

'Integration and Re-integration in Society'

By

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Background Information

Sex-Work/ Prostitution are counted among one of the oldest profession in the world, with social stigma attached to it. India is no exception in this case.

Delhi Commission for Women organized a unique workshop on "MeriAwaazSuno" on 21.08.2002 at VigyanBhawan, Hall No. 3, New Delhi. The main purpose of the workshop was the welfare and human rights of the sex workers. There has been a lot of work done this field and many social organizations have done plenty of welfare work for the sex workers, but never had the voice of sex workers been heard. But this workshop by DCW, for the first time gave a platform to the sex workers to speak themselves about their problems and difficulties faced by them and their children in the society. The participants of the workshop were sex workers from G. B. Road (Kamla Market), Policy Makers, Bureaucrats, NGOs, Ministers and Media. The sex workers raised their voice in presence of policy makers, bureaucrats, NGOs, Ministers and Media. Sh. AmodKanth, Jt.CP/Delhi Police said "that rescued minor girls can be repatriated to their states. Prostitution is one of the worst and oldest professions. Prostitution is not illegal on its own but if some money is earned through this profession then it is illegal and the sex worker can be arrested and that is why the rescued girls are kept in Nirmal Chhaya and sent back to their homes so that they live better lives. The society does not easily accept those sex workers even after they leave this profession due to social stigma attached to the profession, they are not easily rehabilitated back in their native place."(1)

Debates have occurred worldwide (including India), and are still going on to whether give it a legal or illegal status but my concern lies with the children of the sex workers and their future. I see them as a marginalised section of children who can never themselves openly say about the marginalisation they face in the society, because they too are a part of the society and are well aware of the taboo associated with the world they come from.

A lot of research has done on the sex-workers and the problems they face in the society, I found very less material on their children. *'Sex-trade is a complex phenomenon. We cannot draw a simple connection between social determinants and entry of women in this trade. The phenomenon can be understood in a world of patriarchal values, marginalisation of women from economic productive activity and undervaluation of reproductive role of women. There is too much diversity in the life of women in prostitution (caste, class, literacy, religion, region, belief system etc.) They have varied life experiences, so the experiences of their children are varied as well. There are many pre-conceived notions about their children, that they are also prone to sexual exploitation, they have low self-esteem, have no opportunity of education etc. But this is not the absolute truth. It will be a fallacy if we put the children of sex workers with all the problems on the one side and the other children having better life on other side. The life of the children are determined by many interwoven cultural factors, social environment, physical facilities, opportunities for socialization etc. Sometimes children facing many difficulties in their situation develop better survival skills and they have more reflexive capability. On the contrary to many overprotected school children may have less coping skills. But the specific problems of the children of sex workers like the shame they feel when others despise them, ostracisation from the community should never be overlooked.'*(2)

Education has been and is still one of the areas of concern in our society. Making education a fundamental right (Right to Education) clearly tells us its place in Indian Society.

If one goes online and start looking for the organisations working for the betterment of the children of sex workers there will be plenty of them, with a call for donation and volunteer services. At G.B. road there are more than two places where the children of sex workers get education through unconventional modes. The two which I am familiar with are:

1. Kat-Katha
2. Sarhana Education Society

This research tries to look at this entire process of challenges faced and overcame by the children of sex workers in receiving quality education and how it shapes their lives both personally and professionally.

Research Methodology

This research was carried out over the period of twenty days at G.B. Road.

Interviews and Participant observation were carried out together.

The questions asked at time of the interview being conducted are -

1. What is your name?
2. Where are you from?
3. How old are you?
4. Where do you live?
5. Have you been to school?
6. From how many years you are living in Delhi?
7. How did you come here?
8. Do you have any connection with your families?
9. Were you married?
10. Do you have children?
11. How many children do you have?
12. How old are they?
13. Do they live with you?
14. Do they go to school?
15. Do they go to a government school or a private school?
16. Do you pay the fees?
17. How much is the fees?
18. Why you chose this school?
19. What do they want to become in future?
20. What do you want them to become in future?

The questions were changed accordingly after the answers of initial questions which remained common to all.

(Please note that these questions were asked in Hindi because they did not know English and never spoke to me in English as well.)

And while doing so I came up with case histories/studies.

Ample time was invested in rapport building with these women after my introduction by the NGO officials with them. I assured them continuously that I am not going to use the information against anyone and won't be harmful to their children in any way in future. After interviewing two-three sex workers, I was able to win their confidence and they helped me to approach others for my research.

Along this I faced another challenge at the time of my field work, raids were being conducted frequently by police to rescue lately trafficked women, and I had to mold my interviews and had to wait for the right time to conduct them. I was advised by the NGO official's who helped me in getting in touch with these women, not to ask too many personal questions mostly about the time duration of their stay in Delhi and their native place. Things would have turned difficult for me because people by that time around the location of NGO (through their networking) knew me that I was conducting interviews and I might mistaken as a government official helping police.

The names of all the sex-workers in interviewed, has been changed as per their request.

I use to go for my field work in the afternoons because these women worked in the evening till late night and woke up late in the morning. So the only safe time according to the Ngo and everyone else was in the afternoon, because the markets gets closed by 7:00 pm as told to me by several sex workers. Sometimes took a few walks in the evening with the company of few friends.

(I was always mistaken as a government official or a Social Work student by the sex workers I interviewed and the other officials of the Ngo's that helped me in this research) I take the responsibility of all the short comings. I tried my best to cover everything possible in the period of these twenty days.

Education itself can be seen as one of the ways of being a part of the society; it enables us to learn about various social institutions and to locate ourselves in the society.

If I try to define education, what I have discovered through these interviews it is the only way of getting job and improved financial status.

Government education, good jobs, marriage are seen as the only way respectable status in the society. There are debates about making sex work legal and it may have a different kind of effect on the children of sex workers. Its illegal status does not stop it (sex work) from functioning, the number running in million involving women in different parts of India. G.B. Road is once such location. It is quite old and almost everyone who has office there or goes in that area is aware of the happenings of that place.

I was on talking terms with an NGO 'Shaktivahini' and had to go their G.B. Road office, which is a medical care centre for sex workers, to meet Ms. Tamanna Khan who is working there for quite a sometime.

I explained her purpose of my visit. She offered me help because I gave the reference of a senior in the same organization. She also checked my identity proof and the letter I got for this research and I was cooperating in this process of verification of being an authentic student.

She advised me to come the very next day. One has to take a rickshaw from metro station to reach Shaktivahini's office and one need to instruct the Rickshawala to go the health centre locates next to the Masjid. From my trips I figured out the Masjid is the landmark that all rickshawala's are aware whereas the health centre is known to some. This is the building of health centre where the office of NGO Shaktivahini is located on the third floor. The lift is not working, one has to take the staircase, there are some other offices on the ground, 1st and 2nd floor which were never open the time I visited the NGO. Few men use to sit and chatter outside the office sometimes located on the ground and 1st floor.

After rickshaw trip in the heat of May, climbing the staircases I was thinking of the shops (electronics etc.) I saw on the road that was open and waiting for customers to come. I reached the third floor and the first thing I saw was huge boxes of Nirodh Condoms, which I figured out later that are being provided to the sex workers as part of NACO Project for prevention of AIDS and STD's. The office had white colored building and there was a little room on my left side and a big room in the centre with two more rooms after that, one each on left and right side. The right one was where the doctor use to sit and where sex workers gets blood test done and enquired doctors various other problems they are facing. They were well aware of the timings of the doctor's visit and I remember one of the sex workers on my first day came and told me how she got rid of T.B. because of the aid provided by the NGO. I was fortunate that I was able to interact and observe plenty number of sex workers at the premises of the NGO because NGO was also the venue for the making of 'AADHAR Card'. The official informed the sex workers and then they passed on the information to fellow sex workers. The sex workers came in looked around and started chit chatting with the NGO officials, enquiring about the mistake in and deliverance of Aadhar Card. I got introduced to them when they were either done with their formalities of Aadhar Card, or while they were waiting for their turn in the central room of the office. Trains keep in and passing as the railway track (New Delhi Railway Station line) is just behind the office.

The sex workers were anxious about the address proof on Aadhar card, which might reveal their identity in front of their children, relatives etc. who are not aware of their profession but are definitely aware about the area because of media coverage and connections and visits in Delhi. The official ensured them that Swami Shradhanand Marg is being written instead of G.B. road in the column for address. Most of them were unable to understand the computerized system of Aadhar Card and they were continuously told about its relevance and functioning. They were assured it was for their good and it will not be harmful with the concern of the disclosure of their identity.

Interestingly most of the times the sex workers to identify other sex workers while talking to the NGO officials, who are also aware of the existence of her, used the number of the residence of their room in brothels. For example when I asked one of the sex workers that I want to interview someone who has children are in school. She turned to one of the NGO official and said "256 wali ko 2 bache hain naa, unse milwa do inhe", to which the NGO official replied, "haan unke bhi hain, aur 431 ke bhi toh hain!"

1. On my visit to Mumtaaz Ji's house, located at G.B. Road among the brothels. I was sitting on the clean floor with Mumtaz Ji, I could hear several discussions, involving the criticism of a Madam who makes these young sex workers wear shorts and spagettis, and they found these acts intolerable. And I was surprised, they are involved in a profession/ business where they sell their bodies; still they are not very much comfortable with these young women exposing their bodies by wearing western clothes. They also commented among themselves that if that madam will make these women wear these kinds of clothes, then it will be easier for police officers to recognize them. Also they criticized two madams from an NGO who did not help them as much as promised. My presence was ignored completely for first ten minutes and Mumtaz Ji did not even look at me properly. After she was done with her discussion she turned directly and looked straight into my eyes and asked me what you want to ask. People like you (journalists, media professionals) come

here every time, ask the same questions, same stories, promise us that something will be done for us but nothing happens, stories get printed, who looks after that? No one comes after that! Once your work is done, who cares about us? The other two women who were speaking in Kannadha to Mumtaz Ji and scolding Sunita also said that we have given interviews so many times, and people make false promises, that we will get you a house or job etc. but they only take interviews, get their work done and never come back. Both of them did not have any children. They show their affection to the children of fellow sex workers. Right on my face they said that they have no expectations from me as well, and why I am doing this study, If it is not going to help/benefit them in any which ways. When I asked them about police making raid and rescuing women and sending back to their home towns, Mumtaz Ji and others replied that the government give only 1 lakh rupees and that gets finished after some time. These women have old parents and children to look after. Where will they go? Nobody is even ready to marry them. Till the time they supply money things are okay otherwise they cannot survive.

2. Sunita

Belongs to Andhra Pradesh, when I asked in detail says that she belongs to Tirupati Balaji Area. She is 35 years old and has been living in Delhi for around 15-16 years. Although she has gone to school up to 1-2 class, but still call herself an illiterate, because she studied in Kannada and does not know to read and write Hindi and English. Two kids – Son and a daughter. Daughter is married and 21 years old and the son is 17 years old. People are not aware of her being involved in this work at her native place, and her children live with Bhaiya-Bhabhi and she regularly send money as and when required. She was aware when she came to Delhi, what kind of work she will indulge into and chose it because of poverty; she took 3-4 years to learn Hindi properly. She also talks about the competition because of the involvement of the Dalal's. She has T.B. and from the past five months she is undergoing the process of medication with help of the healthcare centre. Both her children went to government school, daughter till class 4 and the son till class 3, but could not continue after some time. Both of them live in Andhra Pradesh. She applied had applied purple nail paint on her hand and a similar shade of lipstick, the day I met her in NGO office she was wearing a green and white synthetic suit, with hairs neatly tied in a bun. But she was wearing a white caprie and sleeveless purple top on my visit to Mumtaz Ji's house. She also lives in the same brothel. She was being continuously punished of cutting raw mangoes by the fellow sex workers as it is harmful for health. She after listening to them for a quite some time replied that she is not cutting for herself, but she going to make some dish of it for some other Didi (sex-worker). Her son is now working as a mason on beldari earnings. 150 to 200, depending on the kind of work available, it is not fixed. Sometimes the work is less; sometimes it is more, she sitting in Delhi has no account of his money. Her daughter got married quite early now has two daughters of her own of one which is 3 years old and the other is 1 year old. The reason which she gives for the early marriage of her daughter is that ki 'Ladkiyaan jaldi badhi ho jaati hain! Aapko toh pata hi hai!). By that means that her daughter attained puberty and became ready for marriage at that time. She also spoke about women from her area to Kuwait and Dubai on contract basis for the same kind of work, which fetches more money as compared to here. She criticizes the present conditions and asks me what I am going to do with report, she is also scared and asks me to promise not to send out any kind of details to her native place as it will make things difficult for her children and family.

3. Rita

She is living in Delhi for around 18-19 years and is 48 years old. She hails from Chaubipurpravna, Calcutta, West Bengal. She has two sons. After her first husband death, she fell in love with another man. She fled with him and was discarded by her only sister, and others, her own parents died when she was quite young. She left her elder son with her sister, and carried her younger son with her to Delhi where she landed at G.B. Road. She tried to contact her sister at her native village, but things her sister cut all ties with her because of the embarrassment faced by her after she left. She got married at the age of 13, and was the mother of two by the age of 20. Her elder son is 29 years old and younger son is 26 years old.

Her younger son was the first one who came to know about his mother's profession; where as her eldest son came to know later because he was there in the village living with his aunt. Due to poor financial status, none of them studied. Although she admitted the younger one in a school in Gurgaon, a part of SOS villages, with the help of Lalitha Ji, running a day care centre and Ngo runned by her with the help of Shakuntla Ji. But could not study there and was involved in frequent fights with other children because they use to tease him about his mother's profession. Also he was not able to focus in studies and there very fewer facilities like counselling and protection were provided to her son. She had to withdraw her son, because school was also finding it tough to handle him.

Her sons live in Delhi but at different locations, earning 2,000-3,000 per month only. The younger son tried to go their village but could not stay there for much time and came back to Delhi.

She emphasized on the changing communication technologies and the role played by mass media, that enables the spread of information and people are now much more aware of the happenings around them. She being an illiterate has never been out of her village and spoke about the communication gap that used to be there between elders and children. She appreciated that now parents are more open with their children and discuss different issues that enables the child learn about the world and thus can be alert!

She says that this prevents children to a certain extent from falling into a trap. She also mentioned that she was under control of someone when she joined this profession, and thus had no option to escape.

Now because of her age, and fall in her cliental she works as an outreach with Shakti Vahini Ngo and helps other sex workers. On being asked her salary, she did not mention anything. I have promised them that they need to answer any question if they don't feel like, but indirectly she said it is enough for her own survival.

4. Lalita

She is around 50 years old, Muslim, illiterate came to G.B.Road with her sister, when she was 3-5 years old from, born in Calcutta. She does not remember it clearly. But she clearly remembers that when she came here, and when she attained the age of puberty, her sister forced her too in this profession. She dislikes her sister for this, as she told their parents that she wants to take Lucky with her because she got married in Delhi, and is doing job and cannot have her own children. Their parents allowed this for better upbringing of her. She has two daughters. With the help of Lalitha Ji and Shakuntla Ji, she sent both of them to boarding schools in Banaras. When I asked her how did she managed all this, she said if you money you can do anything. But the point that must be noted here is that only having money cannot guarantee their schooling. She herself was illiterate and it was because of the help and guidance she received from these two ladies, she managed both her daughters to get out of this area. She got her Ration Card and Voters ID card made by giving bribe to the officials. And aadhar card was being made with the help of NGO people. She is unmarried. When asked about any male or partner in her life, she said something very vaguely.... Murmuring.... Not very keen to speak about it. Just through her gestures and signs focused on the power of money, it can do everything.

Her elder daughter is studying in Bangalore right now, when I asked her what is she doing, she said she is doing B.A.-B.Com. For her, to do B.Com one needs to do B.A. first. I took some time to understand what she really wanted to say. Her younger daughter is studying in 10th class in Banaras. But before that they were studying the school near Hanuman Mandir run by Shakuntla Ji and Lalitha Ji.

None of her daughter comes to Delhi, she visits both of them in Benares only, and her elder daughter also comes to Banaras from Bangalore. Lalitha Ji and Shakuntla managed to get their admissions and to recover costs through government funding. Also she says that she sends between 5,000-10,000 annually to both her daughters.

Her elder daughter recently came to know about her mother's past and profession, she is a proud mother, she said that her daughter understood everything, and said that whatever u did, u did to raise us and to give us a better life. She is not ashamed and values her mother's efforts and struggle.

Lalita Ji wants her daughters to study well and become self dependent. She is not in a hurry to get her elder daughter married, and says that I will only allow her to marry when she starts earning. When I asked about the choice of life-partner, she said it totally depends on her daughter, she can marry, whomsoever she likes, when she is ready to handle all this.

Since her elder daughter is in Bangalore and has no plans to come to Delhi, I am trying to get in touch with her via telephone.

She also works as a kind of outreach in the Ngo, I have never seen her working though, there is hardly any work pressure on her, she is always eating something tobacco/pan, as her mouth is always red and so her teeth. She told me that she lives during the day in the NGO and in the evening, she sleeps out in the street in front of shops, above that where brothels are located and cook food there on stove. She never wants her daughter to come here, and says that nothing is left here for anybody here now. I tried to get in touch with her daughter but it was not possible.

5. Ms. Shanti Devi from Bedhia Community told me that now there is nothing much left in this profession 'Mujra' in at G.B. Road in Delhi. Her daughter does that but denied her being involved in prostitution/sex work. She even invited me to see one of the performances, in the same house which she lives in G.B Road. On being asked about the personnel life of her daughter she said, every woman needs a man in her life and when I asked her does she have a child. She said yes, and does she know who that father of the child is and does the father know it. She said yes. And who looks after the child, she said her daughter only and when I asked her about the fathers contribution, she said that the father does come as a when required. But when I asked about his education, he completed 10th 3 yrs back and still unable to get admission in 11th standard. That somewhere raised questions about the role of the father, because she once mentioned that his surname is Thakur and he is from Jaat community. She said that he is rich and gives money as when required and comes to visit them. She is from Bedhia community, 50 years old, daughter in law, has never done Mujra. Says that this never happened in her natal home also. She said she was 12 years old when she got married and is living in Delhi for past 30-35 years. Although her father knew that what her present family is doing in Delhi, but knew or he was sure that his daughter won't enter the world of sex work. Or there can be other reasons too. She did not speak about this point much. Her family belongs to Madhya Pradesh. She says we are into gaane –bajanewaalakaam, mujra and all. Presently she has two children a daughter and a son. She gave birth to a daughter when she was 16, after two-three moving to Delhi, but she died due to some problem in brain. Son studied till 2-3 class, whereas the daughter studied till 4th standard. None of them studied really well, her daughter does Mujra, and she invited me to even see one. When I asked her who all comes to see it, she said that lot of big people come to see it, businessmen, government officials and lots of other people. I asked her about her income, she said they have paid performances of Rs.

5,000, Rs.10, 000, rs.15, 000 and so on and according to her, this is already decided. She said that her daughter is not involved in sex-work, and does only mujra, but others who know her well in office, indirectly gave the hint of her involvement in sex work. She is not married and has a son; I met her daughter after some time and spoke to her also, when I went to see their houses. When I asked about her house, she told that they had a house earlier which was overtaken illegally by her husband's elder brother. Now she is living with her daughter along with other family members. She mentioned very less about her son who has three children (which school do they go?), but her daughter is the source of income in their family. Her daughter has a son from a relationship with a Jaat boy, whose surname is Thakhur and the boy uses the surname of the father. Her son was born when she was 17, and her daughter is 7-8 years younger than her brother.

Her daughter's name is Mini and she has studied till class four, and the timings of Mujrais 9-12 pm. Mini was wearing a light green salwar kameez, synthetic fibre, had no make-up, she was sleeping, she same when she heard her mother talking to her neighbour. That was another brothel building, the staircase that leads from the market had no lights and the room were too small for a dance performance. There was space only to sit, not even stand or take a round while dancing. There were calendars and posters of Goddess Lakshmi, Saraswati, and Lord Ganesha. Her mother introduced me to her, and she had a medium built, short height and wheatish complexion. Her son was first admitted in a private school, then after some time to a government school, and then to ramjas. The boy has issues in the last school, where he was being threatened because of his involvement in some dispute. He had one class 10 and got 54%. From the past 2-3 years he has been trying to take admission, but things are not working out and the officials in the schools they have been trying ask for some or the other form of bribery. They asked for four lakhs in one case, which obviously this family cannot afford. She asks me to help me in the admission of this boy and I have to explain it to her, that I myself am a student and cannot help her in this matter. But still she kept on saying me to help her out in any possible way. I met this boy, who is working part time in some office, where his main work is to give papers and couriering. He wants to do class 12 first and after that B.Com and on my further asking he said that maximum he would like to do M.A. which I realized after asking lot of related questions that he is talking about M.B.A. so that after doing job for some years he could set up a business of his own. He said that he is not interested in higher studies like Ph. D etc. When I asked her who pays for the son of her daughter, she said, who else will pay her daughter will pay. When I asked her what about the responsibility of the father, she was a taken aback for some time and said that the fathers obviously pays for him, but he gives it to the daughter and he is always present their whenever there is need. *But it definitely does not explain that boy not getting admission in school.

6. I met Naina, Vinita, and Yama.

They were sitting together, so I decided to speak to them in a group.

Naina was sitting in the front and asked me to ask everything in short, because they did not had much time. So I asked her about her children and their education. She is 28 years old and has a four year old daughter. She is going to a private school, studying in K.G. she lives with her maternal grandmother where. She wants her daughter to get good education and get married, unlike her, who is continuing her ancestral profession. Naina has studied till class 5 and told me that she is married. She belongs to Madhya Pradesh.

Vinita started talking about herself. She is 25 years old, has a son and daughter, The son is 7 years old and is studying at LailthaJi's centre, whereas her daughter is 10 years old and is studying in government school and resides in the hostel. She is from Maharashtra.

Yama is from Andhra Pradesh and as soon a she started telling me, all three were called up their madam and they left. It was after wards I realised that why they were behaving so stiff because there madam was there, and they were well groomed as compared to other sex workers I met. Also when I started talking to them, they became comfortable and smiled in between.

7. Aarti

She is from Rajasthan, unmarried and belongs to Bedhia community. She has studied till class 5. She has a daughter and a son. Her Daughter studies in 6th standard and is 17 years old. Her son is studying in class 10. Both her children go to private school and live with her mother's sister and husband and their children. Both her children use the name of her sister and her husband in the parent's column. And she sends Rs.3000 per month for their educational and other expenses. Her daughter has some medical problem in her head, and gets fir also sometimes. When I asked her, being this their family legacy, would she want her daughter to continue this. She personally does not want but said that if someone wants to she cannot stop, like she had her niece in Delhi, who continues to carry the legacy. The niece was there only when I was talking to her and she does not have any children. She is living here in Delhi for a quite lot of time.

8. Bano is from Gwalior, M.P., living in Delhi from past 7-8 years. She is from Bedhia community. She has two Daughters. One is 10 years old and the other one is 6 years old. Both of them go to school run by Gitaanjali madam, which I later discovered is runned by Kat-Katha, another NGO working for the education of children of sex-workers. Bothe her daughters are in first class. She doesn't spend any money on their education. Both of them are in 1st standard. She told everything is sponsored by government. She herself studied a little bit. When I asked her how didi she got her daughters enrolled in school, she told that social workers themselves came to her. She seemed to be quite

happy when she talked about the place where her daughters are studying also about the people and Geetanjali madam. She told that she looks like me or I look like her, she takes good care of her daughters, combs their hair too, has taught her enough English in a very short span of time and that they are able to converse in English like children studying in Private school. Geetanjali picks up her daughters and drop them after the school in her big car, she told. When I asked what she wants her daughter to be, she said she cannot predict about the future.

9. Sultana-She went to school, but never really studied. She has son, very stubborn, who also never studied.
10. Rani- She never her daughters to school, they are married and have kids, steeled somewhere else, not in the same profession.

Both of them were reluctant and uninterested to speak to me. One of them said that we don't know how to talk!

11. Then I met Krishna (fictious name, she did not revealed her name), she herself is an illiterate. Her daughter studied in Private school, and got married when she was 19. She is 25 years now, had a miscarriage 3 years ago.
12. Sangeeta tried to give me an overview of everything going on. She spoke about the shelter and security which is not provided her, she said every woman here does not really want to be here, and no one actually cares about them and their situation. Women who have brothers and husbands do not come here, and remain protected in this society. She in a way spoke about the strength of patriarchy in our Indian Society, where protection and social security is provided by a male to a female.
13. Shalu-

She is from chhiturzilla, tiurpatibalaji area, Andhra Pradesh. She is living in Delhi for past 8 years. She says that she is 32 years old, but is not quite sure about her age. She has studied till class 5. She studied for some time in class 6, she studied in Telugu. She has a son and a daughter. She said that she conceived when she was 12 years old/. Her daughter studied in private school, got married, after attaining puberty age and has just became a mother 10-25 days back. She studied till class 16, always has been a first ranker. Her in laws said that she can continue her education after marriage also, but things did not work out. Her son is 16 years old, he loves with her maternal grandmother, her husband forced into this profession and she divorced him. But he lives in the same village and provides some kind of support to his son also. They have been divorced for past6-7 years. Shalus brother and sister are also there living in the village with her mother. She has a rented room here, and she gives money order or parcel of Rs.5000-6000 every time to her natal village. She talked about medical facilities which are not available to them, also the psychiatric help they are deprived off. She is often verbally scolded by others and also need session's psychiatric help.

14. Kajal-

She is 24 years old, from Calcutta, West Bengal. She said she was an orphan, and did not disclose who adopted her. She got married and when she was 16 her husband left her somewhere in Mumbai and she landed up in Delhi. She said it was a long and complicated story. She did not understand anything at that time and in order to survive she took up this profession. She is living in Delhi for past 8 years and is an illiterate. She has a daughter who is 3 months old and hinted towards a relationship with a man. She putted up Sindoor, which was evident. She learned Hindi, and has an alternative employment such as housekeeping and dishwashing. And she said that she wants to leave this job as soon as she is able to take on fully the options that are available to her as alternative employment right now. She talks a lot about child psychology and she wants her daughter to be with her. She is not in favour to send her daughter to Hostel. She wants her daughter to stay with her, so that she provides the adequate nurturance and shelter. She also said that she is proud to have a daughter rather than a boy because she feels that daughters are able to understand mothers much better, their pain, struggles etc. She said that probability of understanding the pain of mothers out of 1000 male children is only one. She said that she will leave this profession as soon as possible and would never want her daughter to into the same thing. She indicated that she is earning 2000-3000 per month, which is very less to leave her current profession and to move out in a new place. She said the day her savings will be of Rs. 3000 she will move out with her daughter and will start a new life with her current partner. She is very positive about her future and she is into tailoring, stitching etc. She wants to give her daughter the best type of education so that she could stand on her own feet.

After I interviewed Kajal I went to another woman to interview who was with one another female friend of hers at that time and she refused to give interview.

15. RukmaniJi does mujra and is from Bedhia community.

She has 4 children, three sons and one daughter. The eldest son did not study at all, the younger and middle son studied till class 10. The youngest son is settled in Mumbai and working there, where as the middle one is a Taxi Driver. The taxi does not belong to him; he has taken it on rent. Her Daughter is also in mujra, she said that she is not doing it from the past 10 years. Looking at the condition of their house, it was quite evident that they are not earning much. It was a very old building and they also showed me the place where they did mujra, which looks very old now. Clothes were lying and they were sleeping on the floor when I went with the outreach to their house. The staircase was on old and it did not had light, I had to use the torch in my phone to exactly see what and where I was stepping. Surprisingly all the shops located below these houses owned by wealthy businessmen were well lit. Her daughter also gave

me interview. She has two sons. The elder one is 20-21 years old and the younger one 19-20 years old. She told that both of them studied till class 5 in government school, whereas the eldest one has studied till class 10, and now doing a job, the youngest one has studied till class 6, both were now studying in private school and does nothing. She tried to give me another version of story but then her mother started scolding her why you are not telling her (me) the truth. The truth was that the youngest son was doing nothing and was involved in some or the other kinds of problems or troubles every day. The daughter told me the truth when her mother shouted at her, and I wrote down after a negotiation between mother and daughter. Whereas the daughter was trying to hide some facts about her children and blame it on other factors rather than the incapability of her children, the mother was giving more cut to cut answers and less hesitant. There was a man sleeping inside the room next where I was sitting and then he came out. He said something inaudible but he was somewhat of the mother's age, probably her partner. They did not reveal his identity to me. The mother even gave me comments about my looks that I look older than my age because of my built and health. I look around 30, she said.

The other outreach told me story about SulatanaJi, whose name is spoken with an addition to her room no, so that one shall not get confused between so many Sultanas's. The NGO people also told me the same story, that she had an African-Indian origin, now her granddaughter is also working in some other African Country, in the health sector for public welfare and she is not a sex worker.

There is another story where the son of a sex-worker got some job in Bollywood and she went with her, and the fellow and neighbouring sex-workers have no clue or contact information of them.

Both these stories were told with great proud both by sex-workers and Ngo officials.

16. HaseenaJi has two children from her marriage. She said she belongs to Southern India. After her husband's death she came here. The first son died when he was quiet young and the second son lives in their village, studied till class 8. He is married and has a family of his own. She told me that it was long time back that she used to send money for his son's education. She did not reveal the exact amount of money she used to send. She is still in this profession, in her late 40's. She says there is no place for her to go and looking at the inflation, how will she sustain in this world, without being continue to in this profession. She instead of answering my question, like many other women counter-questioned me, asked me why I was interested in this, am I a government official or a social worker. And when I explained to her that I am a student and wanted to do a research just to know about you people, she was not quite satisfied. She told me that she has been interviewed a lot many times, some even promised her to get a house of her own, but none of those promises were fulfilled, mostly made by journalists. She has problems in her legs, some kind of swelling etc. She asked me what people get out by writing so many reports because situation for them are not improving at all. She along with other women in her brothel criticized Ngo's working for them and their children. She said no one really works of them; each and every individual organization is exploitative including police. They are also angry with a day care center people who has now started charging money that take care of their children, Rs. 500 for toddlers and Rs.1000 for kids. She along with other women started talking Kannada language and after some time looked towards me and asked as if I knew the answer-"aren't these Ngo people getting money from government and other resources? If we have to give could give that much of money we would have admitted them at a better place!" She emphasized that no work is actually being done for them, and there is corruption everywhere, those who pretend to help them also, no real benefit or help is being derived out. Things are the same, according to her as they were before or only getting worse.
17. Shanti- She was initially very hesitant to speak to me. She is 36 years old from Andhra Pradesh. She is an illiterate and got married when she was 14-15 years old. Her husband was a drunkard and she came to Delhi with a friend. She chose to be in this profession to survive and her family. She divorced her husband and came to Delhi when she was 20 years old. Her brother has three kids by that time and her sister in law died when the youngest daughter was 4 months old. All three children are female. The eldest one is in 7 standard, the middle one in 3rd standard, and the youngest one in 2nd class. She said that the government school in their village is till 10th class so they can only afford the education of daughters till that level only. Her contribution to the family is around Rs. 1500 per month and they cannot afford private college for these three daughters of her brother. She rather wants them to learn 'kadhai-bunai', which is considered beneficial for daughters after marriage so that they can settle. She wants them to go for further education, but due to monetary reasons it is not possible. The total amount of money she sends is not only for educational purpose but it is for other household expenditure also. The grandmother takes care of the granddaughters and they live in their ancestral village.

It is important to note that none revealed the exact amount spend on education but the monthly contribution is above Rs.1000. and they told me that they manage to arrange money if there are any crisis somehow.

I spent time with kids in Sarhana Education Society and Kat-Katha. Whereas the number of students in Sarhana Education Society is around 100, the number of students in Kat-Katha is approximately 30-33. Kat-Katha is open for the education of sex-workers also, which is not an option available in Sarhana Education Society. Sarhana Education Society enabled children to develop a base and get admission in schools according to their age and the financial support available to them through schemes, funds, and money provided by the mothers. During my interaction with many of the sex-workers that not many of them believe in paying any fees to NGO's, because they feel that these NGO earns a lot from government in their name. Also with my interaction with both these organisations, another issue which came up was the media sensationalism. They cited various incidents that happened in the past about the insensitive coverage by the media personnel of the area and the sex workers that had a negative impact on the children of sex workers. Also these two organisations are working for the same cause but still they are not very much aware of each other's activities. They are not aware of each other's existence on opposite sides of the G.B. Road; they do not have communication among each other and no idea of collaboration in near future.

Conclusion

With my main aim to trace the process through which the children of sex workers are able to get quality education, I was able to trace locate various links/connections that played a crucial role in completion of this process. The sex workers have varied life experiences and the same they pass in to their children.

Counselling sessions are given to both the mothers and children about the relevance of education who came to the above mentioned two organisations. The role played by NGO may seem contributing a lot to the development of these children, the first agent who enables this process is the consent given by the mothers. Their yes/no decide the future of the children.

We cannot ignore the economic factor, it plays the next most important role, and there should be enough money in the hands to think about education. Certain government policies like RTE, Free and compulsory education have proved beneficial at least in these children getting enrolled in the school. After that according to the academic performance of children, and monetary capability along with, counselling, guidance and socialization, decides the future of the child in the school. Socialization with classmates and neighbouring friends is one of the major factors that shaped the personality of the child and plays a crucial role in the overall development of the child.

During my field study I realised that there is nothing such as absolute truth. Because when I verified certain cases with these two organisations, I gained another version of stories and I was left with so many stories about the same person. But one thing that was common in all the version of the stories was that they wanted their children to study and lead a better life. All of them at least think of a bright future for their children, but they do not at any point the practical realities of life. There are several cases of sex workers being brain washed by pimps and lovers and this certainly affects her children. Also the sex workers may be illiterate but they are well aware of the effect of surroundings on the children.

The children who are able to go and study in one of the premier institutions are not the children of these sex workers, but they are not the children of sex-workers, they were the children of controllers, middlemen, pimps etc. Because their parent had more money and power in their hands and they have a better exposure and networking with the outer world, whereas the sex workers themselves did not have better networking in the outer world. But now they are aware of happenings in outer world, thanks to the media.

Also all the children who got education, and it is important to note that all of them are first generation learners, never considered sex work as an option for their living. There is a reproduction of morality (Durkheim's view on education) through the system of education, as many of them chose to become nurses, engineers, teachers, etc. according to their interest, financial and cognitive capability, emotional and mental strength.

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