during the pandemic. In contrast, the present research has been conducted using face to face interviews in the natural environment of the respondents. In another similar research titled *The self-image of the prostitute* that was conducted face to face with the respondents, Jackman et al (1963) states that prostitutes justify their

profession in a way that they develop a set of beliefs which counteract the social anathema attached to their way of life (p.150). So, rather than try to change and come out of muddy waters, these women find an escape route to defend their actions. In the same research, it was brought forth that every prostitute interviewed expressed some degree of guilt feeling about her activity (p.153). Here again there are conflicting viewpoints on whether these sex workers feel censurable or acceptable about their jobs. To unravel these anomalies, the present research intends to use parrhesia to understand the stance of the sex workers along with that of the police at the higher as well as the local level.

INTERVIEW PHASE

A total of 20 call girls were interviewed in and around Law Gate, Chaheru, an area notorious for rough trade. The first girl to be interviewed was Laika, a national of Rwanda, Africa, who was standing with her peers in a remote area of Law Gate where there were a few soliciting Indians as well. She had to be paid her full fees even if the researcher meant only to talk to her. In the brothel, which was being used for the mutual benefit of two or more prostitutes, Laika started to talk about herself. She said that she was 30 years old and had 4 kids back in Rwanda. She married there when she was 18 and had 3 kids from her first husband whom she left and then she had another kid with a person with whom she went to Turkey. She also worked as a housemaid in Saudi Arabia for 3 years. She came to India solely for the purpose of indulging in sex trade. There was another lady already working in India who coerced her to come to India. She said women like her call a few more girls from their country and then earn from them in the form of a cut. Back in Rwanda, she was a teacher but did not get paid enough so that she could raise her four kids. Therefore, she left them with her mother and came to India. She did not tell her parents where and why she was going, and her parents still did not know their daughter was in India. Now, she regularly sends money back home, but she wants to leave India as she finds India filthy. The necessary hygiene is not maintained by the agents who provide rooms for prostitution. Many of her acquaintances are still languishing in jails, as they have been caught by the police while indulging in flesh trade and they do not have money to get bail as it costs around 60 thousand INR. According to her, the Police are corrupt in India as when they trap someone involved in sex or drug trade, they do not deport them to their native country; rather, they elicit money from these vulnerable people. Laika herself has overstayed in India as her visa has already expired but she believes she can pay around 20 to 30 thousand INR and extend her stay in India. She also needs money to buy tickets back to Rwanda and so, involuntarily, she must continuously be

involved in flesh trade although she says she is doing it out of her own will and that nobody who has come from Africa has been forced to do what they are doing. This was also cross verified by the police officer who affirmed that the Africans who came to India for sex trade did it out of their own will although the conditions have knowingly or unknowingly constrained them to be a part of this racket. Laika has been asked by her landlord to vacate her room, and she does not have any money to pay rent and security in another PG. Moreover, lately she has not been keeping well and so is not able to tout for business. Laika's dream is to go back to her country and start a wine shop as she thinks people in her country drink a lot and she could make good money out of that.

Initially, when the researcher met this girl, she was a bit uncomfortable as she felt she was being asked a lot of questions. She also hesitated to call herself a prostitute as she felt it demeaned her. A history of problems including getting married at an early age, societal issues like people in her area being heavy drinkers and corruption were responsible for her existing turmoil. She said that it would be better if she was deported to her country as she would then get a chance to redeem herself. She felt Indian police were financially corrupt and although they did not exploit these girls when they caught them, rather, they asked for money.

The situation at the law gate is also responsible for hooking. The area is unregulated, and it has not been allowed to develop. It comes under no municipality or corporation. On interviewing the local vendors of the area, it came to light that recently there has been a crackdown on soliciting for sex by the police as this was happening right under their nose. Police often come to the area but these manzils can never be known. Thus, an entire ecosystem prevails for such crime to take place and the trulls are just a cog in the wheel of the nexus that has been created by the system. They might feel they are doing things out of their own will but that is not true in its entirety. They are made to do certain things which are beyond their control. They feel they are in control of their life while on the other hand, knowingly or unknowingly, they have been persuaded into prostitution.

If money was offered to these girls equivalent to what they demand from their customers, they would speak but, in another case, when they were not offered money or were offered only a meagre amount, they brushed aside the conversation. They refused to participate in a game of parrhesia or talk about the way they have led their lives which shows they are doing something unacceptable in the society. It also shows that some of them were earning a good amount of money as they did not agree for a conversation at a nominal amount. Such a kind of business thrives across the nooks and corners of India.

Prostitution works just like any other business in the country in a way that it's a matter of demand and supply. These working girls often reach the areas where the demand is more like the girl Laika was initially working in the city of Ludhiana which is near Jalandhar. Another reason for not responding to the questions could be the perception that the researcher was a police agent who had come to catch hold of them as street soliciting for sex is illegal in India. These girls were constantly living in fear as the sound of a police siren would make them run away for their safety and this scene was quite often witnessed at law gate. At one point of time, the researcher was duped of his money after one of the Africans refused to talk and ran away from the site after taking the money.

Another case was that of a girl from Palampur, Himachal Pradesh which is around 175 kms from Jalandhar. This girl had migrated to Jalandhar for a job; anyways, this is what she had told her family back in Palampur. However, she was not able to make ends meet here as the salary that she got while working during the day was in the range of 5000 to 7000 INR per month. So, she decided to sell her body during the night as a freelancing activity with which she earned around 5000 INR in a single night. This was easy money for her and so she had got used to it. Owing to migration, she did not know anyone in Jalandhar and so she had no fear of facing repercussions from her family and relatives. Along with prostitution, she had also become addicted to smoking. Here, the men are also to be blamed who buy sex, but the police do not catch the men rather put the women in jails.

Next in line of questioning were the policemen who were directly or indirectly involved with the sex trafficking cases at Law Gate. The information or claims made by the women of the streets had to be verified, so it was the police of the local area that was identified. One of the interviews was conducted with Ranjeet Singh from the counterintelligence team in Jalandhar. He was of the view that sex trafficking by the African women at law gate was accompanied by drug trafficking as most of these Nigerians, as he preferred to collectively call them as, brought drugs from New Delhi, which is the capital of India, and supplied it in the entire state of Punjab. He also claimed that most of these women, who were languishing in jails, were caught with drugs. The policeman also provided additional information that drugs bought from New Delhi, which included heroin, were cheap as compared to the original drugs from Pakistan or other places as these local drugs were synthetically produced. Moreover, there were very few men who indulged in the drug trade as compared to women as it was easy for a woman to evade detection. Some of the ways through which these girls brought drugs

from Delhi included placing them inside fishes and carrying them across the state border.

On being questioned why these women were not deported to their country, Ranjeet Singh retorted that most of these women had forged documents to enter the country and so it was not possible to ascertain their identity, thus making it virtually impossible to deport them to their country. This response was contradictory to the claim made by Laika that the police was corrupt and deliberately did not deport them back to their native country. He also said that some of these women came to India on tourist visas and then overstayed over here because the rules in the state of Punjab were not that strict. There was also a startling revelation made from his side that the sex racket blossoming at Law Gate was right under the nose of the local Chaheru police. In fact, he said such activities could not take place without the support of the police at the local level. They took place in connivance with the constable, the head constable and the ASI who is equivalent to the rank of a police captain in the US police force. Money was poured into the system or in other words it can be said that the hands of the officers at the local police station were greased with money. Only then, a thing that is illegal in the country, could be allowed to thrive. This fact was also verified by a local tea vendor at the site of street prostitution in law gate. He said, “The police raid the place 5 times a day just to ward off the activities which is just a formality. The actual nabbing of the culprits takes place when there are elections round the corner” (Apna Chai Wala, personal communication, December 28, 2024). It is crystal clear that politics plays a major role in letting illegal businesses survive and thrive.

The police also believe that these women are not forced into prostitution by someone but by their circumstances. The countries from where these women come are generally poor with very limited resources. Ranjeet Singh also reiterated that some of the Indians who enter the trade are because of a bad reputation that comes upon them due to an online leak of their video by their boyfriend or due to some family circumstances. These girls were forced into prostitution not by any external element rather by themselves. This can also be concluded because they were not happy with what they were doing.

As the counterintelligence personnel had pointed fingers at the local police, the next interview was conducted at the Chaheru Police Station which falls under the area. There the person in charge was Darshan Singh. On expected lines, Darshan Singh vehemently denied any involvement in the prostitution racket; rather he said that 3 FIRs had already been registered in the past against the African nationals, but they continued the profession after

coming out of jail by paying a bail amount of approximately 25,000 INR. He also confirmed what was earlier stated by Ranjeet Singh that the courts ultimately decided the fate of these women. Rather than being deported to their country, they continued to languish in jails. Approximately 10 to 15 Indians and 22 to 23 Africans had earlier been caught but were out on bail. The police denied having taken any money but said that it was in the nearby bustling city of Jalandhar that prostitution rackets were active in the various spa centers and the police was also contributory to those activities. Thus, it can be inferred that the police were involved in the crime as they were just passing the baton to one another. Also, they blamed not taking action against the sex racket to a lack of time. Owing to the interview, the police got alert and vowed to take action against the network in the upcoming days and also wanted the researcher to help them nab the culprits. However, the victims said that the things that they were doing were completely legal in other countries and so they should not be caught for this. This was also ascertained by the fact that according to the world population review, prostitution is legal in 54 countries and has limited legality in 39 (*Countries where prostitution is legal 2025*).

Taking back the interview to the girls, on being asked about why they were selling their bodies, they retorted, “Back in our country, we do what you are doing right now” (A sex worker) referring to the teaching job of the author. Moreover, it was realized that these people were indulging in sex trade owing to the fact they were in an unknown country where they hardly knew anyone. So, they did not have the fear of being judged. Some of these African girls took offence of the fact that they were specifically being targeted because they being black and so they asked to interview their fairer Indian counterparts who were also present at the same site.

ANALYSIS

It is clear from the collected data that sex trafficking was rampant in the area as the women who indulged in it called other women from their country into the profession and thus vulnerable girls were being led into prostitution and the agent or the middleman, in this case the middle woman, was earning out of the deal.

By exhibiting Socratic parrhesia, these women realized what wrong they were doing to themselves and the society. In the case of Laika, she could not even confront the fact that she was called a prostitute. Parrhesia refers to conducting oneself in the best possible manner, which is ethically right and virtuous (Jain & Arora, 2024). By understanding the lives of these sex workers, one does empathize with the conditions in which they live, the

factors-both internal and external that play out in their choosing this profession. Laika vowed to return to her country but could only do it when she had enough money. However, she started taking care of herself as she refused to go out in the streets while she was ill or when it was extremely cold as is generally the case in winters in North India.

Governmentality refers to regulating the conduct of others. “Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word, governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself” (Foucault, 2016, p.26). So, even if the women who are involved here believe they are doing it out of their own will, it has been a function of governmentality. In today’s times no one is forced to do something rather they are governed into it. A woman who voluntarily agrees to go to another country and indulge in sex trade is also considered as a victim of sex trafficking. During the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* convention in Vienna, the International Human Rights Network, a group of 140 NGOs from across the country advocated the idea that trafficking includes both voluntary and involuntary subjugation as

This kind of principled and inclusive definition of trafficking would take the burden of proof off the exploited and place it on the exploiters and make no distinction between deserving and undeserving victims of trafficking-those who can prove they were forced and those who were not (Raymond, 2002, p.494).

The street prostitution at law gate is trafficked sex as a woman who enters this business calls her acquaintances from her country into the racket and then earns a percentage from those girls. According to Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1956, Any person who procures or attempts to procure a person whether with or without his/her consent, for the purpose of prostitution shall be punishable on conviction with rigorous imprisonment for a term of not less than three years and not more than seven years (*Indian kanoon - search engine for Indian law*). Also, the sex trade at law gate does not involve large networks rather it is carried out in a restricted manner involving a limited number of call girls. Such small and intimate networks are also responsible for the burgeoning flesh trade in the country as “It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that transnational traffickers always operate in large syndicates” (Raymond, 2002, p.493).

After these women are caught by the police, ideally, they should be deported back to their country but that is not what seems to happen. It is a

matter of perceptions as both the parties blame each other for their situation. The police believe these women are immutable as they continue the sex work even after being released while the women believe such practices are very common in other countries and so they should not be caught. The police are also hand in glove with the entire system as has been reaffirmed by Ranjeet Singh from counterintelligence team. Sex Trafficking could have been stopped or even reduced if the due course of law was followed.

Trafficking of women is related to illegal immigration. As mentioned earlier, the police also verified this claim that many of the women from the African subcontinent who indulged in sex trade had forged documents to enter India. One of the observations made during interviews with the prostitutes was that all these women had migrated from one place to another whether it is intra-national or international. Local women were not involved in the business of selling their bodies. Thus, there is an interconnection between migration and sex work.

What are the conditions that force a woman into compulsory prostitution? Is it that the children of sex workers are doomed into this profession from birth? It has been clearly stated that “there is a need to invest on one generation of children for their education which has to be residential quality education, vocational training and handholding to break the cycle of traditional sex work amongst these communities” (*National Commission for Protection of Child Rights*), otherwise the children plunge into the same profession. It has also been stated in the same report that “numerous children belonging to certain communities of traditional sex workers are eventually becoming part of the vicious circle of commercial sex work and leading a life of shame and blame” (p.1).

Another factor is the economic condition of the country and the wage dissimilarities that exist within an enterprise. Many of the girls interviewed were unable to meet nominal expenses from their regular job like that of a teacher or a receptionist. Every job deserves respect and if there are not enough salaries, as is the case with many countries including India, illegal activities will be condemned to witness a surge. According to Guerin (2023), “Female paid employment has been in steady decline since the 1980s” (p.18). Here the link can be observed between sex work and declining wages. Wages are certainly less and according to a survey, “it would take 941 years for a minimum wage worker in rural India to earn what the top paid executive at a leading Indian garment company earns in a year” (*India: Extreme Inequality in Numbers* / *Oxfam International*, 2022).

Ultimately, due to all these circumstances, what these women require is a touch of empathy. They would like to be seen as a human being first and

then a prostitute. By following the interactionist approach, the vulnerable girls' resolve to return to their native countries only increased. Also, the girls were initially apprehensive of the researcher's intentions but later felt happy that there was someone trying to care for them and was empathizing with their situation, so they bared it all. According to Michael Foucault (2011), Parrhesia is the activity that consists in saying everything: pan rema. Parrhesiazesthai is 'telling all. So, by exhibiting parrhesia, these girls expressed freedom to live life as per their desires that can then be transformed into something useful for society because if this is achieved, then the under-privileged and the down-trodden might see a shift in their fortunes as they would then fight for their rights. This does provide an answer to Spivak's iconic titular observation of the reasons why subalterns cannot speak up for themselves and perhaps Parrhesia is a way to bring the subaltern out of their apathy. So Parrhesia is one tool to be used to achieve emancipation.

RESULTS

By interacting with different stakeholders involved in the transaction of sex, it can be concluded that parrhesia plays a major role in bringing about governmentality or ushering in change for the betterment of society. Parrhesia did lead to self-awareness as questioning the prostitutes made them unravel the human side of them which they had probably buried in some depths of their conscience. They realized there was someone who cared for them and thus notions of love and care did exist in the contemporary world. It was difficult for them to trace back the path that they had now been following for so long and it was thus hope that was only remaining for them and was keeping them alive. They lived in eternal risk as now the police had also become proactive when they were questioned about their integrity and were asked to tell the truth about themselves. In the days leading to the research conducted on the women and the police, there was greater control and security seen on the streets of law gate. The sex workers also realized the precarious situation they were in and restored their humanness. They started to take better care of themselves by avoiding finding work in extreme weather conditions or when they were ill. Probably these women would have to think of alternate ways to make a living or return to their nations while some of them might stay back as well and wait for the tide to ebb. Most of these women wanted to collect the requisite amount of money that would enable them to return to their native country.

CONCLUSION

The situation at law gate can be improved by implementing several measures. First and foremost, corruption must be eliminated, and the police should take strict action against people involved in such practices. For example, those who have entered the country illegally must be deported to their countries irrespective of the fact that they can provide the proof of their domicile country or not. Sometimes laws need to be bypassed to fast track solutions to such problems as has been done by America in returning illegal immigrants to India. Moreover, rather than imposing laws inhibiting street prostitution, women should be made self-aware about their rights and their social standing in the society. In this regard, education is necessary to enlighten the victims to lead a life of dignity rather than misery and apathy. NGOs can come forward to talk to these people and help them in returning to the mainstream society. Moreover, opportunities can be provided by the government so that the income of women rises at par with men.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire to the sex workers

RQ1: Tell me about your background (your nationality, family etc.)

RQ2: Have you migrated legally or illegally into the country? (For International residents)

RQ3: Were you coerced by someone to come to this place?

RQ4: Are you indulging in prostitution out of your own will?

RQ5: What were the circumstances that led you into this trade?

RQ6: What is your modus operandi?

RQ7: Have you ever been caught by the police?

RQ8: Do you wish to leave this profession and return to your native state?

Appendix B

Questions asked to the police

RQ1: Are these women voluntarily indulging in sex trade?

RQ2: Have these women entered India legally or illegally?

RQ3: What are the causes that lead these women into prostitution?

RQ4: Is it true that this trade cannot survive without the connivance of the police?

RQ5: Why are the women who are caught doing sex work not deported to their country?

RQ6: Any additional Information that you can provide like nexus between drug & sex trade, number of women caught and released or languishing in jails etc.