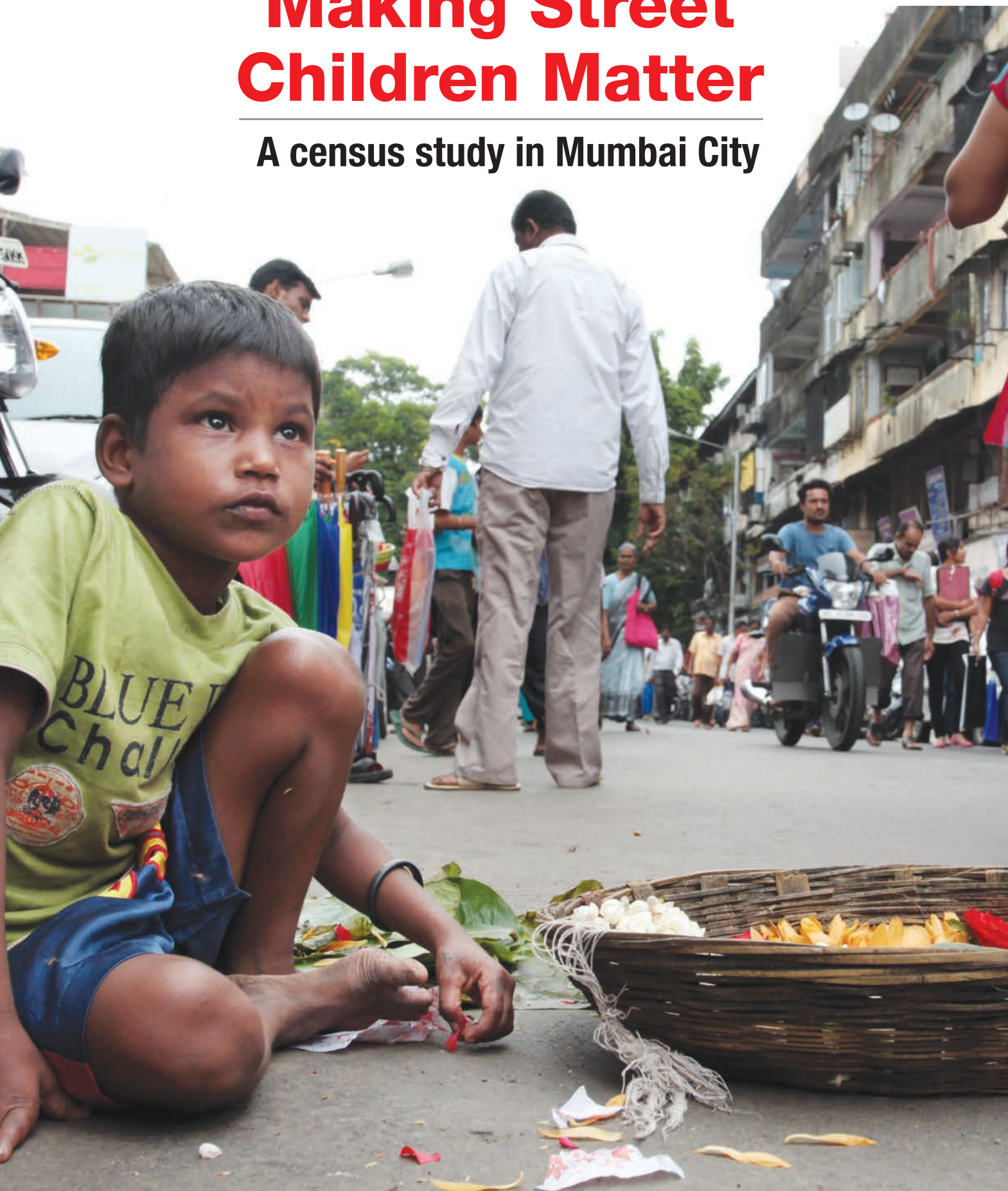


# Making Street Children Matter

A census study in Mumbai City







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## Foreword



The processes of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation have been accompanied by the increasing dispossession of the poor in rural hinterlands and subsequently pushed vulnerable groups of people to urban spaces where they live a life of insecurity and indignity. Driven by market compulsions and makeovers, large cities in particular, are becoming increasingly harsh in their approach to the urban poor, who have to struggle to survive on a day-to-day basis. The phenomenon of street children can be traced to these processes.

Children living on the streets comprise one of the most marginalised and vulnerable populations in the world. Denied of all basic rights — balanced diet, safe shelter, access to education and health, leisure and sport, and the right to a family — they exist almost as non-citizens and as part of the ever increasing numbers of 'invisible' sections of a post-global world.

There are no official estimates about their numbers in the streets and there is a lack of credible data about the various dimensions of their vulnerabilities. It is in this context that this study by the Centre for Criminology and Justice, School of Social Work, TISS, in collaboration with Action Aid India, assumes significance. This is the first comprehensive census of children living on the streets in Mumbai. The study includes a sample survey of street children, which gives glimpses and useful insights about their present situation. The findings from this study would be of immense use to practitioners, policy makers, donor agencies and citizens who care about the situation of one of the most vulnerable groups of children living on this planet.

I hope that this study goes a long way towards developing comprehensive policies and services to address the situation of street children in the country.

**S. Parasuraman, Ph.D.**

*Director*

Tata Institute of Social Sciences



Street Children, have been viewed variously in social development policy and praxis. Most commonly, in development policy making street children or “children on and of the streets”, are viewed as destitute, homeless, runaways and truant in need of care and protection one hand, and children who need the oversight of law and police, on the other.

Over the last two decades, ActionAid India has undertaken numerous development programmes with street children in different cities of our country. Our activities have ranged from provision of services on the street such as provision of shelter, board and lodge facilities, linkages to counseling, health care, education and training, with special services for girls living on streets and so on, including efforts at repatriation where desirable and possible.

Our learnings from working with children on and of the streets – a distinction made to understand the nature of linkages with “home” and family care, point to a need for further research into the agency and the vulnerability thereof of different groups of street children – on a continuum of minimal to maximal dependency on the streets, to arrive at different policy and programme interventions at different levels.

Mumbai reports one of the largest concentration of children living on and of the streets and where numbers of street children have rapidly increased in the last decades and where social organisations have supported a diverse range of programmes with them. The city, therefore provides a unique crucible for learnings for development policy and praxis for street child.

With a view to strengthen policy design towards street and vulnerable children, this joint study effort of ActionAid India and Tata Institute of Social Sciences seeks to enumerate the numbers and categories of street children in Mumbai, as well as highlight the profile, conditions, problems, challenges and aspirations of street children in Mumbai.

We hope it encourages our action to advance rights of street children and our efforts to build a better world for all children.

**Sandeep Chachra**  
*Executive Director*  
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## List of Abbreviations

AA	–	ActionAid
AIDS	–	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
BMC	–	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation
CLPRA	–	Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act
CST	–	Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus
DNT	–	De-Notified Tribes
DoE	–	Department of Education
DWCD	–	Department of Women and Child Development
GoI	–	Government of India
GoM	–	Government of Maharashtra
ICDS	–	Integrated Child Development Services
NGO	–	Non-Government Organisation
NT	–	Notified Tribes
SCPCR	–	State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights
TISS	–	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
UNDP	–	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	–	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund



## Executive Summary

This study was conducted in the city of Mumbai, India. Given the fact that no previous attempt has been made to count the number of street children who live in the city of Mumbai and the paucity of literature about the condition in which these children live, it is hoped that this study would add to knowledge and contribute to the cause of making a strong case towards the development of policy and services for street children in the city and in the country as a whole.

The objectives of the study included:

1. To undertake a census of street children in the city of Mumbai.
2. To understand the social, economic, educational, work, and family background of street children in Mumbai.
3. To understand the reasons why children live on the streets, the current problems, and future aspirations of children living on the streets of Mumbai.

A quantitative research design was adopted for the study. This comprised of two parts:

1. a census and
2. a sample survey from those enumerated through the census.

Part one of the study included a head count of street children living in Mumbai as per the UNICEF definition of street children. A tool was designed to capture basic details about street children who were covered through the census – age, sex, category of the child vis-à-vis the location, health status, disability, and addiction.

Part two of the study included a sample survey of street children based on a structured interview schedule to capture the details about the socio-economic, education, work and family background of the children, as well as to understand the reasons for their existence on the streets.

Along with the census of children found on the streets, an enumeration exercise was carried out by a small team to cover the suburban railways. Another exercise was carried out to cover children coming to night shelters and day-care centres run by NGOs working with street children in Mumbai. In addition the study team also documented, 'case studies' of certain urban poor communities/areas which did not exactly fit into the operational definition of street children, but felt the need to document them, as the situation of children in these communities was very vulnerable.





## Major Findings

### SECTION I

#### 1. Total number of children across Wards

A total of 36154 children were found across the 24 Wards during the time of the enumeration. In addition 905 children (2.5 per cent) were found on the railway trains and platforms of Mumbai. **Thus all together 37059 street children were enumerated in the census.** Analysis of data within the socio-economic and political context of the city indicates that larger population of street children were found in commercial areas with a bustling and robust informal economy – market places, railway terminals, bus depots, construction sites, places of worship, etc. **Seventy per cent of the children were boys while 30 per cent were girls.**

While the number of street children may seem to be less than expected, there could be number of reasons behind this. With increased surveillance of the city, especially post the 26/11 terror attacks, it has become increasingly difficult for homeless populations to live in public spaces. Our discussions with child rights activists revealed that street children may have been forced to shift to nearby locations on the outskirts of the city limits, or may even have moved to other towns and cities. Another reason for the smaller numbers may be that, in Mumbai, a substantial number of children of street living families live in de-notified slums or those declared as ‘illegal’ slums, which are not covered under this census as per the operational definition adopted (See Chapter II). These families though not strictly under the category of street living families, remain marginalised. Chapter V (Case Studies) highlights the plight of these children. If a separate exercise is carried out to count the number of children living in such areas, the total number of street children would rise substantively.

#### 2. Children found in the railway lines

A total of **905 (2.50 per cent) children were found on the platforms and trains** in the three railway lines which form the heart of the suburban railway network of Mumbai city. An analysis of the 905 children found on the railway platforms suggests that 75 per cent of these children fell under the category of ‘children from street families’, 20 per cent under the ‘street working children’ while just 4 per cent of the ‘children living on the streets’ worked on the railway platforms.

#### 3. Category of children

The data showed that almost **65 per cent (24120) of the children lived with their families on the street.** Out of this, 61 per cent were boys and 38 per cent were girls. **Street working children were the second largest group at 24.44 per cent (9058).** Here, almost 88 per cent of the children were boys and just 12 per cent were girls. **This was followed by street living children at 8.02 per cent (2973),** out of which 82 per cent were boys and 18 per cent were girls.

#### 4. Age of the children

The highest number of children (**20.80 per cent**) was in the age group of **16-18 years**, followed by 18.80 per cent in the age group of **13-15 years** and **17.80 per cent** in the **10-12 years** bracket.

With advancing age, the number of boys increased while the number of girls decreased. Early marriage among girls due to concerns of safety, threat of traffickers and exploitative relationships may explain this trend.



## 5. Educational profile of the children

The data showed that almost **24 per cent of children were illiterate, with rates of illiteracy being slightly higher among girls**. Only 31 per cent of the children who fell within the age group of 4- 6 years went to a Balwadi.

## 6. Occupational profile of the children

About 11.50 per cent of children were found to be **selling flowers, newspapers, fruits and other items on the road**; followed by **10.6% per cent working in roadside stalls and repair shops**, **9.5% per cent working in eateries** and **7.9 per cent** who were found begging. About **5.5 per cent** were into **rag picking**; **2.5 per cent** into **construction work** and another **2.5 per cent** did whatever work was available.

## 7 Location

About **51.37 per cent** children were **found on the street**, **13.33 per cent** were **found in hutments**, **10.25 per cent at construction sites**, and **12.70 per cent in market places**. Only 0.53 per cent of children were found in drop-in centres. One reason for this low number could be that these children are slightly older – 10 years and above – and may have stepped out to earn a living during the time of the enumeration.

## 8. Place of stay

Almost **37 per cent** of children lived **in hutments**, around **20 per cent** of children lived **on the streets** and around **18 per cent** of the children lived **in the slums**.

## 9. Health

About **18 per cent children reported various illnesses**. The highest reported illness being fever (9 per cent) followed by skin infections (3 per cent). Since no medical examination of the children was conducted and the enumerators were asked to look for 'visible health problems' and illnesses which the children themselves reported, this finding, therefore, needs to be interpreted with caution.

## 10. Disability

About **2.55 per cent (945 children)** were found to have some kind of **disability**, which further aggravated their condition as street children.

## 11. Addiction

Around **15 per cent of children appeared addicted to drugs** which included whitener, tobacco, and shoe polish.

## SECTION II

### Summary of findings from the sample survey

Detailed interviews were conducted with 728 children or informers (where the child concerned was very young).



### Emerging trends

- Majority of the children were aware of their state of origin and whereabouts of family.
- Children not residing with families had reached streets due to lack of opportunities at source, disturbed relationships, displacement by BMC, getting kidnapped, lost, etc.
- Majority of the children worked for money, and sometimes for food and shelter. Expenses were mostly on food, contribution to parents, toilet and bath facilities; followed by tobacco, clothes, entertainment and drugs.
- Twenty five per cent of the children skipped meals due to lack of money, dependence on others for food, illness and injury, lifestyle and other reasons.
- More than half the sample reported falling ill during the six months that preceded data collection. Among female children, a significantly higher percentage of children fell ill.
- Government hospitals were more frequently approached for treatment. Other options for treatment included private clinics and NGO facilities, religious establishments, medication from pharmacies, and traditional treatment. About 2.9 per cent of the children did not seek any treatment.
- Most children used paid toilets and public toilets. For drinking water, most children used community taps and public wells. Sometimes, they borrowed, purchased, or stole water.
- Children living with single or multiple disabilities were mostly born with it. Others had acquired it through accidents, abuse or illness.
- Torture, beating, forced starving, and sexual abuse was observed or heard of by (among the) children. Threats from police, theft, hurt, displacement, kidnapping, and ghosts were perceived mostly at nights, especially in sleeping places.
- Around 65.2 per cent of the children reported that they had attended government or municipality run schools, and informal centres for education.
- Sources of assistance included civil society agencies, government, individual citizens, school representatives, teachers, and 'leaders'. Though, 77.7 per cent of the children were not aware of available sources of assistance.
- Only 53.3 per cent of children possessed one or more form of documentation such as education certificates, ration card, government recognized identity cards or Aadhar card, and other documents not specified.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the data analysis and the findings from the census and the sample survey, the following recommendations emerge:

### • Children living on the streets

*Data shows that 65 per cent children lived with their families on the streets, 24 per cent were street working children and about 8 per cent were street living children.*

Shelters for homeless families need to be created across the city, as per the **directions of the Supreme Court in the PUCL Vs. Union of India case** (Writ Petition (C) 196 of 2001), where all state governments have been directed to construct **24-hour shelters for the homeless population in all cities with population of more than 5 lakh at the rate of one shelter of 100 capacity per lakh of population.**





The **civic authorities** should provide basic amenities like **water, sanitation and anganwadi facilities** (through the ICDS) to all families living on pavements and in de-notified slums so that health and hygiene conditions of these families can be improved.

For street living children, more **night shelters** should be started **with access to food and nutrition, drinking water, and sanitation facilities and link them with the education system** as per mandatory provisions of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act 2009. These shelters may be implemented through NGOs, supported by the civic authorities (by providing them space and financial aid), or run by the government.

### • Age and education

*Data shows that maximum children were in the school-going age as per the age specifications of the RTE Act. The data revealed that 4.65 per cent of the children were eligible for balwadi (pre-school) education, 24.5 per cent were illiterate<sup>1</sup>.*

There is a need to bring all children in the 6 to 14 age group into the education system through better implementation of the RTE Act. Steps need to be taken to admit and keep children in schools; requiring intervention at two levels. **Firstly**, there is need to **identify, support and encourage school-going children through educational sponsorships and tutorials**. Lack of educational support and conducive climate in families struggling with daily survival and other challenges, require such intervention. **Secondly**, steps are required to **identify children who have not yet been enrolled into schools**. The **Department of Education (DoE), GoM**, should appoint outreach workers to link children who are out of school with nearby municipal corporation-run and aided schools also, by using the 25 per cent quota for children from economically weaker and disadvantaged sections under the RTE Act. Alternately, the DoE may provide financial support to NGOs to appoint outreach workers to implement this recommendation.

A significant number of street children belong to the SC/ST categories. The **Department of Social Justice and Assistance (SJA), GoM, and the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (SJE), GoI**, should examine their existing schemes to include this group and extend educational support to them. The **SC/ST Commissions** should play a pro-active role in liaising with the government departments, civil society organisations and academic institutions through organising meetings, workshops and consultations to come up with innovative ways to achieve this purpose.

The **National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS)** and NGOs should actively reach out to street children. They may collaborate with outreach workers attached to NGOs working with street children and start study centres at strategic locations for this purpose.

Bal Sangopan Yojana needs to be extended to families of school going children in order to provide support to the family to pursue children's education.

### • Working Children

*The data shows that 11.5 per cent are into selling wares, 10.6 per cent work in shops, 9.5 per cent work in restaurants and eateries, 7.9% per cent street children are into begging, 5.5 per cent are into rag-picking, and 2.5 per cent are engaged as construction labour.*

The **Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD), GoM**, should constitute a **Task Force** involving the **Department of Labour, the Police, the State Commission for Protection of Child Rights**

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1. This population does not include children in the 0 to 6 age group.



(SCPCR), the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) and NGOs working on issues of child labour to devise a comprehensive strategy to address the issue of street working children, which includes steps towards effective rescue and rehabilitation as well as interim supportive measures to ensure such children get access to education.

Children into rag-picking, especially at hazardous sites such as dumping grounds, are a cause of serious concern. Urgent steps need to be taken to provide alternate housing to families living at these sites and rehabilitate children found working there. The role of employers is important – they need to be educated on the hazards – and in enforcing the law. The same is true for children employed or living with families at construction sites and in similar occupations, which are also quite hazardous. **The provisions of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 (CLPRA), which is now being amended to prohibit employing children in any occupation up to the age of 14, needs to be implemented effectively.** Action should be taken against the employers, and measures should be undertaken to include children into the education system through steps outlined above. The purview of the CLPRA should also include children in the 14-18 years of age.

In case of children in the 16-18 years category, steps should be taken to link them with vocational education, apart from regular or open schooling. This can be done if the DWCD collaborates with the **Department of Technical and Higher Education (DTHE)** and implements the **Modular Employability Scheme (MES)** of the **Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE)**. Vocational courses may be implemented for such children in shelters run by the government or NGOs in collaboration with **Jan Shikshan Sansthan (JSS)**, which is supported by the **Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD)**, GoI.

### • Children on the railways

*About 2.5 per cent of all children were found in railway trains and premises.*

The railways are the first point of entry for most runaway and street living children. They are an important source of sustenance for children whether through begging on the trains, selling wares or working at stalls on the railway platforms. These children get relatively safe shelter, and access to water and sanitation at the railway premises. With stricter implementation of the child labour law and increased surveillance of railway premises by the police due to the threat of terror attacks, this space has shrunk for children in vulnerable circumstances.

There is a need to **sensitise railway authorities to the needs and problems faced by children found on railway premises. The railways should enter into a dialogue with the DWCD, SCPCR, NCPCR and NGOs working with street children to devise a strategy to address the needs and problems of such children in a humane manner**, which aims at prevention of their exploitation, and provides for their rehabilitation. The railways may provide financial and infrastructure support to willing and credible NGOs to jointly address this issue.

### • Children experiencing abuse

*It was found through the sample survey that a large number of street children reported witnessing or experiencing verbal, physical and/or sexual abuse. The children's narratives indicate that violence exists on the streets, which highlights the vulnerability of those living there. This finding further reiterates the need for creating safe shelters for street children.*

The **Special Juvenile Police Units (SJPU)**s created under the JJ Act at all police stations should play a proactive role to reach out to street children who are vulnerable to physical/sexual abuse. **Mapping of**



**locations where street children are more vulnerable to abuse should be conducted.** The SJPU should be particularly cautious and keep a vigil at work sites or railway premises as children at these sites may be more vulnerable to abuse. An awareness campaign at work sites should also be carried out. **A Mobile Unit should be constituted in the Crime Branch, Mumbai Police, consisting of police officials and trained social workers to patrol and reach out to children on the streets, which assures children about help being available and encourages them to report violence.** The SCPCR should monitor the implementation of the **Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO Act, 2012)**. A Special Cell should be constituted in the SCPCR for this purpose which monitors the prevention of abuse of children on the streets.

### • **Addiction**

*About 15 per cent children looked like they were in a 'visible' form of addiction, during the census.*

**There is a need to create and set up de-addiction and rehabilitation facilities for children into substance abuse.** A dual strategy for rescue and outreach should be devised. For this purpose, the **DWCD** should convene a meeting with the **Health Department, the Police and NGOs** working in the area of drug abuse and treatment.

### • **Health**

*About 18 per cent children reported various illnesses. The highest reported illness being fever (9 per cent) followed by skin infections (3 per cent). However, one must be cautious while interpreting this data as no medical examination of these children was conducted. These findings are based purely on observations, and the ability of the enumerators, to get information pertaining to the health status of the children. One must also add that, during the census, mental health status could not be assessed.*

The **Social Work Departments** along with the **Preventive Social Medicine (PSM) Departments** attached to **Municipal or Government Hospitals** should make special efforts to reach out to such children through regular outreach and health camps at various locations where such children may be found. Girl children who have attained the age of puberty could be periodically counseled. A system of distributing sanitary napkins, awareness about reproductive health and sexuality, and regular check-ups could be carried out in these health camps.

The urban primary health care system needs to be strengthened to reach out to these children. This will help in prevention of illnesses, early diagnosis of serious ailments and creating a sense of familiarity about the hospitals among the children.

The **National Health Mission (NHM)**, which is expected to include an urban component, should develop a strategy to address health needs of street children in their policy document and programmes.

### • **Nutrition**

*Around 25 percent of the children in the sample survey reported skipping at least one meal a day. Having no money for food was the most cited reason for skipping meals; while dependence on others for food, illness and injury (probably indicating inability to earn or inability to eat), lifestyle habits and other unspecified reasons were also reported.*

The **DWCD** should start anganwadis through the **ICDS** at strategic locations, especially in areas where there is a higher concentration of street children. **As earlier recommended, shelters should be started at strategic locations for street children throughout the city where children can get freshly cooked meals at least twice a day. Families living on streets should be given the BPL ration cards also.**





## • Disability

*Around 2.5 per cent children were found to have some form of disability in the census. However, the percentage of disability was reported to be higher at 8.2 per cent in the sample survey.*

Special facilities and arrangements should be created to cater to the needs of street children with disabilities. These children live in extremely vulnerable situations and are prone to be exploited / pushed into begging by organised rackets. **The DWCD may organise a special consultation** along with the **Department of Social Justice and Assistance, GoM, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, GoI, the Centre for Disability Studies and Action, TISS, and NGOs** working on disability issues to discuss and come out with concrete suggestions to deal with this issue in a holistic manner.

### OVERARCHING RECOMMENDATIONS

- There has to be a stronger commitment and urgency shown by the GoM and GOI towards the issue of street children and their problems.
- There should be a paradigm shift in the thrust of the Juvenile Justice system and the DWCD **from a curative approach towards children in difficult circumstances, to an outreach and preventive approach to vulnerable children**, wherever they are located.
- The SCPCR and NCPCR can play a vital role in ensuring that existing schemes for vulnerable and marginalised children include street children through innovative ways of reaching out to them with the help of NGOs.
- **A State Inter-Departmental Committee on Vulnerable Children should be set up to review and monitor existing laws, policies and programmes for vulnerable and marginalised children, chaired by the Chief Secretary, GoM with the DWCD being the Member-Secretary.** This Committee should include members from Social Justice and Assistance, SCPCR, Department of Education, Directorate of Higher and Technical Education, Directorate of Health Services, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, Department of Labour, Police, academic institutions like TISS and College of Social Work Nirmala Niketan, Coordination Committee for Vulnerable Children and NGOs working with street children. **The Committee should meet at least once in six months to take stock of issues at the field level and take corrective measures to address the same.**
- Existing child rights bodies like the SCPCR, the State Advisory Committee on Juvenile Justice Act and the High Court Committee on Juvenile Justice Act should take on board problems relating to street children and take necessary steps to deal with the same from time to time.



# 1.Introduction

## Background

According to the Working Group on Child Rights for the 12th Five Year Plan, around 40 per cent of India's children are vulnerable to or experiencing difficult circumstances – such as children without family support, children forced into labour, abused/trafficked children, children on the streets, vulnerable children, children affected by substance abuse, by armed conflict/civil unrest/natural calamity etc. as well as children who, due to circumstances, come into conflict with law (Government of India, 2012, p. 8). The Constitution of India, the National Policy for Children (NPC) 1974, the National Plan of Action for Children (NPAC) 2005, and various child specific and related legislations attempt to honour a robust commitment to create a protective environment - to ensure every child's right to survival, development and participation in India. It is, thus, apparent that children are not homogenous categories and, hence, mapping specific deprivations and addressing the issues facing children – 'vulnerabilised' and marginalised differently – is emphasised to develop inclusive approaches related to education, health and protection through diverse interventions.

Of the many categories of children in difficult circumstances, street children are estimated to be one of the most rapidly growing groups of vulnerable children in urban India. The report of the Sub-Group on Child Protection for the Eleventh Plan stated that '*...street children or children living and working on the streets are a common sight in urban India*'. It further stated that '*...in spite of the relatively high visibility of street children, there is very little information available on their exact numbers.*' India purportedly has one of the highest concentrations of street children in the world, with UNICEF estimating their number to be as high as 11 million (Ferrara and Ferrara, 2005). This figure, though contested, is considered conservative by many, due to the constant rural-urban movement (urbanization) combined with unsafe migration, which render many children homeless and result in their working or living on the streets. Thus, the phenomenon of street children in Indian cities has been and continues to cause increasing concern.

The causes of this phenomenon are multiple and in part can be attributed to structural factors such as uneven economic development, poverty, inadequate parenting, school failure, etc. that have an impact on the level of poverty in families and communities. The majority are documented to be "abandoning" rather than "abandoned" children, who have generally left home for the street as a result of family breakdown



and violence, almost invariably linked to the stresses of extreme poverty. In certain parts of the world, large proportions of street-living children are AIDS orphans, or have been displaced by war (Consortium for Street Children, 2002).

## Defining street children

Street-living children can be understood to mean those who sleep on the street at most times and retain limited or no contact with their family of origin. Children who live on the streets without any parental support are a fraction of the total population of street-involved children.

Henry Mayhew first used the term 'street children' in 1851 when he wrote 'London Labour and the London Poor'. It came into general use following the United Nations Year of the Child in 1979. Prior to this, various terms referred to street children - truants, urchins, the homeless, the abandoned, destitute, vagrants or runaways. Most terms concentrated on just two characteristics, namely, presence on the street and contact with the family. These terms however failed to capture accurately the heterogeneous yet unique characteristics of 'street children'. Living on the streets seems to provide these children an escape from the social problems that stem from poverty in their daily lives. Paradoxically, many of the issues faced at home are replicated and magnified on the streets. The street, thus, becomes the 'home' where private activities are conducted in public space, but does not free the child from stresses and strains of living. This however, does not mean complete disconnect from the families because many children move between the home and the street. 'Home' is a fluid concept for children on streets. They have families, homes to return to, and homes they imagine. Home may be a bus depot or vacant plot, a fractious experience, or a loving one. This contrasts with the dominant discourse of vulnerable victims forced out by their families where family means 'home'. Thus, it is evident that street children as a term encompasses within it numerous groups of children from minimal to total dependency on the streets. Consequently, it is important to understand these groups separately, and as a whole, in order to demonstrate the need for different types of intervention at different levels.

This section briefly summarizes patterns and trends in definitions. Cosgrove (1990) used two dimensions to define street children: the degree of family involvement and the amount of deviant behaviour. According to Cosgrove, a street child is '*any individual under the age of majority whose behaviour is predominantly at variance with community norms, and whose primary support for his / her development needs is not a family or family substitute*' (p.192). Cosgrove's definition assumes a great deal of cultural consistency, but deviance and 'family substitutes' are greatly embedded in cultural particulars.

Lusk (1992) developed four categories of children found in the street. Each group has its own characteristics. **First**, there are poor working children returning to their families at night. They are likely to attend school and not be delinquent. **Second**, there are independent street workers. Their family ties are beginning to break down, their school attendance is decreasing, and their delinquency is increasing. **Third**, there are children of street families who live and work with their families in the street. Their conditions are related to poverty. In India, they are referred to as pavement dwellers (Patel, 1983), whereas in the United States they are the children of homeless families. **Finally**, there are the children who have broken off contact with their families. They are residing in the streets full-time and are the 'real' street children. Lusk (1992) considered this group to be about 15 per cent of his sample of children in the streets of Rio de Janeiro.

Organisations working with children also variously define street children: as either 'children on the street', who are engaged in economic activities, but who mostly still go home; or as 'children of the street' who live on the streets, but still have occasional contact with their parents; or as children of homeless adults and families living on the pavements. The boundaries between these types of street children are blurred resulting in an indistinct social categorization of these children. The term 'street children' covers children





in such a wide variety of circumstances and characteristics that policy-makers and service providers find it difficult to describe and target them. Thus, it includes an amorphous group of children as individuals or groups, of both genders, of all ages, living and working in public spaces, visible in the great majority of the world's urban centres. As Baizerman (1990:4) states '*street kids are part of the background of city life for some adults, while for others they live in the foreground... their visibility to adults depends upon their place in the everyday life of these adults*', thus, emphasising that street children cannot be categorized as a homogenous social or economic group. D'Souza et al (2004) in their study comparing the '*Educational and Occupational Status of Institutionalised, Slum and Street Children, and their Future Aspirations*<sup>2</sup>' defined street girls and boys as those for whom street is the home, are 'rootless' and 'roofless' and, as a result, have little or no adult supervision.

The most often used definition of street children is the UNICEF definition, which defines them into two broad categories – children on the streets and of the streets (UNICEF, 2001). This could be further broken down into three categories. The first is street-living children who run away from their families and live alone on the streets. The second is street-working children who spend most of their time on the streets fending for themselves, but return home on a regular basis. The third category is children from street families who live on the streets with their families. Thus, the defining context is to ascertain the relationship of the child with the street, and then to relate the time spent and activities carried out on the street.

A major difficulty in estimating street child population is the contestations that exist in defining street children. Without an accepted definition of the term, it becomes difficult to determine their numbers accurately (Ennew, 2003, p. 4). Different countries describe street children in different ways. Several interpretations are in common use, some covering smaller populations of children who live in the streets, others including the much larger sector of children who work on the streets (Thomas de Benitez, 2003). Panter-Brick (2002) found the 'in/of' terminology in practice unsatisfactory as children themselves defied these generalizations. Today, the focus on discrete categories of street lifestyles has fallen into disuse (p.150).

Since then, much research has been underpinned by two interrelated strands of thought, which together represent the New Social Studies of Childhood (Nikitina-Den Besten, 2008). Social constructionism argues that street children do not, in reality, form a clearly defined, homogeneous population, but instead, constitute a subject constructed through discourses in literature (Glauser, 1990; Lucchini, 1997; De Moura, 2005). Following this line of thought, street children can better be understood as young people considered by the public to be 'out of place' (Raffaelli, 1999; Ennew, 2000). They can also be viewed as 'agents or capable social actors', a perspective that brings children from the margins to focus on them as social actors in their own right with varied lives and diverse experiences (Prout, 2005; O'Kane 2002; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Ansell, 2008).

Thus, the pressure to arrive at numerical and, therefore, definitional categories has at times led researchers to squeeze children into very poorly fitting boxes. This study would use the potential of a Census to advocate for the rights of street children. It was decided to adopt the UNICEF definition of 'street children' and follow the definition of a 'child' as defined by the UNCRC and the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2003, i.e., one who is below 18 years of age. This was done with a view to allow for comparability about the situation of street children with the study done by Save the Children in Delhi (2010) and for the purposes of policy advocacy.

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2. They defined institutionalised girls and boys as being between 10-18 years of age who live in an institution or organisation, who do not go back to their families at night and almost all their needs are met by the institution where as girls and boys from slums were defined as being between 10-18 years of age who live with their families in chawls/slums, on pavements, or in huts, who may avail services of an institution but do not live in them and who might work on the streets or might study during the day but return to their families at night.



## Locating and understanding street children in Mumbai

In Mumbai, street children were contextually identified in the early sixties and their number since then has always been estimated to be increasing exponentially. Food, shelter, and safety are highlighted as street children's everyday problems. Besides, often one reads reports of various Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) about how these children face the risk of abuse and discrimination by others. Interestingly, some reports also highlight street children's resilience in their struggle for survival.

Rane and Shroff (1994) in their study '*Street Children in India: Emerging Need for Social Work Intervention*' attempted to present a profile of street children in India besides reviewing the intervention strategies and existing programmes developed by NGOs to work with street children. Additionally, it emphasised the role of institutions of Social Work in evolving systematic modules of training for personnel working with street children. In their study they found that approximately 314700 street children were present in six cities namely Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur, Hyderabad, Bangalore. D'Souza et al (2002) in their study '*A Demographic Profile of Street Children in Mumbai*' attempted to document the 'street child' phenomenon, which covered about 1359 street children.

Another study by D'Souza et al (2004), aiming to ascertain the educational and occupational status of the participants and to explore their educational or occupational plans, covered 571 children. Of the 571 children, 15.06 per cent were institutionalised girls and 19.09 per cent institutionalised boys, 18.91 per cent and 19.26 per cent were girls from slums and boys from slums respectively, and 5.09 per cent and 22.59 per cent were street girls and street boys respectively. Another study focusing on '*Rebuilding Lives of Street Children: A Study of Street Children's Organisations in Mumbai and Role of Faith and Religion in Service Delivery*' by Dabir (2005) attempted to profile street children's organisations in Mumbai and review the range of services provided. It attempted to understand how these programmes influence the lives of these children and the role of faith in service delivery of the street children's organisations. It also looked at the strategies used by organisations in inculcating concepts of faith/religion among the street children and tried to understand how street children view the concepts relating to God/religion and the importance of this understanding in their lives.

## Profile

Rane and Shroff (1994)<sup>3</sup> found in their study that majority of street children are boys; street girls are not often visible and it is difficult to trace them. This study recognised that street girls were the most vulnerable group. Further, their findings highlighted that majority of street children fall in the age group of 11–15 years (40 per cent), followed by the age group of 6–10 years (almost one-third of the total street children population). They also noted that a substantial number of street children in Mumbai are Muslims. Of the Hindus, almost half belong to SC/ST category. They found that majority of the children came from low socio-economic backgrounds with family income of less than Rs.600/- per month. They located poverty and nature of employment, unsatisfactory home conditions and unhappy relationships with family as the main causes for children landing on the streets.

D'Souza et al (2002) found that about 21 per cent of the children belonged to the North Zone (Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Uttaranchal, and Uttar Pradesh). Further, about 9 per cent each came from the South Zone (Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka) and the East Zone (Tripura, Assam, Orissa, and West Bengal). Another 3 per cent came from

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3. Comparatively, the study found that in Calcutta and Hyderabad there are more children in the age group 6-10 years on the streets; while in Bombay and Bangalore the 11-15 age group figure high (40 per cent and 80 per cent respectively). Out of every ten street children in India, eight were found to be Hindus. Christians and Muslims constitute a negligible proportion of the total street children. Only the cities of Madras and Bangalore have street children from Christian communities, while street children belonging to the Muslim community are in substantial number in Bombay, Calcutta and Kanpur.



Central Zone (Madhya Pradesh) and a majority i.e. 56 per cent came from the West Zone (Maharashtra, Gujarat, Goa, and Rajasthan). Of this 56 per cent, about 50 per cent belonged to Maharashtra. About 1 per cent came from across the borders categorised as Outside India (which included Nepal and Bangladesh). The study revealed that children from the North Zone migrated/ran away primarily due to acute poverty and lack of employment leading to the breakdown of the traditional family system, a safety net for children. Both these factors are also the prominent push factors highlighted by many migration studies. In this study, it was found that most street children were in the 13-18 age group category (52.2 per cent), followed by age-group of 9-12 years (30.2 per cent).

The study further mapped the presence of street children in Mumbai. It showed that 41 per cent of the street children were in the South Zone or the 'city' area (Colaba to Mumbai Central; C.S.T. to Byculla). Another 11 per cent were located in the North Zone (Khar to Virar; Kurla to Kalyan/Panvel). A large number i.e. 48 per cent purportedly stayed in the Central Zone (Mahalaxmi to Bandra; Parel to Chembur). The study, thus, revealed that majority of the street boys live in South and Central Zones of Mumbai that include major train termini (C.S.T., Bombay Central, Dadar, Churchgate, Bandra, Kurla), and major centres of economic activity (C.S.T., Crawford Market, Marine Lines, Churchgate, etc.). The study suggested that these places become favourite spots for street boys as they provide opportunities for begging, access to cheap food, drugs, and scope for finding a living on the street. In addition, the Central and South Zones also include major places of worship such as the Mahim Dargah, St. Michael's Church, Mount Mary's Basilica, Haji Ali, Siddhivinayak Temple etc., where free food and alms are frequently distributed to the poor and homeless.

Further, D'Souza's (2002) study revealed that most of the street boys (approximately 34 per cent) have spent more than five years (5-10 years, M=7 years) on the streets of Mumbai and only a few have spent less than three months on the streets. This, they stated, was an '*alarming*' finding as the street child phenomenon is reaching serious proportions with more children being attracted to the streets and being able to adapt and survive on the streets. This meant that the children grow into the street life and, after a certain period, they find it very difficult to give up. It becomes a 'culture', a 'lifestyle'; one that defines them and becomes a part of their identity.

D'Souza et al (2004) pointed out that nearly 91 per cent of the girls and 78 per cent of the boys were exposed to some formal education, but their findings were silent on their level of education. Among those who had no exposure to formal education, street boys topped the category with 38 per cent. Of the 227 – out of 571 respondents – who shared that they worked, a majority was street boys (105/129), and more than half of them (56.39 per cent) worked as daily wage earners.

Dabir's (2005) study highlighted that a large number of organisations (78 per cent) work with children staying with their families on the street and about 62 per cent also work with runaways. The study stated that different organisations express different views about the religious background of the children '*...although many reports confirm that a majority of the street children are Hindus, yet this figure is contextual depending upon the area of operation of the organisation...*'. In her study, it emerged that 15 per cent of the organisations covered in the study reported that the majority of their children are Muslims.

## Issues

While highlighting the problems faced by street children, Rane and Shroff (1994) found that street children being mobile face problems of shelter, unhealthy living conditions, drug-abuse, sexual abuse besides continuous harassment from municipal authorities and the police. As a result, many of them suffer from chronic diseases such as asthma and dysentery. They documented in their study that children constantly come across indifferent and hostile doctors and staff of government and municipal hospitals. Further,



they noted that employers of working street children exploit them both in terms of quantum of work and inadequate pay.

D'Souza et al (2004) found that as far as spending is concerned, a significant percentage of street boys spend all the income they earn due to lack of access to banking or savings facilities and chances of their money being stolen or taken away by someone else. Some also shared that they had no reason to save.

Street children, being a high-risk and insecure group, are vulnerable to various forms of exploitation and abuse. They are deprived children, denied not only their rights as children, but also their childhood. Without support and security, they are said to be heading for an obscure future. Most importantly, they need to be steered back to the mainstream of social life through access to educational opportunities, reformation, care and rehabilitation.

## Strategies and services

Rane and Shroff (1994), in their study, while highlighting the role for social work education for engaging with street children, also broadly divided the strategies evolved by NGOs working for street children into three sub-categories namely:

- (i) Community-based Contact Programmes
- (ii) Night shelter and day care shelters, and
- (iii) Group homes

Dabir (2005) found that every organisation covered in the study specified its area of work with street children based on gender, contact with families, problems faced by the children and the occupational background of the children. Thus, an organisation may focus on sexually abused street girls, or on street boys into drugs, or children into begging. Accordingly, their intervention strategies varied, but covered services such as health check-ups, recreational activities, non-formal education, repatriation, mid-day meals, day-care centres, residential facilities, and drug detoxification. The study found that most organisations offered a limited range of services and augmented the rest through referrals to appropriate organisations. Additionally, it was found that organisations emphasise on formal or non-formal education (including skills training in different vocations or occupations) as most felt it was the most appropriate service for the rehabilitation and restoration of street children.

Further, Dabir (2005) stated that most organisations purportedly followed a strategy of working with children and not for them, as it required equal participation from the children, involving them as partners in service, developing a rapport with them and adopting the child rights perspective. Despite this strategy, and many positive efforts, most organisations shared that the drop-out rate of children (before complete social reintegration) was high. However, the study also highlighted success stories of street children and positive changes in the personality and attitude of the children.

Thus, most literature related to street children can be broadly divided into:

- Literature around demographic profiling of street children.
- Literature related to living conditions of street children.
- Literature highlighting abuse and harassment faced by street children, progressively called risk assessment studies.
- Literature related to prevalence of substance abuse amongst street children.
- Literature capturing the presence of 'girls', or their invisibility thereof, on the streets.





- Literature ascertaining the trajectory of street children within the city and across state borders.
- Literature on the numbers of street children at given sites such as the railway stations, market places, etc.

'Surviving the Streets' (2011), a comprehensive census of Delhi's Street Children, found that 27.91 per cent of the street children are 'street-living children' who have run away from their families and live alone on the streets. Another 29.05 per cent are 'street-working children' who spend most of their time on the streets fending for themselves, but return home on a regular basis. The rest, i.e., 36.03 per cent are those from 'street families' who live on the street with their families. The study found that nearly 1 per cent of the total number of children in Delhi (50,923) live and work on the streets. Further, 61 per cent of the children surveyed were as young as between 7-14 years of age and 50 per cent were migrants. Almost all the children from other places (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh predominantly) had information about where they hailed from and the whereabouts of their family. The study reported that almost 50 per cent migrant children in Delhi did not want to go back to their place of origin. Reasons for being on the street predominantly included poverty and hunger (34 per cent), and search for employment (30 per cent) either on their own initiative or sent by their parents. Another 9 per cent children had run away for various reasons including curiosity, natural calamities or losing contact with parents while travelling. Only 4 per cent children slept in shelters while 46 per cent slept in open spaces whether with parents, siblings or relatives. About 87 per cent had to pay to access toilet facilities. The study reveals that almost 50 per cent children were not literate and almost all of them had experienced verbal abuse. About 13 per cent children reported that they had seen some child undergoing some form of abuse or the other on the street and 67.3 per cent children felt they were in danger on the streets. Almost 22 per cent children reported being dependent on some form of substance, of which nearly 50 per cent were daily consumers.

Despite these studies, there has been no comprehensive attempt to have a reliable estimate of street children in Mumbai. This could be because it is very difficult to arrive at a reliable number with respect to how many street children exist in a large metropolis like Mumbai. Additionally, as the group is highly mobile and often moves fluidly back and forth from street life to home life, estimates of its extent are exceedingly difficult to ascertain.

## Location of the study

The present study is located in Mumbai, one of the four major metros of India. Mumbai lies on the Western coast of India, spread across 437.77 sq. kms. The population of Mumbai, as per Census 2001, was 11.98 million. Mumbai is a group of seven islands in the Arabian Sea which lies off the northern Konkan coast on the west of the state of Maharashtra in India. These seven islands, which were once separated by creeks and channels were filled and bridged over the years by the inhabitants.

Mumbai, previously known as Bombay, state capital of Maharashtra, is a major metropolitan city of India. It is also referred to as the business capital of India. It is the country's principal financial and communications centre. The city has the largest and the busiest port handling India's foreign trade. It also has a major international airport. India's largest Stock Exchange, which ranks the third largest in the world, is situated in Mumbai. Mumbai contributes 10 per cent of all factory employment, 40 per cent of income tax collections, 60 per cent of custom duty collections, 20 per cent of central excise tax collections and 40 per cent of India's foreign trade. Mumbai consists of two distinct regions - the city (South Mumbai) and the suburbs. The city is often referred to as the Island City. The suburbs are divided into the Central, Eastern and the Western suburbs. This region is administered by the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), formerly known as the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC). Description about Mumbai (Bombay) cannot be complete without the mention of Bollywood, the biggest Indian film industry, which has also been instrumental in capturing the popular imagination of people on street children through Bollywood movies such as *Awaraa* (1951), *Salam Bombay* (1988) to *Slum Dog*



Millionaire (2008). Incidentally, Bollywood is said to be a major reason cited for children running away from home.

Raghavan (2012) points out that Mumbai is India's most unequal and least homogenous city. The 2009 *Human Development Report* about Mumbai prepared by UNDP and the All India Institute of Local Self-Government highlights the unequal distribution of wealth in the city, leading to polarisation between the rich and the poor. In this scenario, the report says 'inequity is the unbecoming spectacle of Mumbai... Two distinct cities live within one'. For example, while the sex ratio in non-slum areas is 859, in the slum it is 750. Similar trends are also observed as far as fertility and immunisation of children are concerned. One in six slum households have access to piped water supply, while it is around 50 per cent for non-slum households. On an average, 81 persons share a toilet seat in slum areas; in some slum areas, as many as 277 people share a toilet seat. One in four women is a victim of spousal violence in slums while it is around 15 per cent in non-slum areas (Ashar, 2009, p. 2).

It is in this context that the present study of street children becomes important. Given the fact that no previous attempt has been made to count the number of street children who live in the city of Mumbai and the paucity of literature about the condition in which these children live, it is hoped that this study would add to knowledge and contribute to the cause of making a strong case towards the development of policy and services for street children in the city and in the country.



## 2. Methodology

### Introduction and objectives

This study was commissioned by ActionAid India<sup>4</sup>.

The objectives of the study included the following:

1. To undertake a census of street children in the city of Mumbai.
2. To get an understanding of the social, economic, educational, work, and family background of street children in Mumbai.
3. To understand the reasons why children live on the streets, and the current problems and future aspirations of children living on the streets of Mumbai.

### Definition of street children

The UNICEF definition of street children was adopted, in keeping with the fact that this definition was found to be comprehensive<sup>5</sup>. As already explained earlier, the definition of street children includes 'children "on the street" and those "of the street". "Children of the street" are homeless children who live and sleep on the streets in urban areas. They are totally on their own, living with other street children or homeless adult street people. On the other hand, "children on the street" earn their living or beg for money on the street and return home at night. They maintain contact with their families. This distinction is important since "children on the street" have families and homes to go to at night, whereas "children of the street" live on the streets and probably lack parental, emotional and psychological support normally found in parenting situations'.

The above definition was operationalized in the context of Mumbai into three categories of street children:

4. Children found on the streets of Mumbai living by themselves or with peers, including runaway children.
5. Children found working on the streets in Mumbai in informal/fluid/mobile/non-permanent spaces – roadside eateries, traffic signals, railway trains, stations, bus depots etc. They could be self-employed or in wage employment. We will exclude children working in establishments that are more permanent or formal in nature such as small scale units, *zari* factories, restaurants etc., where the children could count in the category of child labour rather than street children.
6. Children of pavement/street families in Mumbai living under the open sky or in temporary structures (made of bamboo, plastic, cardboard, flex material and/or tin).

It was a challenge to operationalize the third category, i.e. children of pavement families. Unlike any other city, pavement or street-living families in Mumbai not only consist of homeless families living in temporary structures on the streets or pavements, but also those who are recent migrants to the city. In Mumbai there are many families living on or near pavements/streets in certain parts of the city. They live in semi-permanent structures made of brick/tin walls, and plastic/tin roofs. These families have been living in

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4. A similar study on street children in Delhi was done by Save the Children (STC) in 2010.

5. This definition was also used in the STC study and therefore the findings from this study would lend comparability with the STC study.



the city for many years; some have access to electricity and common water tap connection; and some possess ration cards and Voter ID cards.

Children in denotified slums do not fit into the definition of street children per se, as they belong to the slum population and therefore would form part of a study on slum children. Moreover, these children did not fit into the operationalized definition of street children in the study. Thus, after discussions with the AA team, the TISS team came to a consensus that for the purposes of this study, 'de-notified' slums would be excluded from the study. This meant that we would exclude children living with families residing in de-notified or illegal slums, that is, hutments situated on pavements with semi-permanent structures consisting of clusters of families, e.g., along Mahim Station (West) or on Reay Road, P. D'Mello Road etc. The rationale for this decision was that though these huts were situated on pavements, they fitted the description of a slum rather than pavement families.

## Research design, methods and tools

A quantitative research design was adopted for the study. This comprised of two parts – a census and a sample survey from those enumerated through the census. Part one of the study included a head count of children living on the streets, as per the definition decided for the study. This involved a comprehensive coverage of Mumbai city to enumerate every child found on the streets during the period of the census. A tool was designed to capture basic details about the children who were to be covered through the census – age, sex, category of the child vis-a-vis the location, health status, addiction etc. (see Annexure 1). Part two of the study included a sample survey of street children based on a structured interview schedule to capture the details about the socio-economic, education, work and family background of the children, as well as to understand the reasons why they ended up on the streets, their current problems and future aspirations (see Annexure 2).

The tools for both parts of the study, i.e., the census form and the structured interview schedule, were adapted from the STC study to maintain comparability of data and findings between the AA-TISS study and the STC study. Based on the ground realities of Mumbai city, certain items and questions were dropped and some were added. For example, questions relating to 'state of origin' of the children were dropped from the census form, keeping in mind the sensitivity of the issue and 'sons of the soil' politics of Mumbai. During the pilot phase and testing of tools, we sensed a feeling of insecurity and withdrawal among the respondents when asked questions relating to state of origin and therefore decided to drop these questions. Questions relating to visible health problems and addiction were added to the census form, as they were felt to be important by the TISS research team.

Information on most questions in the census form could be collected through observations, rather than having to ask questions. This was done as it was felt that street children in Mumbai had been 'over-exposed' to research studies or questioning by multiple stakeholders in the past. A study of 'hot spots' of street children in Mumbai had recently been completed by Shelter Don Bosco. There were reports in the newspapers about a survey being carried out by Mumbai Police to educate pavement families to create awareness among them about kidnappings of new born babies in the city<sup>6</sup>. The pilot testing of the census tool carried out in M East Ward by a small team further reinforced the fact that asking too many questions to these children was going to be a challenge given the limited time-frame in which the census had to be completed. Many children were hostile to the enumerators and refused to cooperate with them. They wanted to know how the study was going to benefit them; they were not satisfied with answers that the report would be used to advocate the cause of street children with government. Some children wanted to know "*mujhe isse kya faida hoga* (how will the study benefit me)?" It was therefore decided that one should limit the questions in the census exercise to a bare minimum, to avoid such situations during the data collection process.





## The process

The preparatory steps towards the census and the study of street children in Mumbai city began in the month of September 2012. A core team of faculty from the Centre for Criminology and Justice (CCJ), School of Social Work (SSW), TISS, was constituted which met on a regular basis to prepare and plan for the process – the academic, organisational and the administrative aspects. An implementation team was put in place with the appointment of a part-time Project Coordinator in the month of November and a Project Consultant with more than 25 years of experience of working with street children and youth. During this period, the tools for the census and the sample survey were refined and finalized, in consultation with the AA team. A series of consultations were held within the faculty team and with AA to operationalize the definition of street children in the context of Mumbai city and its socio-political dynamics. A database of NGOs working with street and working children in Mumbai was prepared with a view to get them on board for this study.

Following this, a one-day consultation was organised with the NGOs, in coordination with the Coordination Committee for Vulnerable Children (CCVC)<sup>7</sup>, in November 2012 to inform them about the census and the study, its aims and objectives, methods and tools, and share with them the findings of the STC study. An appeal was made requesting them to join the data collection process which was planned from December 1 to 15, 2012, by sparing their staff for this purpose. There was a mixed response to the appeal in terms of their being able to release human resources and commitment to join the data collection process. This consultation was followed by a more focused meeting at the CCVC office with the willing NGOs to discuss in what manner they could contribute to the data collection process.

With the help of CCVC members, Community Based Organisations and word of mouth, the first lot of about 60 plus enumerators were identified to carry out the census. From mid-November to end-November 2012, three one-day trainings were planned and implemented to orient and train the selected enumerators to do the census. By the end of this process, the number of enumerators had risen to around 75. Supervisors were identified from three sources – from the pool of enumerators, Field Work Supervisors from TISS and Koshish (a field action project of TISS working on homelessness, destitution, and beggary). A PhD Scholar from TISS, who was doing his dissertation on social work education with a focus on street children, agreed to help with the study and joined the supervisor team.

This team of 75 enumerators, 6 supervisors (including the PhD scholar who emerged as the On-field Coordinator over time) and the Project Consultant, playing the role of trainer-cum-mentor, constituted the data collection team which worked from 24th November to 14th December 2012 to roll out the census work across the 24 municipal Wards of Mumbai city. This involved working in small teams to cover 2 Wards (depending on the geographical size of the Ward<sup>6</sup>) every day from 1.30 pm to 11.30 pm, a debriefing session at the start and at the end of the day, working on Ward maps of BMC and Google maps for each Ward, physical mapping of Wards by a small team a day in advance (to plan for the topography and identify the hot spots in the Ward), taking stock of the quality of data being collected to the extent possible, boosting the morale of the team, taking care of team dynamics and drop-outs due to fatigue or illness and coordinating with the back-office team to take care of supply of stationery, forms, money to take care of field expenses, and depositing filled forms on a daily basis. The back-office team consisted of the Project Coordinator, a TISS Field Work Supervisor, administrative and accounting support from TISS staff, and the CCJ faculty and students<sup>9</sup>, to ensure that the data collection work could proceed as smoothly as possible.

6. <http://beta.sakaaltimes.com/news/state/121025/mumbai-police-survey-street-kids-families>.

7. CCVC is an alliance of organisations working with street and working children in the city of Mumbai.



Along with the census of children found on the streets, an enumeration exercise was carried out by a small team to cover the suburban railways of Mumbai – Central, Harbour and Western – from Churchgate to Dahisar; CST to Mankhurd and CST to Mulund. The team travelled in the local trains at different hours of the day and night, and also got off at all the stations to enumerate street children selling wares in the trains or at platforms as well as those found resting, sleeping or living within railway premises. Another exercise was carried out to cover children coming to night shelters and day-care centres run by NGOs working with street children in Mumbai, by the Project Coordinator and the TISS Field Work Supervisor, between 15th December and 31st December 2012. This was done to include children who may be living in the night shelters or visiting the day-care centres at the time of the census, and yet fall under the category of street living children as they do not have contact with their families.

In addition, ‘case studies’ of certain urban poor communities/areas which did not fit into the operational definition of street children, but the team felt the need to document them, as they found the situation of children in these communities to be very vulnerable, were included. This process was carried out between December 15 and 31, 2012.

Preparation for the sample survey (based on structured interviews with street children) was simultaneously done, while the census was being carried out, by a separate team constituted for this purpose. Investigators for this purpose were identified from students from the School of Social Work, TISS, experienced staff from NGOs, and the census enumerators who were found to be effective in the field (during the census process). These teams were oriented to the objectives and tools for the survey on three separate days before each team was rolled out in the field. The first phase was done by students between December 1 and 15; the second phase was done by enumerators and NGO staff between December 15 and 31, 2012. A total of 728 interviews were done through this process.

## Challenges faced in the field

There were many challenges that the team faced in the field. Data collection was a physically and emotionally exhausting exercise. The relentlessness of the work, whereby the team had to go into the field, day in and day out for a period of around 20 days without a break, given the methodology of the project, was the most challenging part. There were occasions when tempers flew high within the team, and heated arguments over allocation of tasks and responsibilities which had to be sorted out through face to face meetings, long phone calls and emails became the order of the day. It was a test of our lasting power and the core team had to remain calm and resilient throughout the exercise. We did several debriefing exercises during the process to keep our sanity and morals high. Some the specific challenges faced in the field included:

- Walking and covering long distances within Wards, especially the larger Wards.
- Eight hour shifts extending to twelve hour shifts and returning back to the field the next day.
- Finding replacements when a team member took ill due to fatigue or exhaustion.
- Arranging money, stationery and logistics support on time, to the field team by the back office team.
- Arranging Google maps of each Ward on time, which could be useful in the field.
- Problems relating to reading the maps accurately and dealing with the challenge of some parts of the Wards getting left out.
- Shortage of trained people who knew how to access accurate maps.
- Mapping of by lanes to avoid duplication.
- Coordination and detailing of each person's task.



- Keeping communication lines within teams open at all costs to avoid misunderstandings and misgivings about each other.
- Difficulties faced by the teams to decide if a child was a street living child or a street working child.
- Difficulties in differentiating between street and slum children in certain areas.
- Children not responding well to the enumerators due to fears about us.
- Being stopped by the people from enumeration process in certain sensitive areas especially after evening hours.
- People grumbling about having to answer questions and the futility of “one more survey”. Many people asked why we were collecting information; some even alleged that we may be from the builders lobby and our exercise may be aimed at displacing them for the re-development of the area. The team faced mistrust and fear among the people in many areas.
- Difficulties in walking around certain areas, e.g., the dumping ground where the team had to walk on slushy land and felt nauseous due to the high density of foul odour. It was difficult to imagine how people lived and worked around those areas. In such areas, it was difficult to even stand as eyes were burning.
- Walking through largely residential areas seeming a futile exercise, as there were no children on the streets in such areas.
- Children asking for help from the team, e.g., wanting to go to school and team’s inability to respond to such requests creating feelings of guilt and frustration.
- Employers not allowing children to speak to the team.
- The Police not being very helpful at some places; not allowing the team to sit in a place to take rest or discuss the findings at the end of the day.

## Data analysis and report writing

Once the data collection process was over, data cleaning, entry, coding and analysis processes were started. This work was done with the support of a professional expert on SPSS. The qualitative analysis of the field notes and observations, submitted by the enumerators and supervisors, was completed by a core member of the faculty team from the CCJ. From the field notes, a listing of all places actually covered by the enumerators was also compiled and added as Annexure 6.

For writing the report, members of the core team took the responsibility of writing individual chapters. The major findings, conclusion and recommendations emerging from the study were jointly written by a sub-group from the core team. The draft final report was sent to the AA team for their suggestions and comments, and their feedback was incorporated into the report. The report is the outcome of the efforts and work done by the entire team – the enumerators, the supervisors, the consultant, the coordinator, back office support, students, faculty, the data entry and analysis team, and the report writing team.

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6. This strategy of advance mapping though proving very advantageously had to be later abandoned due to time constraints. In any future census exercise, we advise this strategy to be adopted.

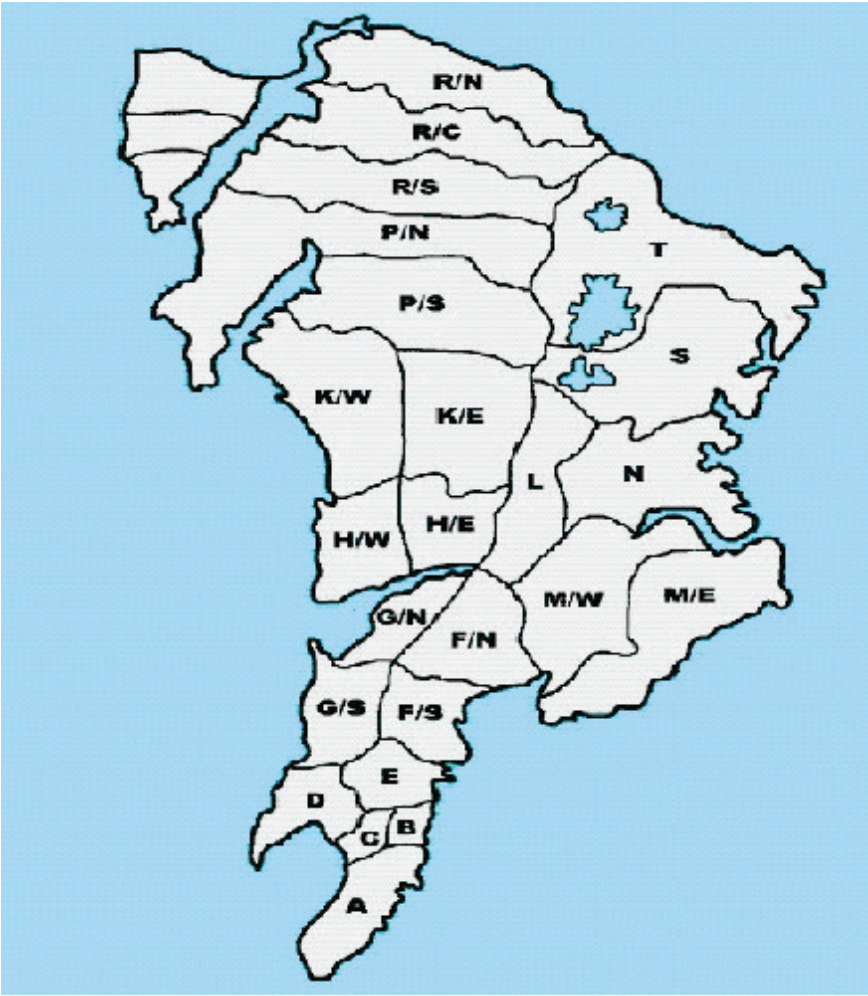
7. This core team consisted of four faculty and two students from CCJ.



### 3. Analysis of census data

Mumbai city is divided into 24 Wards by the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) for administrative purposes (see map below).

Map of BMC Wards in Mumbai



Map not to scale

It was decided to stick to this geographical division and data was collected and analysed according to this categorisation (see Annexure 5 and 6 for more details about the Ward boundaries).

The number and gender-wise distribution of children in the 24 Wards is given below (Table 3.1). Data was also collected from the three main railway lines of the Mumbai suburban railway network which is separately mentioned in Table 3.2.





**Table 3.1: Number of children found across the BMC Wards**

	BMC Wards	Areas	Ward Description from Field Notes of Enumerators	Boys	Girls	Total	Area (Sq. Kms)	Density per sq. km
1	A	Churchgate, CST	Ballard Estate, Lokmanya Tilak Marg, Marine Drive, Colaba	556 2.18%	346 3.21%	902 2.49%	12.5	72
2	B	Masjid Bandar, Sandhurst Road	P D'Mello Road, Abdul Rehman Street, Ramchandra Bhatt Marg, LT Marg	985 3.87%	357 3.32%	1342 3.66%	2.47	543
3	C	Marine Lines, Charni Road	Abdul Rehman Street, Netaji Road, Maulana Shaukatali Road, Marine Drive	467 1.83%	233 2.16%	700 1.93%	1.78	393
4	D	Grant Road, Mumbai Central	V P Road, Walkeshwar, Tardeo Road, Bhuleshwar Naka	1647 6.48%	665 6.18%	2312 6.39%	6.63	349
5	E	Byculla, Reay Road	Reay Road, Sane Guruji Marg, Dattaram Lad Marg, Wadi Bunder	954 3.75%	496 4.61%	1450 4.01%	7.4	196
6	F North	Matunga, Dadar East, Wadala	Thane Creek, NS Mankikar Marg	1343 5.28%	692 6.43%	2035 5.62%	12.98	145
7	F South	Elphinstone Road, Parel, Sewri	Sewri, Kala Chowky	1276 5.02%	684 6.36%	1960 5.42%	14	151
8	G North	Dadar West Mahim	Sion, Dharavi, Mahim Causeway	1682 6.62%	622 5.78%	2304 6.37%	10	230
9	G South	Mahalaxmi, Lower Parel, Prabhadevi	Kashinath Dhuru Marg	415 1.63%	217 2.01%	632 1.74%	9.07	70
10	H East	Bandra East, Khar East, Santacruz East	Santacruz East, Vile Parle, Mahim Causeway	1100 4.32%	448 4.16%	1548 4.28%	13.53	114
11	H West	Bandra West, Khar West, Santacruz West	Bandra, Khar	913 3.59%	351 3.26%	1264 3.49%	11.55	109
12	K East	Vileparle East, Andheri East, Jogeshwari East	Airport	590 2.32%	326 3.03%	916 2.53%	23.5	39
13	K West	Vileparle West, Andheri West, Jogeshwari West	Oshiwara Bridge	1101 4.33%	543 5.05%	1644 4.54%	23.29	71
14	L	Kurla	Ghatkopar, Vikhroli, Powai, Sion Creek	1802 7.09%	470 4.37%	2272 6.28%	13.46	169
15	M East	Govandi, Mankhurd	Deonar Dumping Ground, BARC	1402 5.51%	404 3.75%	1806 4.99%	32.5	56
16	M West	Chembur	Chembur, Ghatkopar, Eastern Express Highway	950 3.73%	349 3.24%	1299 3.59%	19.5	67
17	N Ward	Ghatkopar	Thane Creek, Vikhroli Hills, Ghatkopar	906 3.56%	254 2.36%	1160 3.20%	39	30
18	P North	Malad	Manori, Madh, Marve	1084 4.26%	372 3.46%	1456 4.02%	29.56	49
19	P South	Goregaon	Aarey, Malad Creek, Oshiwara Bridge.	914 3.59%	469 4.36%	1383 3.82%	19.13	72
20	R Central	Borivali	Sanjay Gandhi National Park, Gorai, Borivali, Dahisar	975 3.83%	458 4.26%	1433 3.96%	50	81
21	R North	Dahisar	Municipal Boundary Creek and Dahisar Check Naka	742 2.92%	406 3.77%	1148 3.17%	18	64



22	R South	Kandivali	Charkop Village, Poisar	645 2.53%	291 2.70%	936 2.58%	17.78	19
23	S	Bhandup, Kanjurmarg	Eastern Express Highway, Vikhroli	1933 7.60%	869 8.08%	2802 7.75%	64	44
24	T	Mulund	Vihar Lake, Thane Creek	1024 4.03%	426 3.96%	1450 4.01%	45.41	32
	<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>25406</b>	<b>10748</b>	<b>36154</b>		

A total of 36154 children were found across the 24 Wards during the time of the enumeration, out of which the maximum number (2802) of children were found in S Ward (Eastern Express Highway, Vikhroli). S Ward is the largest BMC Ward spread over an area of 64 sq kms. It extends through the Eastern Express Highway, Kannamwar Nagar, Boundaries of L and K Wards, Saki Vihar Road, L&T, Vikhroli-Jogeshwari Link Road, Old Tansa Line, Mulund-Goregaon Link Road, Vihar Talao, North Nalla of Kannamwar Nagar, Vikhroli Cross Line Road up to L B S Marg (W) and Godrej Compound. It is an area where there are many new infrastructural development projects coming up.

The next large group of children was found in D Ward (V P Road, Walkeshwar, Tardeo Road, Bhuleshwar Naka) with 2312 children, G North Ward (Sion, Dharavi, Mahim causeway) with 2304 children, L Ward (Ghatkopar, Vikhroli, Powai, Sion Creek) with 2272 children and F North Ward (Thane Creek, N S Mankikar Marg) with 2035 children.

In comparison to S Ward, the areas of D Ward, G North, L and F North were geographically much smaller areas, with D Ward comprising of 6.63 sq. km, G North comprising of 9.07 sq. km, L Ward (Ghatkopar, Vikhroli, Powai, Sion Creek) comprising of 13.76 sq. km, and F North Ward (Thane Creek, N S Mankikar Marg) comprising of 12.98 sq. km. Yet the number of street children found in these Wards was large compared to their size. This essentially means that there are various reasons why children choose to live in these areas even though geographically they are small in size.

D Ward area extends from V P Road, Ardeshir Dadi Street, Trimbak Parshuram Street, Shukhlaji Street up to the Govt. Printing Press, Netaji Subhash Road, D N Purandare Marg, Walkeshwar, Bomanji Behram Marg, Arthur Road, Tardeo Road, Keshavrao Khade Marg, B Jaikar Marg up to Bhuleshwar Naka, crossing M K Road up to the seashore.

G North Ward comprises the Senapati Bapat Marg to Sion Culvert along with Dharavi, Seashore, Mahim Causeway, Mumbai Agra Road, Kakasaheb Gadgil Marg and Kashinath Dhuru Road.

L Ward runs through Tansa Pipeline along Chembur Hill between Ghatkopar & Vikhroli.

F North comprises Thane Creek, the Central Railway, N S Mankikar Marg, Mumbai Marathi Granth Sangrahalay Marg, Road No. 26, Scheme No. 57 up to the creek.

Most of these Wards are commercial areas with a high degree of economic activities which provide opportunities for work and subsistence and therefore probably, have a higher density of street children dotting these areas.

Another group of Wards where children were found in larger numbers were F South (Sewri, Kala Chowky) with 1960 children, M East Ward (Deonar dumping ground, BARC) with 1806 children, K West Ward (Oshiwara Bridge) with 1644 children, H East Ward (Santacruz East, Vile Parle, Mahim Causeway) with 1548 children, P North (Manori, Madh, Marve) with 1456 children, E Ward (Reay Road, Sane Guruji



Marg, Dattaram Lad Marg, Wadi Bunder) with 1450 children, T Ward (Vihar Lake, Thane Creek) with 1450 children, R Central Ward (Sanjay Gandhi National Park, Gorai, Borivali, Dahisar) with 1433 children, P South (Aarey Colony, Malad Creek, Oshiwara Bridge) with 1383 children, B Ward (P D'Mello Road, Abdul Rehman Street, Ramchandra Bhatt Marg, L T Marg) with 1342 children, M West Ward (Chembur, Ghatkopar, Eastern Express Highway) with 1299 children, H West Ward (Bandra, Khar) with 1264 children, N Ward (Thane Creek, Vikhroli Hills, Ghatkopar) with 1160 children and R North Ward (Municipal Boundary Creek and Dahisar Check Naka) with 1148 children.

If one has to go by the ratio of children in the geographical areas, it can be seen that the density of children was maximum in B Ward (P D'Mello Road, Abdul Rehman Street, Ramchandra Bhatt Marg, L T Marg) (1:543) followed by C Ward (Abdul Rehman Street, Netaji Subhash Road, Maulana Shaukatali Road, Marine Drive) (1:393), D Ward (V P Road, Walkeshwar, Tardeo Road, Bhuleshwar Naka) (1:349) and G Ward (Sion, Dharavi, Mahim Causeway, Kashinath Dhuru Marg) (1:254).

B, C, D Wards are hubs of commercial activities, traditionally known for their wholesale markets.

The least number of children were found in R South with 936 children, K East Ward with 916 children, A Ward with 902 children, C Ward with 700 children, G South with 632 children. These are largely upper and middle class residential areas, with very little commercial activity and hence explain why street children are fewer in these areas.

In terms of density, the least number of children (i.e., a ratio below 100) was found in P North with 1:76 children, A Ward with 1:72 children, K West with 1:71 children, M West with 1:67 children, R North with 1:64 children, G South with 1:63 children, M East with 1:56 children, R South with 1:53 children, P South with 1:47 children, S Ward with 1:44 children, K East with 1:39 children, T Ward with 1:32 children, N Ward with 1:30 children, and R Central with 1:29 children.

The geographical area of R Central is 50 sq kms. It ranks the lowest with respect to the density of children.

R Central comprises of the areas of Sanjay Gandhi Rashtriya Udyan, Gorai Kulven Manori Road, Gorai & Kulven Villages, Devidas Lane touching the No Development Zone on West Side of the proposed flyover at Devidas Road, the proposed 60 Feet D P Road leading to Nancy Colony, Borivali East, Ashokvan Society, 90 Feet D P Road, and the North-East Creek on the East.

One of the reasons why the density was low in R Central Ward could be because large parts of this area consist of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park with is covered under forest protection area and No Development Zone. Hence, children or their families find it difficult to find means of livelihood in these areas.

### Railway lines

Mumbai has three distinct suburban railway lines. For the purposes of this study, we enumerated street children found on railway platforms and the trains from Churchgate station to Dahisar station on the Western line; from Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST), earlier known as VT (Victoria Terminus) to Mulund station on the Central line; and from CST to Mankhurd on the Harbour line. A team tracked children working on the railway platforms and trains at different periods of the day to capture 'children found or working on the railways'. Data was collected from the three main railway lines of the Mumbai Suburban railway network which is given in Table 3.2.



Table 3.2: Number of children found on the railway lines

Railway line	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Western line	240	145	385	42.54 %
Harbour line	90	73	163	18.01%
Central line	224	133	357	39.44 %
Total	554	351	905	
	61.21 %	38.78 %		

During the time when the headcount took place, 42.54 per cent (385) children were found on the Western Railway line, 39.44 per cent (357) children were found on the Central Railway line, while 18.01 per cent (163) children were found on the Harbour Railway line. The children working on railway platforms were found to be neatly dressed, and were reluctant to speak. Children loitering around were found to be shabbily dressed. Many of the children on the trains were found to be begging. Children working on trains had fixed timings of work. One did not get to see children selling sundry items in the trains early in the mornings or late at night. The children have ‘fixed territories’ for selling items in the trains. For example, a child working on the Western line would not be allowed to work in the Harbour or Central line. Even in the Western line, their boundaries are fixed in terms of the stations they operate. Some of the field notes of the enumerators highlight these aspects, as given below:

- In the Central Railway line, children are seen more in the evening time.*
- At railway platforms, children working in railway stalls do not want to talk; they are scared.*
- In the Harbour Railway line, children were begging in the trains.*

The number of girls found on the railway stations is far less than the number of boys found working.

If one includes the children found on railway trains and platforms in the suburban railway network in Mumbai, 37059 street children were enumerated in Mumbai city in this study, out of which, 905 (2.44 per cent) children were found on the railway platforms and trains. Almost 70 per cent of the children were boys while 30 per cent were girls.

Category of children

Children were categorised into 3 groups, street living children, street working children and children from street families. Table 3.3 reveals the number of boys and girls under each category.

Table3.3: Category of children

Type of street child	Boys	Girls	Total
Street Living Children	2435	538	2973
	81.90 %	18.10 %	8.02 % of total children
Street Working Children	8011	1045	9056
	88.46 %	11.54 %	24.44 % of total children
Children from Street Families	14836	9284	24120
	61.51 %	38.49 %	65.09 % of total children
No Response	678	232	910
	74.51 %	25.49 %	2.46 % of total children
Total	25960	11099	37059





The data shows that almost 65 per cent of children lived with families on the street. Out of this, 61 per cent were boys and 38 per cent were girls. The next largest group comprised of the street working children at 24 per cent. Here almost 88 per cent of children were boys and just 12 per cent were girls. This was followed by the group of street living children at 8 per cent. Just 2973 children were found in this category out of which 82 per cent were boys. In the later sections, the break-up of children engaged in the various kinds of work is discussed.

The 'No Response' category primarily comprised of children who were found taking drugs. The enumerators did not feel safe or comfortable to talk to them. This group also comprised of children who did not want to respond as to what their exact status was.

An analysis of the 905 children found on the railway platform indicated that 75 per cent of these children fell under the category of children from street families. About 20 per cent fell under the street working children category, while just 4 per cent fell under the category of street living children.

The following field notes from the enumerators depict the various categories of children they came across:

*Found a girl 12 years old who was married and already had a child. Child marriage is prevalent even in Mumbai!*

*One girl was doing a rope walking stunt and that was her family's way of making money.*

*There were very few girls that we came across.*

*We found more boys in the area and they were doing loading-unloading work. Children were living with their families and doing any type of work.*

*We did not see many girls except when they were with their families.*

*Some children said they had been brought from their village to study in the city, but they were made to work here.*

*Some children were playing in the local garden.*

*There is a dumping ground in this Ward and small children work here as rag pickers along with their parents. None of these children have been to school.*

*Small children were sleeping in cloth swings while their mothers did work. Some children were taking care of their smaller siblings.*

*Many families living on the streets have small children who are not getting enough food, even the clothes to cover themselves is not enough, they have no education and, from as young as 5 years, they start working at tea stalls, or as rag pickers to earn something to take care of themselves.*

*People spoke about their problems like the BMC breaking their huts, not having identity proof documents, health and hygiene issues, drinking water and bathing facility problem.*

*Living on the streets has the most negative impact on children.*

*Today, during the survey, I realised and felt bad about the fact that in a city like Mumbai so many children are begging.*

*Dharavi had many children who work in the night and go to school in the morning.*

*Today I got the feeling that so many children live alone without any one to take care of them.*

*We saw more boys than girls.*



**Table 3.4: Age of the children**

Age	Boys	Girls	Total
0-3 yrs	2793	2281	5074
	10.75%	20.55%	13.69%
4-6 yrs	3078	2397	5475
	11.85%	21.59%	14.77%
7-9 yrs	3180	2014	5194
	12.24%	18.14%	14.01%
10-12 yrs	4461	2149	6610
	17.18%	19.36%	17.83%
13-15 yrs	5683	1301	6984
	21.89%	11.72%	18.84%
16-18 yrs	6765	957	7722
	26.05%	8.62%	20.83%
Total	25960	11099	37059
	99.96%	99.98%	99.97%

Children of various age groups were found during the census, from just-borns to just under-18 years. It can be noted that the number of boys kept increasing across the various age groups while the number of girls kept decreasing across the various age groups. One of the reasons for the invisibility of girls as they grew older could be that they may have been married off young (given the unsafe street environment), or may have been trafficked or pushed into exploitative relationships. The scope for employability of the boys increases with age and this explains the increase in the number of boys as they grow older. Some of the field notes highlight the situation of these children:

*We saw small children without any clothes on them; they were just roaming round.*

*How people with very small children survive on the streets is a question. I kept thinking what will happen to them in the rainy season or during winter. Also, thinking of what kind of nutrition these children get in a life like this made me feel really bad.*

*I saw a group of young boys, 6-7 years, playing cards.*

*Small children walk around here and there looking for food. Their clothes are dirty. The food they get is not enough so they roam around begging for food.*

*I felt bad seeing small children work.*

## Age across categories

The Table 3.5 reveals that 65 per cent of children belonged to the category of Children from Street Families. About 24 per cent of children fell in the category of Children Living on the Streets, with boys being 7 times more than girls.

The earlier Table (3.4) has shown that the number of boys has been increasing with increasing age while the number of girls found has been decreasing with increasing age. The above Table too depicts a steady decline in the number of girls with an increase in age group across the categories of Street Living Children and Children from Street Families. However, there is a slight increase in the percentage of girls with increasing age under the category of Street Working Children. The decrease in the number of girls with increasing age raises several questions. The reasons for their decline with increasing age may point to issues such as trafficking and child marriage. With respect to boys, it can be seen that the percentage



Table 3.5: Age group of children across categories

Years	Street Living		Street Working Children		Children from Children		No Response Street Families		Total		Total (boys & girls)
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
0-3	85	77	108	75	2498	2085	102	44	2793	2281	5074
	3.04 %	3.38%	3.87%	3.29%	89.44%	91.41%	3.65%	1.93%	55.05%	44.95%	13.69% of total
4-6	137	111	163	100	2710	2147	68	39	3078	2397	5475
	4.45%	4.63%	5.30%	4.17%	88.04%	89.57%	2.21%	1.63%	56.22%	43.78%	14.77 %
7-9	232	104	410	155	2468	1702	70	53	3180	2014	5194
	7.30%	5.16%	12.89%	7.70%	77.61%	84.51%	2.20%	2.63%	61.22%	38.78%	14.02 %
10-12	437	106	1142	261	2753	1730	129	52	4461	2149	6610
	9.80%	4.93%	25.60%	12.15%	61.71%	80.50%	2.89%	2.42%	67.49%	32.51%	17.84 %
13-15	573	80	2631	255	2343	942	136	24	5683	1301	6984
	10.08%	6.15%	46.30%	19.60%	41.23%	72.41%	2.39%	1.84%	81.37%	18.63%	18.85 %
16-17	971	60	3557	199	2064	678	173	20	6765	957	7722
	14.35%	6.27%	52.58%	20.79%	30.51%	70.85%	2.56%	2.09%	87.61%	12.39%	20.84 %
Total	2435	538	8011	1045	14836	9284	678	232	25960	11099	37059
	9.38 %	4.85%	30.86%	9.42%	57.15%	83.65%	2.61%	2.09%	70.05%	29.95%	100 %
	8.02%		24.44%		65.09%		2.46 %				

of boys has been increasing with their increasing age under the category of Street Living Children and Street Working Children. However, their numbers has been declining within the category of Children from Street Families. The reason for this may be that as boys grow older, they may move out of their families and also an increasing number of boys migrating or trafficked and working alone. The decrease in boys with increasing age in Street Living Families may in fact, be the reason for the increasing number of Street Living and Street Working Children.

### Education profile

With the implementation of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and the Right to Education Act, the minimum expectation with regard to the educational status of children is they should be able to read and write. However, the reality was otherwise.

The data shows that almost 24 per cent of children were illiterate<sup>10</sup>. The educational status of girls was much below that of boys.

About 5475, i.e., 14 per cent children fell within the age group of 4 yrs to 6 yrs (refer to Table 3.4). Ideally they should have been under the Balwadi category. The data however shows that only 1734 children went to a Balwadi. This meant that only 31 per cent of the children who fell within the age group of 4-6 years went to a Balwadi (refer to Table 3.4).

10. This does not include the children in the 0-6 age group (pre-school category)



**Table 3.6: Educational profile of the children**

Educational Profile	Boys	Girls	Total
Balwadi and pre-school	1061 4.08%	663 5.97%	1724 4.65%
Illiterate	6239 24.03%	2701 24.33%	8940 24.12%
Can read & write but did not go to school	1353 5.21%	417 3.75%	1770 4.77%
Up to Primary (Class III)	5695 21.93%	2363 21.29%	8058 21.74%
Between Primary and Secondary (Class IV to VIII)	5764 22.20%	1697 15.28%	7461 20.13%
Between Secondary to SSC (Class IX and X)	1494 5.75%	376 3.38%	1870 5.04%
Above SSC (Class XI and above)	536 18.10%	176 1.58%	712 1.92%
No Response	520 2%	145 1.30%	665 1.79%
Not Applicable	3228 12.43%	2517 22.67%	5745 15.50%
Others	70 0.26%	44 0.39%	114 0.30%
<b>Total</b>	<b>25960</b>	<b>11099</b>	<b>37059</b>

Similarly, around 5074 (i.e., 13.7 per cent) children fell in the category of 0-3 years of age. The data also shows that around 5745 responses were “not applicable”. This group included the 5074 children who fell in the category of 0-3 years and a part of the group of children between the age group of 4-5 years of age.

In Mumbai, there are a few NGOs or citizens’ groups that run mobile classes also known as school on wheels or conduct literacy classes for children in the gardens and streets every day. These children manage to learn to read and write without going to school. This could be one reason why 1770 children were found to be able to read and write without going to a formal school.

Almost 22 per cent and 20 per cent of the total number of children had studied up to class III and class VIII, respectively. Prior to the Right to Education Act coming into existence, Maharashtra had a programme where children up to class VIII were promoted without examinations. The assessment criteria for promoting them to the next level were based mainly on class performance. Hence, children managed to continue education till class VIII. Given that a more serious assessment based on examinations began after class VIII, children tended to drop out as their foundation was weak and they found it difficult to cope with the expectations and demands of the education system. This is evident from the fact that hardly 5 per cent of the total population (1870 children) was found in class X. The following observations by the enumerators highlight the educational situation of the children:

- Some parents said ‘we live on the streets; how can we send our children to school in such a situation?’
- Many children were living on the footpath and it was heartening to see that some of them were going to school from such situations. One boy approached me and asked if I could help admit him to school. I did not know how to respond to him and felt very bad about that.
- Some children were playing in an open space, and when we spoke with them they said they wanted to go to school.





*Some children had to drop out of school because they had to work. I feel one woman actually lied to us when we asked her whether her children go to school. She said they are at a boarding school.*

*Two boys said they live on the road, and go to school; a social worker arranged it for them.*

*Many families living on the street do not send their children to school. Children also help out in rag picking.*

*Most of the children are illiterate and they live on the streets only.*

*Children working in road side eateries said they wanted to study, but could not.*

*Children living on the streets with their families do not go to school at all.*

*Some children go to school, and after school work to help contribute towards their family income.*

*Children have a desire to study, but no money.*

*There are many families living on the streets and the children from this group do not go to school. Also, parents do not feel the need for education for their children.*

Occupational profile

Children living on the street are faced with the challenge of survival. For the purpose of survival, they generally engage in work to earn a livelihood. Either they or their parents engage in work which helps them earn money. They mostly survive on money earned on a day to day basis. During the survey, the children were asked about the kind of work they were engaged in. Table 3.7 gives an insight into the various kinds of work that children were engaged in.

Table3.7: Occupational profile of children

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Begging	1772 6.82%	1162 10.46%	2934 (7.9%)
Rag Picking	1422 5.47%	622 5.60%	2044 (5.5%)
Selling flowers, newspapers, fruits and other items on road	3093 11.91%	1170 10.54%	4263 (11.5%)
Cleaning car and two wheelers	916 3.52%	77 0.69%	993 (2.7%)
Working in road side stalls or repair shops	3686 14.19%	245 22.07%	3931(10.6%)
Working in small restaurants	3153 12.14%	184 1.65%	3337 (9%)
Whatever is available	771 2.96%	147 1.56%	918 (2.5%)
Construction work	796 3.06%	142 1.27%	938 (2.5%)
Nothing	5149 19.83%	3472 31.28%	8621 (23.3%)
Not Applicable	4407 16.97%	3581 32.26%	7988 (21.6%)
Others	761 2.93%	282 2.54%	1043 (2.8%)
No Response	34 0.13%	15 0.13%	49 (0.1%)
	25960	11099	37059 (100%)



About 11.50 per cent of children were found to be selling flowers, newspapers, fruits and other items on the roads, followed by 9 per cent who were working in small eateries, and 7.9 per cent were found begging. About 5.5 per cent were into rag picking. About 2.5 per cent were into construction work or whatever was available, indicating daily wage work.

The maximum number of responses (23.3 per cent) was doing “Nothing” or not engaged in any kind of work. Around 92 per cent of the children who did nothing were in the age group of 0-15 years. One of the reasons for the same could be that the children were living with families and genuinely not doing anything. Another reason for the same could be that these children or their parents may have felt threatened to admit that they / their children were working given the awareness or the fear of children being rescued from child labour and put into children’s homes.

Around 21.6 per cent (7988) respondents have stated “NA” (Not Applicable). Further analysis of this data revealed that 76 per cent of these children were within the age group of 0-6 years.

The following field notes from enumerators about the occupational situation of the children are revealing:

*One child asked that if he gave up rag picking, would we give him a job.*

*Working children often lied about their age or even denied that they are working.*

*Children work as rag pickers and loaders in and around Mahim station.*

*In and around Dadar area there were many children. It seems like they go to school and then work after school. Children work because they need to get at least one meal a day.*

*Near Sion Dharavi, children were working at tea stalls; others were selling fruits and toys; while some were begging along with their parents.*

*Near Dharavi, there are some zari factories. We came to know that about children (40 of them in each) who lived and worked there. They are provided food twice a day, a set of 2 clothes a year and the family is given Rs 10,000/- by the employer. These children work about 16-18 hours a day.*

*One boy was filling plastic cans with water. He had about 30 of them and said he sells water.*

*Children also work in marriage halls.*

*At Dadar Chowpatty, many children of 12-17 years had small stalls of tea, peanuts etc.*

*Children were working in garages and in second-hand goods shops.*

*Some children had left home and were working in garage; as shoe shine boys; selling vada pav and / or paper.*

*Some children were working in small eateries.*

*There were many working children near the station.*

*Children were selling Bisleri bottles at traffic signals.*

*In Borivili market, many children were selling clothes on the road. Some children had come here from villages to work. In shops and tea stalls, 15-18 year olds were there.*

*At Aksa beach, there are small stalls on the beach. Children were working there, and on boats.*

*Children work in the fruit markets, selling fruits and carrying loads. They have not studied enough and have to work.*

*Children below 6 years – mothers take them along for begging or else these small children beg by themselves with the mother.*



*In the construction sites, there were children below 18 years working.*

*In shops, there were many children and they seemed to come from Rajasthan. The shopkeepers did not allow us to talk to them.*

*Most of the children in the Mulund Dumping ground area go to school, and work as rag pickers at other times.*

*There are many jhuggi zopadis in this area, but children from them don't go to school as the people living in them moved constantly to other areas, often after 15-20 days.*

*We met 2 boys, about 17 year old, working in a garage. They were learning skills there. They had not been educated enough and thought this job will give them some future.*

*There was some circus or exhibition being set up and many children were working there. We were not allowed to enter that place.*

*Children were working in garages. The owners were not telling their age.*

*There were a lot of children near (traffic) signals, near the garden, working in garages, and market area selling small things on the road.*

*There was some bangle making units where children were working.*

*Met children working in construction buildings and, of them, 80% were illiterate.*

*In and around Ghatkopar station, there is a big market area. Small children were selling fruits, vegetables and various other items in this market. They had studied upto 4th to 8th std. Many of the children used to go to the nearby slum and sleep at night. It seemed that their bosses may have told them to lie about their age. Being child labourers, the owners were not allowing them to reveal any information. Almost all the children said, "Do something for us".*

*In construction work, children were working along with their parents.*

*Children were begging near the station.*

*A few children were selling old things on the road. They said their parents had asked them to do this work and that they were not sent to school.*

*In Mandala area, children were selling vegetables with their parents. There were many children working in this area. Small children live in jhuggi zopadis and slums with their families.*

*In shops, where car repair and painting work was being done, at least 20-25 children were there. There were many garages there that children worked in.*

*Many children were rag picking; working in footwear shops.*

*Near Trombay, children were helping their parents in drying fish; none of them were going to school.*

*I found 61 children who should have been studying or playing, but instead they were working.*

*Children working in shops didn't talk much. They hid themselves when they saw us, and, I feel, they have been told not to interact with anyone who is asking for information about them.*

*There was one patch next to the road where there was a canal (gutter line), and families were staying there. Children were just playing in the mud and filth and I wondered what kind of a future they would have. People said that their life was like a living hell; on the one hand, there were mosquitoes and, on the other, fear of the BMC. Once in 3-4 months, the Municipality people came and demolished their houses; so they asked "how we can think of educating our children when we don't have a steady home to stay?"*



*We saw many small children playing in and around the garbage dump.*

*Some children were even selling things sorted out of the dumping ground.*

*Around Grant Road East area, there were many children working in roadside stalls, repair shops, at kumbar wadi. There were many rag pickers in this area.*

*There were many girls selling flowers (gajras) and paper.*

*Many children worked in the Byculla fruit market as loaders.*

*Children were washing cars, selling flowers and weaving baskets.*

*There were children rag-picking in the area on race course road to Mahalakshmi station.*

*People begged on station with their children.*

*Shopkeepers did not allow boys to talk.*

*Some children were selling various things, and our talking to them may have in fact affected their business.*

*Some did not want to talk during their work time.*

*A few children working at shops like juice centres / tea shops said they had just come for vacation to their relative's place. But, this was not the truth.*

## Location

About 51 per cent of the children were found on the streets. Out of this population, around 70 per cent were boys and 30 per cent were girls. Data further shows that those girls who were found on the streets mainly fell in the category of those from street families. Out of 5626 girls found on the streets, a deeper analysis revealed that almost 82 per cent (4624) were living with their families.

The next location where children were found in large numbers was the market place (12.7 per cent) and the hutments (13.33 per cent). Children found in market places comprised mostly of boys. Another place that children were found in large numbers was in construction sites (10.25 per cent). Here the number of girls was on the higher side. Data also shows that majority of these girls fell in the category of "children from street families". This indicates that the children generally accompany their parents to the work site and loiter around. In many cases, the children were also engaged in the work to keep them busy and that also served as cheap labour for the employer.

Only 0.53 per cent of children were found in drop-in centres. One reason for this low number could be that these children are slightly older, being 10 years and above and may have stepped out to earn a living. Another major reason for this could be the paucity of drop-in centres and night shelters available for street children in the city. The existing drop-in centres are mostly run by NGOs and are concentrated in a few areas (see Annexure 4).

Some of the field notes relating to location of children make for interesting reading:

*Children live in groups on Mahim Reti Bandar and go to the nearby Mahim Dargah where they get something to eat.*

*It is astonishing to see what kind of lives children live, away from family and education.*

*In Powai, Peru Pada, tribal people live in utter poverty.*

*In Agarwadi area, there were many children living in plastic sheet kind of huts.*

*We met a group of 10-12 families that had come from Jalgaon looking for work. They said they will*





Table 3.8: Location of the children

Location	Male	Female	Total
On the street	13412 51.66%	5626 50.68%	19038 51.37%
In a drop-in centre	143 0.55%	54 0.48%	197 0.53%
Under a bridge/flyover	684 2.63%	492 4.43%	1176 3.17%
At a place of worship	651 2.50%	224 2.01%	875 2.36%
Market place	4049 15.59%	659 5.93%	4708 12.70%
Park	312 1.20%	122 1.09%	434 1.17%
Railway station	947 3.64%	601 5.41%	1548 4.17%
Bus station	142 0.54%	59 0.53%	201 0.54%
Hutments/temporary structures	2750 10.59%	2192 19.74%	4942 13.33%
Tourist place	59 0.22%	43 0.38%	102 0.27%
Work site/construction site	2781 10.71%	1018 0.90%	3799 10.25%
No Response	30 0.11%	9 0.08%	39 0.10%
Total	25960	11099	37059

*build a temporary house and stay there itself. They talked about how - if there were facilities in the village for work, health and education - they would not have locked their houses and come to the city looking for work.*

*There were a lot of children along the highway.*

*I felt very sad watching people eating on the dumping ground. It's a pity some people have such difficult lives.*

*There were many children near the station.*

*Many children live under the JJ flyover. They have been there since the past 3-5 years.*

Place of stay

Although children during the time of the enumeration were found on the streets, their place of stay was stated to be different when asked. Children were found to stay on the streets, in the night shelters, under bridges/flyovers, at places of worship, at market places, parks/gardens, railway stations, bus stations, hutments, places of tourism, shops, construction sites, sea shores/beaches etc. As some of the field notes reveal:

*It is shocking how people live at the edge of busy streets; with vehicles passing, and little children moving around, accidents can easily happen.*

*The Municipality people had taken away the belongings of a few families, so they were very upset and agitated. They said that so many people just talk and go; there is no use of this for us.*



**Table 3.9: Place of stay**

Place of Stay	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
On the street	4854 18.69%	2719 2.49%	7573 20.33%
In a night shelter	646 2.48%	164 1.47%	810 2.18%
Under a bridge/flyover	914 3.52%	684 6.16%	1598 43.08%
At a place of workshop	249 0.95%	83 0.74%	332 0.89%
Market place	455 1.75%	88 0.79%	543 1.46%
Park	156 0.60%	57 0.51%	213 0.57%
Railway station	406 1.56%	222 2.00%	628 1.69%
Bus station	113 0.43%	32 0.28%	145 0.39%
Hutments	8751 2.89%	5120 46.13%	13871 37.42%
Tourist place	33 0.12%	14 0.12%	47 0.12%
Work site	2092 8.05%	215 1.93%	2307 6.22%
Sea shore/beach	824 3.17%	499 4.49%	1323 3.56%
Others	418 1.61%	169 1.52%	587 1.58%
In a slum	5748 22.14%	938 8.45%	6686 18.04%
No Response	301 1.15%	95 0.85%	396 10.67%
<b>Total</b>	<b>25960</b>	<b>11099</b>	<b>37059</b>

Almost 37 per cent of children were found in the hutments, while around 20 per cent of children stated that they lived on the streets. Around 18 per cent of the respondents stated that they lived in the slums. The least number of children resided in tourist areas. One reason for this could be that many of these areas are now under police surveillance and homeless people are usually shooed away from such places.

The ‘Others’ category comprised of the population that was frequently moving from place to place and did not have one fixed place of stay. Some observations by the enumerators:

- One woman said how the police shoos them away from the street and they have to hide when the police is around. They pick up children and take them to “chiller room” (children’s home). They wanted their children to be put into hostels so they could study.
- Some families have been living on the street since 40 years; they have some ID proofs like PAN card and UID. No one has helped them for shelter. Children go to municipal school.
- A few said that we have to face a lot of problems living on the street. Sometimes the Municipality people come and take away our things.



*People on footpaths were cooking there.*

*Some children were enthusiastic and approached me directly insisting that I write down their details and their siblings' details and they even took me to see the place where they stay/sleep.*

Health

The enumerators were asked to observe, and also ask, about the general health of the children while interacting with them. The following table highlights issues relating to the health status of the children:

Table 3.10: Health issues faced by children

Visible Health Problems	Male	Female	Total
Fever and cough	2238 8.62%	1147 10.57%	3385 9.13%
Skin infections or sores	704 2.17%	350 3.15%	1054 2.84%
Bruises, wounds or injuries	251 0.96%	118 1.06%	369 0.99%
Multiple health issues	345 1.32%	195 1.75%	540 1.45%
Others	999 3.84%	323 2.91%	1322 3.56%
Fever /cough/injuries	22 0.08%	8 0.07%	30 0.08%
Fever /cough/sores	2 0.01%	3 0.002%	5 0.01%
No Response	21399 82.4%	8955 80.68%	30354 81.90%
Total	25960	11099	37059

Majority of the children stated that they did not suffer from any ailments. Around 8 per cent of children stated that they were down with fever and cough. No major ailments were reported among the children. However, one must be cautious while interpreting this data, as no medical examination of these children was conducted. These findings are based purely on observations and the ability of the enumerators to get information pertaining to the health status of the children. Some observations reveal this reality:

*We saw some families living next to a garbage bin; the children looked very sick, even the adults looked ill.*

*There is no proper medical treatment for such children.*

Disability

Majority of the children did not seem to have any kind of disability. Out of the total 37059 children, 2.55 per cent (945 children) were found to have some kind of disability. Further analysis of the data showed that most of the children who stated having some disability were engaged in begging on the streets, as is revealed from the following field notes:

*Saw one girl with a foot disability begging. I felt bad.*

*Today we saw a few disabled and mentally ill children too.*



Table 3.11: Disability among children

Disability Sex Cross tabulation			
	Male	Female	Total
Locomotor disability	297	103	400
Speech impairment	69	30	99
Hearing impairment	21	14	35
Visual impairment	28	12	40
Mentally challenged	39	16	55
Multiple disabilities	153	85	238
Others	51	27	78
Total no of children with disabilities	658	287	945
None	25302	10812	36114
Total	25960	11099	37059

## Addictions

Table 3.12: Addiction among children

Addiction	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
1. No	19274	9773	29047
	74.24%	88.05%	78.38%
2. Yes	4983	520	5503
	19.19%	4.68%	14.84%
3. Not sure	1703	806	2509
	6.56%	7.26%	6.77%
	25960	11099	37059
	99.99%	99.99%	99.99%

During the enumeration, it was found that 78 per cent of children were not into any kind of addiction. Around 15 per cent of children were visibly into addiction. This data was collected by observing the children at the time of data collection. Thus, those who appeared to be under the influence of drugs were recorded under the category of children in addictions; it is possible that these figures do not accurately depict the situation of children in addictions. For example, a child may not have been drinking or smoking when the enumerator was around. Their addiction was not limited to drugs alone, but involved addictions like whitener, tobacco, shoe polish and such substances. A few observations are given below:

*There were a few adolescents boys who looked like alcoholics. A few boys were sniffing 'solution'<sup>11</sup>. We also saw some empty cough syrup bottles lying around. This was quite a deserted area.*

*There were a few children on the streets who were taking drugs.*

*There were a few drug addicts. We did not talk to them.*

11. A cheap and easily available chemical solvent used in photocopying machines which is commonly used as an inhalant.





*I saw a group of boys injecting some drug into their body and they were doing it so fearlessly, seeing that I got scared. They looked blank and did not seem to even understand what I was saying. By the end of the day, I felt this whole survey experience was good for me; I learnt a lot, but the blank faces of these boys kept coming back.*

Table 3.13 shows that majority of the children who are illiterate were the ones who were engaged in different kinds of work on a full- time basis. Children who went to school were seen engaging in selling of flowers, newspapers etc on a part-time basis. The reason for the same was that selling newspapers, flowers did not demand a full day of work. Children could engage in the same at any part of the day based on their school timing.

Majority of the children lived in hutments and slums with their family, followed by another large group living on the streets. The next preferred area for stay was under the bridge / flyover, sea shores / beaches and railway stations. The least preferred spots were the tourist places. There was no specific trend that could be observed between age and place of stay.



Table 3.13: Co-relation between education and nature of work

	Begging	Rag picking	Sell flowers, newspaper, fruits, other items	Cleaning car and Two wheelers	Work in road side stall or repair shop	Work in small restaurants	Whatever available	Construction work	Nothing	Not applicable	Others	No response	Total
Balwadi) (Nursery, KG, etc	230	112	157	17	55	114	11	27	113	878	10	0	1724
Illiterate	1574	752	1006	225	812	849	248	265	1714	1236	237	22	8940
Can read & write but did not go to school	151	197	240	86	257	292	76	50	269	114	36	2	1770
Up to Primary (Class III)	283	496	1022	230	823	722	210	218	2592	1177	280	5	8058
Between Primary and Secondary (Class IV to VIII)	126	310	1179	276	1255	898	277	220	2122	552	239	7	7461
Between Secondary to SSC (Class IX and X)	55	68	304	95	408	249	59	41	426	97	67	1	1870
Above SSC (Class XI and above)	12	14	124	33	144	75	17	16	213	40	24	0	712
No Response	76	35	109	23	112	91	12	45	96	35	20	11	665
Not Applicable	423	55	110	5	56	40	6	56	1035	3838	121	0	5745
Others	4	5	12	3	9	7	2	0	41	21	9	1	114
	2934	2044	4263	993	3931	3337	918	938	8621	7988	1043	49	37059



Table 3.14: Co-relation between age and place of stay

	0-3 yrs		4-6 yrs		7-9 yrs		10-12 yrs		13 to 15 yrs.		16-18 yrs		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
On the street	800	617	864	667	879	500	872	515	713	246	726	174	4854	2719
In a night shelter	54	27	34	27	40	33	104	45	202	21	212	11	646	164
Under a bridge/flyover	176	163	203	152	176	121	159	142	109	62	91	44	914	684
At place of worship	25	12	38	17	47	16	57	23	47	12	35	3	249	83
Market place	12	14	19	15	33	12	77	25	141	13	173	9	455	88
Park	27	10	19	11	23	9	32	12	29	5	26	10	156	57
Railway station	62	50	82	59	48	36	58	32	75	29	81	16	406	222
Bus station	7	10	9	5	14	4	19	5	28	5	36	3	113	32
Hutments (temporary shelter)	1280	1099	1403	1118	1327	995	1701	931	1574	566	1466	411	8751	5120
Tourist place	6	2	8	2	4	6	2	3	5	1	8	0	33	14
Work site	58	43	55	51	83	42	238	37	656	22	1002	20	2092	215
Sea shore/beaches	124	122	122	121	86	68	115	81	123	46	254	61	824	499
Others	32	19	24	32	63	26	54	33	86	32	159	27	418	169
In a slum	112	80	163	102	329	123	919	242	1827	232	2398	159	5748	938
No Response	18	13	35	18	28	23	54	23	68	9	98	9	301	95
	2793	2281	3078	2397	3180	2014	4461	2149	5683	1301	6765	957	25960	11099



Table 3.15: Place of stay across various categories of children

	Street Living Children		Street Working Children		Children from Street Families		No Response		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
On street	1435	333	3870	492	7860	4710	247	91	13412	5626
In a drop-in centre	15	4	17	11	95	38	16	1	143	54
Under a bridge/flyover	34	18	55	17	565	445	30	12	684	492
At place of worship	71	28	193	43	327	138	60	15	651	224
Market place	363	48	2606	285	1009	316	71	10	4049	659
Park	26	16	67	11	202	92	17	3	312	122
Railway station	120	26	166	61	652	513	9	1	947	601
Bus station	42	9	19	3	79	43	2	4	142	59
Hutments (temporary shelter)	31	23	43	24	2594	2114	82	31	2750	2192
Tourist place	1	4	7	0	40	27	11	12	59	43
Work site/construction site	294	29	963	96	1396	844	128	49	2781	1018
No Response	3	0	5	2	17	4	5	3	30	9
	2435	538	8011	1045	14836	9284	678	232	25960	11099
										37059

This table attempts to reveal if there is any relation between the categories of street children and their place of stay. It was found that maximum number of street living children were found living on the streets, at the market place or at work site / construction site, in that order. Street working children were found staying on the streets, the market place or work site / construction site. Children from street families lived on the streets, in hutments (temporary shelters) and at worksite / construction site. Almost 31 per cent of children who were found on railway platforms lived on the railway platforms itself.





Table 3.16: Co-relation between disability and the nature of occupation percentage

	Loco-motor disability		Speech Impairment		Hearing Impairment		Visual Impairment		Mentally challenged		Multiple disability		Others		None		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Begging	78	29	12	5	6	1	4	3	10	5	18	6	3	0	1641	1113	1772	1162
Rag picking	21	5	12	3	2	0	4	0	7	7	8	4	4	6	1364	597	1422	622
Selling flowers, newspapers, fruits & other items	34	9	5	1	0	2	0	2	4	0	19	5	2	7	3029	1144	3093	1170
Cleaning car and two wheelers	13	1	4	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	7	1	0	0	890	73	916	77
Working in road side stall or repair shop	39	5	10	0	3	1	0	0	3	1	12	1	4	0	3615	237	3686	245
Working in small restaurant	24	0	9	1	1	0	2	0	3	0	7	1	3	0	3104	182	3153	184
Whatever available	6	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	8	4	2	0	752	142	771	147
Construction work	10	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	785	140	796	142
Nothing	36	27	9	8	2	1	15	1	6	2	50	49	8	4	5023	3380	5149	3472
Not Applicable	32	25	5	9	7	8	1	5	2	1	21	12	0	0	4339	3521	4407	3581
Others	4	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	2	25	10	726	268	761	282
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	15	34	15
	297	103	69	30	21	14	28	12	39	16	153	85	51	27	25302	10812	25960	11099

The above table reveals that children with locomotory disabilities are engaged in a variety of occupations compared to those with other disabilities. The table also shows that majority of disabled children are into begging, indicating lack of support systems and subsequent movement onto the street, i.e., they may have been abandoned by their families on account of their disabilities and, hence, forced to live on the streets.



Table 3.17: Co-relation between age and nature of work

	0-3 yrs		4-6 yrs		7-9 yrs		10-12 yrs		13 to 15 yrs.		16-18 yrs		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Begging	234	156	427	327	482	313	359	231	159	73	103	52	1764	1152
Rag picking	21	19	79	60	220	109	374	189	393	146	332	99	1419	622
Selling flowers, newspapers, fruits and other items on road	21	17	83	69	281	154	690	365	963	322	1018	233	3056	1160
Cleaning car and two wheelers	6	1	2	1	31	8	158	25	285	25	424	16	906	76
Working in road side stall or repair shop	10	5	26	10	121	23	468	87	1247	52	1762	67	3634	244
Working in small restaurant	7	4	30	7	98	17	488	42	1108	58	1395	52	3126	180
Whatever available	1	0	6	4	36	7	81	41	210	36	417	56	751	144
Construction work	34	24	19	14	24	7	78	29	156	21	479	44	790	139
Nothing	578	443	845	602	1248	884	1260	808	749	410	366	240	5046	3387
Not Applicable	1777	1541	1465	1217	529	418	353	242	154	86	69	36	4347	3540
Others	65	36	55	46	62	49	90	54	182	48	298	46	752	279
No Response	4	4	4	4	5	1	4	4	7	1	10	1	34	15
	2758	2250	3041	2361	3137	1990	4403	2117	5613	1278	6673	942	25625	10938

It can be seen from this table that the younger children engaged more in begging. Their number kept decreasing with increase in age. On the other hand, the number of children engaged in rag picking, selling flowers, cleaning, working in shops or restaurants kept increasing with increasing age. An analysis of the data of children found on railway platforms reveal that almost 50 per cent of them were engaged in either begging or selling things on trains or railway platforms. The maximum number of these children was in the age group of 4 to 12 years.



## 4. Analysis of sample survey data

This chapter presents the analysis of data that was collected through the 728 structured interviews across the city of Mumbai through a random sampling process. It represents the situation of street children across BMC-defined Wards in Mumbai. Some of the respondents were in contact with civil society agencies: Pratham, Salaam Balak Trust, Hamara Foundation, World Vision, Yuva, and Committed Communities Development Trust. These agencies aided the data collection process. Other respondents were identified by student volunteers and enumerators at various locations.

Table 4.1: Location of Interviews

Location of Interview	Number of interviews	Per cent
Footpath/pavement/near traffic signal	380	52.2 %
In a shelter	37	5.1%
Under a bridge/flyover	40	5.5%
Religious place	21	2.9%
Market	81	11.1%
Park/open ground	12	1.6%
Railway station	54	7.4%
Bus station	7	1%
Slum	60	8.2%
Tourist place	3	0.4%
Others	11	1.5%
No Response	22	3%
Total	728	

Around 52.2 per cent respondents were found on footpaths, pavements and near traffic signals. Other interviews were conducted in shelter homes, under bridges and flyovers, around religious places, markets, railway and bus stations, parks and open grounds, slums, construction sites and tourist places. The location of some interviews has not been specified in the interview schedules.

Where the children were below 5 years, interviews were mostly conducted with parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, friends, employers, fellow villagers, siblings or the children themselves. In attempting to explore the phenomenon and trends in street life of children, interviews covered eight themes, namely, general profile, family background and life, income and sustenance, health and sanitation, uncomfortable experiences, education, support from government and entitlement status, and mobility within Mumbai.

Other comments made by respondents and observations made by researchers have been incorporated within the above listed themes, as notes from the field. These notes were recorded when respondents were asked to add comments. Some notes were made by interviewers, following observations or concern over the situation of children. A separate section has been marked for miscellaneous themes that emerged from analysis of these comments and observations.



The researchers’ notes also reflected mixed responses from respondents. There were some who gave information and co-operated with the researchers, some who appeared afraid, some who were skeptical about reasons for data collection, and some who were resistant to questions.

Statistically, approximations are presented because exact counts have been difficult to establish. This could be a result of researchers’ inability to record exact data due to the location of the interview; or given that the interviews were conducted with children, obtaining accurate responses was sometimes difficult. But, while approximate statistics are presented, the qualitative content and trends in the data have been ascertained beyond doubt.

Since the sample was not proportionate by sex, analysis of data has not been presented by sex distribution. However, wherever significant differences in trends among males and females were observed, the analysis was done by sex distribution.

### 1. General Profile

This section presents categories of children, age, sex, religion, caste and marital status of children.

#### Categories

Table 4.2: Categories of children

Categories	Number of children	Per cent
Street Living Children	274	37.6%
Street Working Children	127	17.4%
Children from Street Families	327	45%
Total	728	

Around 37.6 per cent children were street living children, 17.5 per cent were street working children and 45 per cent were children who lived on the street with their families. While the first category, of street living children, did not live with family; the second category, of street working children, may or not have lived with families.

Table 4.3: Contact with family

Contact with family	Number of children	Per cent
Yes, stay with family in Mumbai	448	61.5%
No, do not stay with family but in contact with them	176	24.2%
No, not staying with family and no contact with them	50	6.9%
No Response	54	7.4%
Total	728	

The data shows that 61.5 per cent of the children resided with their families, 24.2 per cent did not live with their families although, there was contact with them, and 6.9 per cent had no contact with the family. The researchers made additional notes of the respondents who made further comments on the home situation. Some of the references made to the home situation in these notes include an alcoholic father, physical abuse by father, mother’s abuse by father, and father’s remarriage and ill-treatment of the first wife, who was the respondent’s mother.



Table 4.4: Knowledge of place of origin

Knowledge of place of origin	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	644	88.5%
No/No idea	76	10.43%
No Response	8	1.1%
Total	728	

A large percentage of children (88.5 per cent) were aware of their place of origin. They reported that they were either born and brought up in Mumbai – most were living with family and some had run away or were born outside Mumbai, but brought up in Mumbai – or with family, or lived alone.

### Age distribution

Table 4.5: Age

Age (in years)	Number of children	Per cent
0 – 6	98	13.5%
7 – 12	265	36.4%
13 – 18	363	49.9%
No response	2	0.3%
Total	728	728

Children between 13 to 18 years of age comprised around 49.9 per cent of the sample. Children between 7 to 12 years comprised 36.4 per cent, and children up to 6 years of age comprised around 13.5 per cent of the respondents.

Table 4.6: Sex

Sex	Number of Children	Per cent
Male	497	68.3%
Female	229	31.5%
Third Sex	2	0.3%
Total	728	

While 68.3 per cent of the children were males, 31.5 per cent were females and 0.3 per cent was from the third sex. This distribution may indicate higher prevalence of males on the street. However, reduced female counts could also be on account of lack of visibility of female street children, calling for caution in interpretation.

Table 4.7: Age of children by sex

Sex	0-6 years	7-12 years	13-18 years	No response	Total
Male	51 10.3% of males	147 29.6% of males	297 59.8% of males	2 0.4% of males	497
Female	47 20.5% of females	117 51.1% of females	65 28.4% of females	0	229
Third Sex	0	1 50% of third sex	1 50% of third sex	0	2
Total	98	265	363	2	728





Analysis of age of the children by sex indicated that most of the male children, i.e., 59.8 per cent were between 13 to 18 years of age, and most of the female children, i.e., 51.1 per cent were between 7 to 12 years of age.

Religion

Table 4.8: Religion

Religion	Number of children	Per cent
Hindu	429	58.9%
Muslim	223	30.6%
Christian	10	1.4%
Sikh	1	0.1%
Don't know	51	7%
Others	4	0.5%
No Response	10	1.4%
Total	728	

Most of the children, i.e., 58.9 per cent were Hindus, 30.6 per cent were Muslims, 1.4 per cent was Christians and 0.1 per cent was Sikhs. The remaining respondents were either not aware of their religion, were recorded as ‘Others’, or did not record their religion.

Caste

Table 4.9: Caste

Caste	Number of children	Per cent
OBC	83	11.4%
SC	87	12%
ST	33	4.5%
NT-DNT	35	4.8%
General	153	21%
Don't know	305	41.9%
No Response	32	4.4%
Total	728	

While most respondents (41.9 per cent) reported that they did not know about their caste, the possibility of respondents hesitant to share caste background cannot be ruled out. 11.4 per cent reported they were from OBCs, 12 per cent reported they were from the Scheduled Castes, 4.5 per cent reported they were from the Scheduled Tribes and around another 4.5 per cent reported they were NT-DNTs. About 21 per cent indicated they belonged to General Category.

Marital Status

Around 90.5 per cent of the children were not married, while the rest were currently married, widowed, divorced or separated, or were in live-in relationships. The remaining few (6.3 per cent) gave no response.



Table 4.10: Marital status

Marital status	Number of children	Per cent
Never married	659	90.5%
Currently married	17	2.3%
Widow/widower	2	0.3%
Divorced/separated	1	0.1%
Live-in relationship	3	0.4%
No Response	46	6.3%
Total	728	

Since the sample of male and female children has been disproportionate, the percentage of children belonging to categories of marital status and age have been computed in the ratio to total number of children within each sex, and not in ratio to total sample size.

Table 4.11: Marital status by sex and age distribution

Sex	Age (years)	Marital Status Number of children						
		Never Married	Currently Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	Live in relationships	Not recorded	Total
Male	0 - 6	47 9.5%	3 0.6%	0	0	1 0.2%	0	51
	7 - 12	133 26.8%	0	0	0	0	14 2.8%	147
	13 - 18	275 55.3%	6 1.2%	1 0.2%	0	1 0.2%	14 2.8%	297
	Not recorded	0	0	1 0.2	0	0	1 0.2	2
Total (Males)		455 91.5%	9 1.8%	2 0.4%	0	2 0.4%	29 5.8%	497
		2.2% males were currently married, widowed or divorced/separated						
Female	0 - 6	38 16.6%	5 2.2%	0	1 0.4%	0	3 1.3%	47
	7 - 12	104 45.4%	0	0	0	0	13 5.7%	117
	13 - 18	60 26.2%	3 1.3%	0	0	1 0.4%	1 0.4 %	65
Total (Females)		202 88.2%	8 3.5%	0	1 0.4%	1 0.4 %	17 7.4%	229
3.9% females were currently married, widowed or divorced/separated								
Third Sex	0 - 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	7 - 12	1 50%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	13 - 18	1 50%	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total (Third Sex)		2 100%	0	0	0	0	0	2



Statistics indicate that 2.2 per cent of male children were reported to be married, widowed or divorced (at the time of data collection), 3.9 per cent of female children reported the same.

Among children who reported being married, the maximum estimate of 2.2 per cent was reported among girl children up to 6 years of age. An equal estimate of 0.4 per cent of male and female children was engaged in live-in relationships. However, it is difficult to ascertain and explain the prevalence of marriage or live-in relationships among children up to 6 years. Therefore, these statistics need to be interpreted with caution. Given that data was collected under several constraints, such as pressure from the environment, lack of time given by respondents, and unstable location of interview; responses may have instead reflected marital status of respondent and not that of the child<sup>12</sup>. Or, errors in enumeration may account for these statistics.

## 2. Family Background and Life

Attempts were made to explore reasons for reaching the streets, and the children’s knowledge and contact with family.

### Reasons for being on the street

Some children stated more than one reason for being on the street, and the statistics in this section do not indicate a head count.

Table 4.12: Reasons for reaching the street

Reason for reaching the street	Number of children	Per cent
Ran away from home	56	7.7%
Parents sent me away	80	11%
In search of jobs/income/to pursue my dream	115	15.8%
Came with family	318	43.7%
Lost contact with family during travel/visit	3	0.4%
Lost family during calamity	3	0.4%
Kidnapped	1	0.1%
Abuse/violence at home	18	2.5%
Poverty/hunger	97	13.3%
Just landed here	3	0.4%
Others	8	1.1%
No Response	26	3.6%
Total	728	

Around 43.7 per cent had reached the streets along with their family members. They may have been born and brought up in Mumbai or may have traveled to Mumbai with family.

A total of 50.8 per cent children indicated that they reached the streets due to lack of opportunities at home or disturbed home conditions and relationship: Around 15.8 per cent children reached the streets while in search of jobs, income, or to pursue their dreams. Whether these children were accompanied by family or not was not clearly indicated by the data. However, if corroborated with statistics of street

12. Where children were less than 6 years of age, information was provided by other respondents.



living children, it may be inferred that these children were distanced from family. Around 7.7 per cent of the children indicated that they had run away from home and 11 per cent indicated that their parents had sent them away from home. The reasons for running away and being sent away from home were not indicated. Abuse and violence at home accounted for 2.5 per cent of children reaching the street. Poverty and hunger was cited as a reason for reaching the street by 13.3 per cent children. Whether the child was accompanied with family or not was not indicated.

Children reporting separation from family due to calamity, or during travel and visits accounted for 0.4 per cent each. Another 0.4 per cent children reported that they had ‘just landed here’ and 0.1 per cent children reported that they were kidnapped.

About 1 per cent of the children reported other reasons, such as being displaced from home by BMC and due to slum demolition, for playing, getting lost, separation from parents (with no specific reason given) and to play with friends. In 3.6 per cent of interviews, no response could be elicited. This could be due to childrens’ discomfort or their inability to express or remember reasons for being on the street.

**Knowledge about family**

Due to ambiguous reporting by children and/or situations that constrained researchers from clarifying ambiguities, statistics in this section indicate a discrepancy of around 3.5 per cent.

**Table 4.13: Knowledge about family's whereabouts**

Knowledge of family	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	678*	93.1%
No	41	5.6%
Don't know	8	1.1%
No Response	1	0.1%
Total	728	

\*Discrepancy in statistics

A large majority of children (93.1 per cent) reported that they were aware of their families’ whereabouts. Out of these, families of 65.25 per cent children were in Mumbai and 61.5 per cent of the children resided with families. However, Table 4.14 reveals that 96.8 per cent of children were able to state if families were in Mumbai or outside Mumbai. This may also be because they may know about location of family in Mumbai or outside, but may not know exact whereabouts of the family.

**Table 4.14: Gender distribution of knowledge about families**

	Not Applicable	In Mumbai	Outside Mumbai	No Response	Total
Male	13 2.6%	274 55.1%	203 40.8%	7 1.4%	497
Female	2 0.9%	200 87.3%	26 11.4%	1 0.4%	229
Third Sex	0	1 50%	1 50%	0	2
Total	15 2.1%	475 65.2%	230 31.6%	8 1.1%	728

About 65.2 per cent of total number of children reported that their families were residing in Mumbai and 31.6 per cent children reported that their families were residing outside Mumbai. When this data of knowledge about families was analysed by sex, it was observed that 55.1 per cent of male children



reported that their families resided in Mumbai, against an increased proportion of 87.3 per cent female children who reported the same. Reduced percentages of 40.8 per cent and 11.4 per cent of male and female children respectively, who reported that families were outside Mumbai, may be a reflection of increased number of children living with street families. It may also indicate that female children, with families outside Mumbai, were not accessible or visible to the researchers.

Also, 2.1 per cent of total responses were recorded as not applicable. This could be on account of children’s discomfort at providing response, perhaps as they had run away from home or for other reasons.

**Table 4.15: Residence of families in Mumbai**

Nature of residence of families in Mumbai	Number of children
Not applicable	184 25.3%
Slums	185 25.4%
Road side	188 25.8%
Open spaces	50 6.9%
Rented room/house	76 10.4%
Others	13 1.8%
No Response	32 4.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>728</b>

While Table 4.14 indicates that around 65.2 per cent of families reside in Mumbai, when asked about nature of residence of families, data in Table 4.15 indicated that 74.7 per cent of the families of children resided in Mumbai in slums, road sides, rented places, open spaces, employer’s premises, and own residences. This discrepancy in data could be indicative of researcher’s limitations in recording data. It could also indicate that children gave several responses due to mobility and shifting residence.

One family indicated that their residence depended on income. When there was income, they lived on rent. Otherwise, they resided on the street. Another family continued building back their house even after the BMC had demolished it twice, as they could not shift anywhere else.

Among children not living with families, it was found that 30 per cent males and 11.87 per cent females visited families.

Families were visited during holidays, festivals and marriages, during illnesses of relatives, for contributing money to family, for periodic visits, for rest, after completion of work, whenever called by parents, because place of stay was close to family residence, because of moods of children, and other reasons.

About 52.3 per cent of male children and 81.7 per cent of female children lived with families. However, while statistics indicate a larger proportion of female children residing with families, the possibility of female children living away from families, not being approachable and visible to researchers, may also be considered.





Table 4.16: Children’s contact with family if not staying with family

	NA	Staying	Not staying with family but contact with family	Not staying with family and no contact with family	Not staying with family but not specified if contact with family	No response with family	Others	Total
Male	15 3%	260 52.3%	149 30%	43 8.7%	15 3%	29 5.8%	1 0.2%	497
Female	6 2.6%	187 81.7%	27 11.8%	6 2.6%	6 2.6%	3 1.3%	0	229
Third sex	0	1 50%	0	1 50%	0	0	0	2
Total	21 2.9%	448 61.5%	176 24.2%	50 6.9%	21 2.9%	32 4.4%	1 0.1%	728

It may be noted that 6.9 per cent of children had no contact with family and another 2.9 per cent stated they were not staying with family, but did not indicate if they were in contact with family. The rest of the children did not respond to questions about contact with family.

### 3. Occupation, Income and Expenditure

#### Main activity

When asked to state the main activity they were engaged in, 68.6 per cent children indicated that they were occupied with a wide range of activities. While selling items on the road and begging were more frequently cited at 18.7 per cent and 13.3 per cent respectively, other occupations included working in roadside stalls or repair shops, rag picking, working in hotels or tea stalls or juice centres, cleaning cars and two wheelers, doing whatever work was available, and working in manufacturing units. Children also listed *chindi* (rag picking specially for torn fabric) work, work at construction sites, *band bajana* (playing the music band), basket making, catering, driving, trading utensils for clothes, household help, plumbing, loading, ironing, shoe polish, security guard, tailoring, selling self-made pots, selling scrap, sex trade and theft.

Table 4.17: Income generating activities

Main activity engaged in	Number of children	Per cent
Begging	97	13.3%
Rag picking	62	8.5%
Selling flowers, newspapers, magazines, books, fruits and other items on the road	136	18.7%
Cleaning cars and two wheelers	17	2.3%
Working in roadside stalls or repair shops	65	8.9%
Working in small hotel or tea stall	58	7.9%
Doing whatever available	16	2.2%
Working with manufacturing units	12	1.6%
Others	38	5.2%
Not working/occupied	205	28.2%
No Response	22	3%
Total	728	



### Working hours

**Table 4.18: Hours of engagement during the week preceding data collection**  
*Hours of engagement in main activity*

Sex	Not applicable	1–20	21–40	41–60	61–80	81–100	101–120	Over 121 hours	No Response	Total
Male	100	355	7	14	3	5	1	1	11	497
Female	112	100	2	3	1	0	0	0	11	229
Third Sex	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	213	456	9	17	4	5	1	1	22	728

The data indicated that most of the male and female children engaged in 1 to 20 hours a week in the main activity they cited. While the schedule of work during the day has not been recorded, one researcher noted, ‘...child wakes up at 4 am to work!’

### Income

**Table 4.19: Earning an Income**

Income	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	507	69.6 %
No	196	26.9%
No Response	25	3.4%
Total	728	

It was noted that around 69.6 per cent of children reported receiving an income, while 26.9 per cent of children did not receive an income. Occupation may have been exchanged for food, shelter and other basic sustenance.

Notes from the field expressed a feeling of being cheated, alone and helplessness over not finding glamorous and good jobs in Mumbai. The struggle to earn a survival in Mumbai was also indicated by parents and children. Some responses:

- If father does not sell balloons, children go hungry.*
- If father does not find work (as loader), we sleep hungry. Many times, we sleep hungry.*
- I want to study, but cannot afford; I want the children to study.*
- I am a rag picker since 5 years of age.*
- Father is jobless and alcoholic, so we beg and give the money to mother.*

Out of the children who reported receiving an income, 38.5 per cent reported receiving up to Rs.1000/- during the week preceding data collection. The least reported earning was Rs.50/- during the week and most earned was less than Rs.600/- per week. A few children reported receiving food and shelter in addition to income. However, given the nature of occupation, it may be assumed that a larger number of children may have been compensated with food and shelter besides an income. About 22.5 per cent earned between Rs.1001/- to Rs.2000/-, and the frequency of children earning higher incomes declined subsequently.



**Table 4.20: Amount of income last week**

Amount (Rs.)	Number of children	Per cent
Up to 1000	280	38.5%
1001-2000	164	22.5%
2001-3000	18	2.4%
3001-4000	18	2.4%
4001-5000	5	0.7%
5001-6000	1	0.1%
Don't know	8	1.1%
No Response	33	4.5%
Not Applicable	201	27.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>728</b>	

## Expenditure

Trends in expenses indicated that maximum expenditure was on food, contribution to parents, and toilet and bath facilities. This was followed by expenditure towards tobacco, clothes and entertainment. Surprisingly, least expenses were reported towards whitener and drugs. With addictions being reported and observed among street children, it may be assumed that this reduced reporting was on account of resistance to reveal addictions associated with drugs and whitener. Since tobacco is a commonly accepted source of addiction, children were less reluctant to reveal it.

**Table 4.21: Expenditure (Rs.) during one week preceding data collection**

Expenses	Up to 100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2001-3000	3001-4000	4000-5000	Total number of children	
Food	179	15	35	32	15	19	4	–	–	–	47	346
Entertainment	94	14	1	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	15	127
Clothing	103	23	9	–	7	5	–	–	–	–	9	156
Shelter	42	8	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–		54
Health	102	12	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	118
Tobacco	132	5	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	158
Alcohol	16	6	2	–	2	1	1	–	–	–	2	30
Whitener	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16
Drugs	14	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	16
Supervisor/ leader	21	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	24
Parents/ guardians	126	3	11	11	21	51	3	2	2	1	18	249
Police and others	42	–	1	7	–	–	–	1	–	–	8	59
Toilet	247	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	33	281
Bath	151	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	32	184

\*Unequal distributions have been listed in order to capture the extent of expenses



Concern over increasing expenses were expressed by few respondents, leading them to suggest, ‘...education expenses and price of kerosene should reduce’.

Most expenses were reported to be up to Rs.100/- per week, including expenses towards basic subsistence of food, toilet and bath. This trend towards reduced expenses on food may be a cause for concern, requiring further investigation into the dietary patterns and level of nutrition accessible to children.

Table 4.22: Missing meals

Whether children missed meals	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	181	24.9%
No	541	74.3%
No Response	6	0.8%
Total	728	

Table 4.23: Reasons for missing meals

Reasons for missing meals	Number of children	Per cent
Dependent on others (family, employers, other) for food	8	4.3%
Illness or injury	5	2.7%
No money	135	72.2%
Skipping a meal, and instead spending on going for a movie, buying toys, or an item of liking	15	8%
Others	6	3.2%
No Response	18	9.6%
Total	187	

Having no money for food was the most cited reason for 72.2 per cent of children who missed meals, while dependence on others for food, illness and injury (probably indicating inability to earn or inability to eat), skipping meals and instead spending on watching a movie or buying a toy or a fancy item of one's liking or other non-specified reasons were reported.

## 4. Health and Sanitation

### Health

Incidence of illnesses reported in the last 6 months was 54.9 per cent. It was also found that 67.2 per cent of females, 49.1 per cent of males and 100 per cent of the third sex had reported incidence of illness.

Table 4.24: Reports of illness during last 6 months

Sex	Yes	No	Total
Male	244 49.1%	253 50.9%	497
Female	154 67.2%	75 32.8%	229
Third sex	2 100%	0	2
Total	400 54.9%	328 45/1%	728



Table 4.25: Treatment

Treatment options	Number of children	Per cent
NGO clinic	20	5%
Maternity and/or child welfare centre	1	0.3%
Tuberculosis clinic	8	2%
Govt. hospital	254	63.5%
Private nursing home/clinic	88	22%
Mobile services	1	0.3%
Health camp	3	0.8%
Didn't go anywhere, no treatment	21	5.2%
Others	4	1%
Total	400	

For treatment of illnesses, government hospitals were approached by 63.5 per cent of the children. Private homes and nursing homes were also approached by 22 per cent children. NGO run clinics, maternity and child welfare centres, tuberculosis clinics, mobile services, and medical camps were explored by children. Other options such as visiting hakims, using thread from mosque, getting medicines from pharmacies and traditional treatment was also reported. About 5.2 per cent of the children reported that they did not seek outside treatment.

Disabilities

Table 4.26: Incidence of disabilities

Incidence of disability	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	60	8.2%
No	654	89.8%
No Response	14	1.9%
Total	728	

Table 4.27: Nature of disability

Nature of disability	Number of children	Per cent
Hearing	7	11.7%
Speech	9	15%
Vision	14	23.3%
Walking	16	26.7%
Mental faculties	4	6.7%
Skin	2	3.3%
Multiple	7	11.7%
Not specified	1	1.7%
Total	60	





Disabilities in hearing, speech, vision, physical movement, skin and mental faculties were reported in 8.2 per cent of the children.

Out of children living with disabilities, 26.7 per cent had motor disabilities, 23.3 per cent had visual disabilities, 15 per cent had speech disabilities, 11.7 per cent had hearing and multiple disabilities each, 6.7 per cent had mental disabilities, and 2 per cent indicated disability that was skin related. Also, 1 per cent did not specify nature of disability.

Table 4.28: Source of disability

Source of disability	Number of children	Per cent
Birth	39	65%
Accident	11	18.3%
Abuse by employers/unknown people, goons	2	3.3%
Sickness	5	8.3%
No Response	3	5%
Total	60	

About 65 per cent of these children were born with disabilities, 18.3 per cent had acquired disabilities following accidents, and 3.3 per cent had acquired it as a result of abuse by agents, employers, goons, unknown people and as a result of illnesses. About 5 per cent did not respond to questions on sources of disability. Whether the disability was acquired before or after reaching the street has not been established. However, this data raises serious concern over the safety and security of children on the streets. While leaving scope for responses not given or recorded, the data does not indicate possession of disability certificates among children.

Sanitation

Table 4.29: Type of toilet used

Kind of toilet used	Number of children	Per cent
No toilet	54	7.4%
Public toilet	293	40.2%
Sulabh Sauchalay (paid)	365	50.1%
Mobile toilet	3	0.4%
Others (residences or establishments)	12	1.6%
No Response	1	0.1%
Total	728	

While 50.1 per cent of the children used paid toilets – a trend also indicated in expenditure patterns in Table 4.21 (the discrepancy in statistics of expenditure on toilet in Table 4.21 and Table 4.29 could be attributed to error in reporting and/or recording) – 40.2 per cent used public toilets, while the rest either did not use structured toilets, or they used mobile toilets, toilets in gardens, banks, hotels, lanes, open spaces, and places of work.

For drinking water, 76.2 per cent children used community taps or public wells; and the rest of the children either used hand pumps and community wells; or borrowed water from other homes, hotels, private pipelines, private taps, masjids and employers; or accessed water from public places like railway stations and toilets; or purchased water; or stole it.



Table 4.30: Sources of drinking water

Source of drinking water	Number of children	Per cent
Community/public well	555	76.23%
Hand pump	22	3%
Borrow water	64	8.8%
Public places like railway stations and toilets	14	1.9%
Buy water	54	7.4%
Steal water	3	0.4%
Have own tap in residence	5	0.7%
No Response	11	1.5%
Total	728	

5. Uncomfortable Experiences in the Street

Abuse

Table 4.31: Observations of abuse

Whether abuse was observed/heard	Number of children/participants	Per cent
Yes	321	44.1%
No	391	53.7%
No Response	16	2.2%
Total	728	

Children and respondents who responded on behalf of children were asked about their observations on the incidence of abuse. Data indicated that high percentage of abuse was evident, with 44.1 per cent reporting that they had seen or heard of somebody being abused.

Table 4.32: Forms of abuse

(The statistical count indicates trends in observations and does not intend to make corresponding analysis with Table 4.31. Percentages have not been computed in Table 4.32, as multiple responses on forms of abuse have been indicated.)

Sex	Physical abuse	Verbal Abuse	Other unspecified forms of abuse	Total observation
Male	123	192	24	339
Female	37	87	10	134
Male and Female	80			80
Third sex		1		1
Total	240	280	34	554

The nature of abuse observed included torture, beating, forced starving, and sexual abuse. Incidents of single and multiple forms of abuse were reported to have been observed. Abuse was listed under physical (including sexual), verbal and other unspecified form of abuse. Observations of verbal abuse were highest, followed by physical abuse and other unspecified forms of abuse. If the clandestine nature of physical and sexual abuse is assumed, it may be inferred that while the incidence of abuse may be higher, observations may not reflect incidence. One researcher suspected that the child being interviewed was being sexually abused (although, the child did not verbally indicate it) due to the child’s demeanor. Another child reported that due to lack of space, there were fights every night, which invited police attention. The police generally made them leave the area and they, then, had to sleep in the open and expose themselves to sexual acts.



Hence, while some of the threats perceived by children and observers have been presented in this section, it would be safe to assume that there may be several other unreported situations. Researchers have made occasional notes about suspecting that respondents were afraid to speak, or were under pressure from some outside source.

Children were mostly abused either by parents, guardians, other street children, relatives, police, travellers in cars, or several of these; or by others who have not been specified. Although not specifically mentioned, subsequent mental abuse may be assumed in view of the extent of reported abuse.

Children residing in the streets experienced intensive risks from multiple sources. The risks of police harassment, theft and to life were most frequently expressed. Risks of sexual abuse were also reported, though not as much as other risks. Children also reported other risks – of displacement by BMC, kidnapping, ghosts, other street people and children, and owners (presumably employers and owners of roadside shops). Notes from the field frequently indicated concern over being displaced by BMC and anxiety over the same. BMC taking away goods and having to bribe BMC was also indicated.

Table 4.33 and Table 4.34 present frequency of responses and not percentages as some children have given multiple or no responses.

Table 4.33: Perceived risks

Nature of risks	Number of children perceiving risk
Police harassment	272
Theft	260
Risk to life	113
Sexual abuse	71
Others	42

Table 4.34: Place of perceived threat

Place of perceived threat	Number of children perceiving threat
On sleeping places at night	219
On the road at night	164
On the road during day time	61
During one or more of the above	93
All the time and anytime	6

Threats were perceived higher at nights on the roads and especially in sleeping places. There was also threat perceived during day time, although with less frequency. There was a smaller group that experienced threat at all or any time in the day. A respondent was ‘worried about sexual harassment at stations at night’. One respondent further noted, ‘open spaces are used for abusing’. Another respondent desired to ‘live fearlessly in the city’. The researcher was sometimes requested to help, as one respondent said, ‘sometimes people who are drunk flash their knives at us, you do something’.

## 6. Education

Around 65.2 per cent of the children reported that they had attended school at some point, and 31.2 per cent reported they had never attended school. 3.2 per cent of children gave no response. Researchers recorded 0.4 per cent children as not applicable. This may indicate a percentage of children who were too young to qualify for school.



**Table 4.35: Ever attended school**

Whether ever attended school	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	475	65.2%
No	227	31.2%
No Response	23	3.2%
Not Applicable	3	0.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>728</b>	

**Table 4.36: Type of school ever attended**

Type of school ever attended	Number of children	Per cent
Government/municipal school	333	70.1%
Private school, girls school	28	5.9%
Informal school run by NGO	23	4.8%
Anganwadi	22	4.6%
Night school	17	3.6%
Madarsa	10	2.1%
Mobile school	9	1.9%
Informal education by neighbours	8	1.7%
Mobile crèche	4	0.8%
Boarding school	1	0.2%
No response	20	4.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>475</b>	

Data further indicated that among the children who reported ever attending school, most children had been to government or municipality run schools; few attended informal schools run by NGOs, and private schools. A few children attended mobile schools, crèches, informal education offered by neighbours, night schools, anganwadis, madarsas, and boarding schools.

**Table 4.37: Level of education**

Level of education	Number of children	Per cent
Attended pre school	19	4.1%
Attended up to Std V	134	28.8%
Attended up to Std VIII	84	18%
Attended few months	30	6.4%
Attended for 1-2 years	99	21.2%
Attending secondary class	16	3.4%
Attending informal school	8	1.7%
Attending formal school irregularly	12	2.6%
Attending formal school regularly	55	11.8%
Attending HSC in private college	1	0.2%
No response	8	1.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>466*</b>	

\*This variance in frequency, vis-à-vis, frequency of 475 children who ever attended school could be on account of error in recording or reporting.



About 28.8 per cent of the children had attended school up to Standard V and 21.2 per cent had attended school for 1 to 2 years. About 18 per cent had attended up to standard VIII. Notes from some respondents indicated that they had to play adult roles at a young age, following death of a parent. Dropping out of school was a consequence. One child was searching for more work as his sister had to be married and his father had died. Another was concerned about his mother’s health. Yet another was working in Mumbai as there was no means of earning in his native village. He had to live with distant relatives and work to send money home for his mother’s treatment and care.

**Table 4.38: Desire to attend school**  
Around 50.1 per cent of the total number of children showed an interest in attending school.

Whether there was desire to attend school	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	365	50.1%
No	300	41.2%
Not Recorded	63	8.7%
Total	728	

**Table 4.39: Type of education or skill training desired**

Type of education or skill desired	Number of children	Per cent
Not applicable.	302	41.5%
School education	101	13.9%
Skill training	109	15%
School education and skill training	141	19.4%
Open School	11	1.5%
No Response	64	8.8%
Total	728	

Children preferred either school education or skill training, or both, or open school. Most children preferred that such education or skill training be offered in the morning or before noon, lesser percentage preferred that they be scheduled after noon or in the evening. Still fewer preferred night classes and the rest of the children gave multiple responses.

The harshness of the street life, coupled with desire for a better life, appears to have led respondents to communicate their aspirations linked with better prospects in life and sometimes linked with desire to explore life in the city. Sometimes, it seemed like they expected the interviewer to do something about it.

Notes from the field indicating desires and aspirations:

*Desire to learn driving; to study further as I had to drop out as family had low income; to ‘live happily with others’; to be provided with basic needs and not ‘false promises’; to study mobile repairing course; to educate self, ‘if government helps’, and then live with friends on rent; to go to college and then do computer course; ‘study more’, pursue higher studies ‘if government helps’; want to become a doctor; become a doctor in order to earn money; to do ‘kaushalya training’; to learn mechanical work in a garage; wants to become an engineer; wants to become a police officer; to become a pilot. One respondent, who wished to pursue higher education, was concerned that there were no Urdu schools in Mumbai known to offer higher education.*





## 7. Support from Government and Entitlement Status

### Support

Table 4.40: Awareness about assistance for street children

Whether children were aware of assistance	Number of children	Number of children
Yes	153	21%
No	566	77.7%
No Response	9	1.2%
Total	728	

Table 4.41: If yes, who assisted?

Source of Assistance	Number of children
Government	31
NGO	87
Both Government and NGO	10
Others	25
No Response	6

Table 4.42: What assistance was provided?

Nature of assistance	Number of children
Money	8
Clothing	33
Medicines	14
Education or Training	16
Shelter	7
Several of the above	72
Others	1
No Response	2

Around 77.7 per cent of the children were not aware of scope for assistance. About 21 per cent of the children were aware of assistance available. Those who had received assistance cited mostly civil society agencies and the government, and rarely others like individual citizens, schools' representatives and teachers, and 'leader'. Table 4.41 (Sources of Assistance) has not been presented in percentages as children may have received support from more than one source. Assistance included money, clothes, medicines, education or training, others (which have not been specified), and several of the above.

### Documentation

Table 4.43: Possession of identification documents

Whether children possess identification document	Number of children	Per cent
Yes	388	53.3%
No	326	44.8%
No Response	14	2%
Total	728	



Table 4.44: Nature of documents possessed

Nature of documents possessed	Number of children
Education certificate	116
Copy of ration card	226
Government identity card/Aadhar card	65
Other unspecified	3

About 53.3 per cent of children possessed one or more forms of documentation such as education certificates, ration card, government recognized identity cards or Aadhar card, and other documents not specified. Out of 65.2 per cent of the children who had reported to ever attend some form of schooling (as indicated in Table 4.35), only 24.4 per cent reported having education certificates. This could be on account of high drop-out rate, loss of documents or children’s separation from family.

8. Mobility

Table 4.45: Mobility among children during month preceding data collection

Whether children had shifted location during last month	Number of respondents	Per cent
Not Applicable	11	1.5%
Once	38	5.2%
Twice	29	4%
Thrice	10	1.4%
More than thrice	44	6%
Never shifted	549	75.4%
No Response	47	6.5%
Total	728	

Respondents were asked about the extent to which they have shifted locations during the month preceding data collection, in order to ascertain level of mobility by children. About 75.4 per cent of the children had not reported shift from residence, perhaps reflecting children who were living with families on streets or slums. When asked if they were mobile during the last month, 16.6 per cent (121) children reported shifting location from one to more than three times. Researchers reported 1.5 per cent cases as being Not Applicable.

Table 4.46: Reasons for mobility

Reasons for mobility	Number of respondents	Per cent
For income/livelihood	52	43%
Demolition/displacement	28	23.1%
For safety & security	27	22.3%
Others	14	11.6%
Total	121	

Livelihood governed decisions to shift location for 43 per cent of children. In this table, the figures are not against total number of children interviewed (728), but 121 children, i.e., children that shifted place from once to more than thrice. These children reported that they shifted according to places where they sold items; because other people did not allow them to work in certain areas; because they got employment in another stall; for begging; for better income opportunities and change in work; or for shelter that was



associated with income. About 23.1 per cent of the children cited demolition and displacement by BMC and police as key reasons for mobility. Some specific responses included:

- Police does not allow us to sleep outside shops.*
- BMC chased us.*
- Jhopde todte hain (they break our huts)..., so we have to shift to another place.*

Safety and security governed the decision for 22.3 per cent of the children. This implied shifting because of fear of police and/or police harassment, firing by police, threat to life, threat from local persons, for food and shelter, and for protection from rain. Other reasons such as desire to live with friends, shifting along with family, quarrels, problems with neighbours and non specified reasons accounted for 11.6 per cent of children shifting locations.

Decisions to stay in a particular place were similarly governed by factors such as income; safety and security; desire to stay with family and friends; living conditions such as crowds; availability of food and shelter; 'good place'; weather conditions; and other reasons such as mood of child, a feeling of helplessness to stay in an area, a place the child 'likes' to stay.

Table 4.47: Future plans of stay

Future Plans of stay	Number of respondents	Per cent
Will stay in Mumbai	460	63.2%
Will go back home	48	6.6%
Depends on job	71	9.8%
Did not think	124	17%
Others	5	0.7%
No Response	20	2.7%
Total	728	

When the children were asked about their future plans of stay, 63.2 per cent respondents expressed a desire to continue to stay in Mumbai. About 6.6 per cent respondents said that they would return home, and 9.8 per cent respondents reported that employment would determine whether they would stay in Mumbai or not. About 17 per cent of the children had thought about it, and 0.7 per cent of the children cited other non specified plans.

### 9. Miscellaneous comments and suggestions

Upon observing difficult life for the child, researchers made suggestions like '*such children should be returned to family or rehabilitated in institutions*'. Another suggested, '*they should be allowed to come into the mainstream and this can only happen when policies are implemented*'. One of them observed, '*kids mostly play & eat by the garbage bin*'.

A respondent asserted, '*there should be maidan for children to play*'. There were few respondents who expressed content with street life: '*I am happy in city*', or, '*I want to live in different places like market place, railway station*'. And a few others who expressed discontent with street life and desire to return to native place due to tough life in Mumbai.

Expectations from government mostly, and civil society sometimes, were indicated for improving life and prospects – for education, training and housing – along with a view that existing government facilities



were not enough. Their current interaction with government appeared to be most frequently with BMC and police, and these were reported in negative experiences. Ironically, protective agencies for most of the city were viewed as antagonistic to groups of street people.

Helplessness seeped into some interviews:

*Can't leave work, father is no more.*

*I am abused by people every day.*

*I want a place to sleep.*

*My future is getting ruined, we need employment.*

And there were aspirations too:

*'I want to do something for my parents'.*

*'I want to be more than a chaiwalla'*



## Case studies

During the census, the enumerators came across children, in large numbers, who were living in extremely marginalised conditions, but did not fit the categories as per the definition used for the study. Moreover, the children who were found in other locations (not on the streets, but in street-like conditions in terms of their vulnerability) were significantly large in number and, therefore, it was not possible to enumerate these children, given limitations of time and budget. Thus, these children were not included in the census.

However, the research team felt that a glimpse of the living conditions of children living in such marginalised circumstances must be highlighted in the report. With this viewpoint, five case studies were selected. These include:

- (i) children living in de-notified slums
- (ii) children working in the dumping ground in M East Ward, Mumbai
- (iii) children living in adivasi padas, along the Sanjay Gandhi National Park in the Western suburbs
- (iv) children living in abandoned railway yards, and
- (v) children living alongside railway tracks

It must be noted that these children cannot be classified as street children. These case studies have been presented to make the readers aware that children living in metropolitan cities survive in difficult urban habitats. Moreover, these case studies have been highlighted to develop an understanding on the situation of children (coming from poor economic backgrounds). Therefore, one cannot draw generalisations on each of these case studies unless in-depth individual researches are undertaken on each of these categories.

### CASE STUDY I

#### Children living in de-notified slums

For this case study, two de-notified slums were identified in two different locations. The first of these slums includes the hutments located along the Reay Road Railway Station. The second de-notified slum is located in Ambujwadi in the Malad suburban area.





## De-notified slum on Reay Road

Just outside the Reay Road Railway Station, there are a total of around 165 small hutments on both sides of the road. Most of these hutments are divided into two parts; there are around 154 families currently residing in these slums. Each family on an average has two children and their number was counted as 270 at the time of the survey. However, the enumerators were of the opinion that many people in these hutments were suspicious about the purpose of the survey and did not reveal correct information. For example, an enumerator said that, as most of the children drop-out of school and start working after the age of twelve, the parents fear that the family might get into trouble with the law – accused of promoting child labour.

Overall, the family size was observed as significantly large and the people expressed that, due to small size of the huts, most of the male children sleep outside the house on the pavements at night. Being classified as families living in de-notified slums, basic facilities such as water, electricity and sanitation are not provided to them by the civic authorities. However, many of them purchase water and electricity through illegal means which are expensive and inadequate.

As far as education levels of children are concerned, most are educated till the primary level from municipal schools. But, the school drop-out rate is extremely high. Boys usually drop-out after the age of twelve and take up meagre jobs to add to the family's income. The gender roles are well defined in the families as girls are not allowed to work and they perform the household chores.

In general, the enumerators observed that the health conditions are not very encouraging, but at the same time there were no cases of major illness located among children. The most prominent of the diseases prevalent among children is cough and fever. People said that the major reason for this is the breeding of mosquitoes in the neighbourhood as all the garbage and waste is dumped outside at the tail end of the hutments. Addiction to tobacco and alcohol is common among children especially boys.

## Ambujwadi, Malad West

Unlike the Reay Road de-notified slum, Ambujwadi is located in a more gated surrounding. There were around 120 hutments in the slum and most of them were built either using plastic or tin sheets. The families residing in the hutments were predominantly Muslim migrants from Uttar Pradesh. Basic facilities such as water, electricity and sanitation are not in place. A few households do have electricity connections, but they have been acquired through illegal means at heavy costs. The drinking water is bought by the residents at high rates and for other purposes too they need to buy water (at lesser cost as compared to the drinking water). As for employment, majority of the men work in the unorganised sector as construction workers and drivers. The women usually work as domestic maids or prepare small accessories for sale.

The enumerators counted 304 children in all, out of which nearly 50 per cent were boys. Nearly 40 per cent of the children fell in the age group of 7–12 years of age. Approximately 30 per cent were in the age group of 0–6 years and the rest were between 13–18 years of age. As far as education level of these children is concerned, most of them were educated up to the secondary grade, i.e., till class VIII. Most of the children, especially boys, drop-out of school after completing secondary education and start working in the unorganised sector to support the family's poor income.

Children usually face health illness such as fever and cough, but no major health problems were observed by the enumerators. The addiction to tobacco, alcohol and other substances was also low among children in Ambujwadi.



## CASE STUDY II

### Children working in the dumping ground

M-East Ward in Mumbai is a unique Ward in the city as majority of the area covered under the Ward is comprised of slums. It is considered as socially and economically one of the poorest Wards in Mumbai. The situation of children in areas such as Rafiq Nagar, Indira Nagar, Nirankari Nagar, Baba Nagar, and Adarsh Nagar in the Ward is poor with low educational status and denigrating health conditions. More than 50 per cent of the children in these areas are educated only up to primary level of education. In addition to this, M-East Ward houses the biggest dumping ground in Asia where waste from different corners of Mumbai is dumped. Moreover, many families are economically dependent upon activities which are directly related to dumping ground. Not surprisingly, many children here are found to be employed as rag-pickers. Also, many children are involved in sorting out waste at the dumping ground itself. A research team went to the dumping ground to observe the working conditions of these children and prepared the following report:

Burgeoning population growth, increasing rural to urban migration and growth of ugly slums in urban areas are further aggravating dehumanization of children. At the young age of 5, they stay in obnoxious smell and piles of filth in garbage dump. For a few children, it is a play ground and for many a source of livelihood. According to the NGO Chintan, rag-pickers are unrecognized and have almost no rights to work, despite the fact that they save almost 14% of the municipal budget annually.

Today, the city generates 6500 metric tonnes of garbage per day. Out of this, nearly 4500–5200 metric tonnes are dumped daily at this 85 year old ground with the help of 900 to 1000 trips by 200–300 private vehicles as well as MCGM vehicles. The 65 hectares vast Deonar Dumping Ground was set up in the year 1927 at the city's edge. Its three sides are surrounded by the creek and one side by the slums of M-East Ward (Nirankari Nagar, Rafiq Nagar and Baba Nagar). The boundary wall separating the landfill from the neighbouring slum is currently under construction; so as to control the regular influx of child rag-pickers from the slum. 75 per cent residents of Nirankari Nagar generate their income from the dumping ground.

In 2001, waste-picking was included among hazardous occupations, which are banned under the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, but apart from this very brief mention, rag-picking is ignored in legislations regarding child labour. Many child rag-pickers are between the age group of 8–10 years. Most of them do not attend school due to various reasons – from lack of interest to family responsibilities. There are two categories of children in rag-picking; one is street rag picking and the other is dump rag-picking. Children from street rag-pickers category are highly mobile and it is difficult to get access to them. In most cases, these children work for a middleman who takes the major share of the sales and pays them a fixed rate.

On the other hand, dump rag-pickers are those who often live with their families, in a relatively more stable environment. They usually work with their parents in or around the dumping ground. Children rummage through the heaps of mixed waste to find something valuable, like PET, hard plastic, soft plastic, cardboard, metal, glass, etc. On an average a child earns approximately Rs 150–200 per day. Street pickers usually spend their money on the same day as they do not have a source to keep their money safe; or else it gets stolen or snatched away by some other children.

The child rag-pickers develop health problems due to the hazardous working conditions. Moreover, they are constantly exposed to sexual abuse and physical assaults. This is true of both the genders and often the atrocities on these children are unreported. They work long hours in soaring temperatures. The ground releases toxic gases such as methane, hydrogen sulphide, and methyl mercaptans. This aggravates health issues like respiratory problems, diarrhoea, jaundice, anaemia, and skin infections. Off-loading garbage trucks or the high-speeding vehicles have also resulted in loss of lives.



As far as education is concerned, 60 per cent of the children in M-East Ward are working and are school drop-outs. Some child rag-pickers go to school, and work during the off-school hours and during holidays. Contrary to most child labourers, rag-pickers are either self-employed or are working with their parents, therefore they are not answerable to any employer. In the M-East Ward of Mumbai, there are 15 municipal schools but the number of out-of-school children is very high. Most of the children drop-out of school at the average age of 12–13 years.

According to a study conducted by Pratham, an NGO, in July 2008, there are approximately 1300 children living in and around the dumping ground today on a regular basis. All of them are living with their families and have either migrated or been displaced from other parts of Mumbai. About 636 children are working as rag-pickers, of which, half go to school. Majority of the children earn up to Rs 100 a day while a few make as much as Rs 800 a day.

To conclude, children in rag-picking are a major concern in M-East Ward and NGOs working in the area have made efforts to create awareness among the rag-pickers to ensure that children attend school, but still due to economic compulsions many are on the dumping ground.

### CASE STUDY III

#### Children living in *Adivasi Padas*

The *Adivasi Padas* are located in Goregaon suburban area in Mumbai. Although, Goregaon is a well-developed area in Mumbai, a visit to these Padas gives a different picture of Mumbai. These Padas, although officially located in Mumbai, it seems, have been ignored as the people here seem to be living in a kind of a 'modern stone age'. Most of the people living in these Padas belong to a tribal community called *Warlis*. They are, originally, residents of Dahanu (a district north of Mumbai), but in search of work, migrated to Mumbai and settled in Goregaon in Mumbai. Besides Warlis, these Padas also include a few South Indian and Muslim families.

The *Adivasi Padas* are located near the Sanjay Gandhi National Park. Thus, the location of these Padas is amidst a forest area. No transportation facilities are available to reach these Padas and one has to walk for at least one hour to reach the nearest bus station in Goregaon. This also highlights the geographical remoteness and inaccessibility of this area in a city like Mumbai. Consequently, access to basic survival needs such as water and electricity is not very encouraging. People need to travel long distances to fetch water and there is no access to electricity. The problem of hygienic and safe sanitation facilities is a grave problem. As there are no toilets, people go to the forests for defecation which increases their chances of predation, due to attacks by leopards, as the area forms the buffer zone for the Sanjay Gandhi National Park, which has a good population of leopards who tend to move close to these Padas since they can catch easy prey like pets and stray dogs. Attacks on human beings are not with the intention to catch it as a prey, since human bodies are dragged somewhere in the forest, and later found intact. Nights are especially dangerous for sanitation purposes.

Also, the houses in which these people reside are temporary arrangements made out of plastic sheets and tin sheds. The health services are equally denigrated. There is no dispensary in any of the Padas. They have to depend on Santosh Nagar or other areas of Goregaon for medical services. There is a general trend of visiting a *Bhagat* (traditional medicine man) for medical help. If he is unable to cure, only then a doctor's help is sought, for which they have to go to Goregaon. Some doctors organise a camp during some time of the year through some charitable efforts, during which these people seek medical help.

As far as the occupation of people is concerned, they are mostly daily wage labourers who work in the nearby suburbs of Jogeshwari and Goregaon. The women work as domestic maids in houses in these



suburbs. Owing to such marginalised conditions, the education of children from these families suffers and there are high rates of school drop-outs.

## **CASE STUDY IV**

### **Children living in abandoned railway yards**

While conducting the enumeration of street children, a few enumerators came to know that there are families that, temporarily for eight to nine months every year, reside in the abandoned railway yards near Dockyard Road. One such yard was found near the railway commissioner's office on Dockyard Road. The children residing in these yards, although in marginalised conditions, could not be included in the enumeration as they were living under some kind of a shelter in a gated surrounding. However, the living conditions of these children were found to be extremely dehumanising to say the least. The houses were built from bamboo sticks and plastic sheets. There was no supply of water and electricity in these houses. The nature of employment of the people living in these yards was temporary and unorganised. The men were employed by contractors to do the repair work of the railway tracks and the women were involved in activities such as cleaning fish near the docks. The sight of these families clearly revealed the extremely poor conditions in which they were surviving.

As far as the children were concerned, nearly 74 per cent, out of the total of 506 children, were below twelve years of age. The education levels of the children were extremely depressing as nearly 70 per cent of them had never attended school. Nearly 10 per cent of these children (above twelve years of age) were involved in work, such as selling flowers on the roadside, working in roadside stalls and working as rag-pickers. Although, most of the children were not working, they were not involved in any constructive activity throughout the day for their future growth and development.

Moreover, the health conditions of these children were extremely poor. The enumerators observed that more than 50 per cent of the children were suffering from fever and cough. To add to this, nearly 17 per cent of the children were suffering from skin infections, or had bruises and wounds on their bodies. The elder children (14–18 years of age) were found to be addicted to tobacco and inhalants. The appalling conditions of these children were very similar to children from street families, with the only difference that they were living in some kind of a gated surrounding and, therefore, could not be enumerated as street children.

## **CASE STUDY V**

### **Children living alongside railway tracks**

The city of Mumbai has three railway lines, namely, Central, Harbour and Western. Alongside the railway tracks on each of these lines, there are families living in hutments mostly made from plastic sheets. There are over thousand houses (counted by enumerators) only on the Western line which starts from Churchgate Station and ends at Dahisar Station both on the Western and Eastern side. However, as these houses are not on the streets or pavements, children from the families residing in these houses could not be enumerated as street children. But, the observations of the enumerators highlighted that these children are living in similar conditions. Therefore, it was decided to include this as a case study. Since this was a case study, only one section on one of the railway lines was selected and living and working conditions of people, especially children, were observed for the case study. The research team selected this patch on the Western line from Kandivali to Dahisar station. Following are the observations of the research team:



- People continuously face threats of demolition of their houses from the municipal authorities.
- People from different castes and communities stay here; and some women work as domestic help in nearby buildings. Their husbands work as construction labourers or take up any job available, such as driving.
- They do not have a toilet facility; they defecate along the railway tracks at night.
- They have to buy water and electricity connection at the rate of Rs.200/- per month.
- They face lots of problems during monsoons, as when they use umbrellas there are chances of catching electrical current. Three months back a lady died after her umbrella caught electrical current.
- Since their houses are adjacent to the railway tracks, they have to keep close watch on children to avoid deaths due to accidents.
- Majority of the children here have health problems. All children appeared unclean. The adults and children were seen walking barefoot amidst garbage and dirt.
- A few *balwadis* (pre-school centres) banners were seen, though the balwadis have not started.
- Many children are addicted to inhalants.



A photograph of a young child, possibly a girl, standing on a paved road. She is carrying a baby in a cloth sling on her back. She is looking towards the camera. In the background, there are cars and a motorcycle on the road.

# Major Findings & Recommendations

## SECTION I

### Summary of findings from the census

#### 1. Total Number of children across Wards

A total of 36154 children were found across the 24 Wards during the time of the enumeration, out of which the maximum number, 7.75 per cent (2802) children, were found in S-Ward followed by D-Ward with 6.39 per cent (2312) children, G-North with 6.37 per cent (2304), L-Ward with 6.28 per cent (2272) children, and F-North with 5.62 per cent (2035) children.

The least number of children were found in R-South with 2.58 per cent (936) children, K-East Ward with 2.53 per cent (916) children, A-Ward with 2.49 per cent (902) children, C-Ward with 1.94 per cent (700) children, and G-South with 1.75 per cent (632) children.

However, in terms of density, the least number of children (i.e., a ratio of below 100 per sq. km) were found in P-North with 1:76 children, A-Ward with 1:72 children, K-West with 1:71 children, M-West with 1:67 children, R-East with 1:64 children, G-South with 1:63 children, M-East with 1:56 children, R-South with 1:53 children, P-South with 1:47 children, S-Ward with 1:44 children, K-East with 1:39 children, T-Ward with 1:32 children, N-Ward with 1:30 children, and R-Central East with 1:29 children.

If one looks at the political economy of these Wards, it emerges that larger populations of street children were found in commercial areas with a bustling and robust informal economy – market places, railway terminals, bus depots, construction sites, places of worship etc. Areas with smaller percentages of street childrens' population included largely the middle and upper class residential areas, where there was little scope for commercial activity, or those areas that had a high degree of securitization or police surveillance.

#### 2. Children found in the railway lines

A total of 905 children were found in the platforms and trains in the three railway lines which forms the heart of the suburban railway network of Mumbai city. About 2.50 per cent of children were found in railway lines, either at the platforms or in trains. During the time when the census took place, 1.06 per cent (385) children were found on the Western Railway line, 0.99 per cent (357) children were found on the Central Railway line while 0.45 per cent (163) children were found on the Harbour Railway line. An



analysis of the 905 children found on the railway platforms suggests that 75 per cent of these children fell under the category of children from street families, 20 per cent under the street working children, while just 4 per cent of the children living on the streets worked on the railway platforms.

### **3. Category of children**

The data showed that almost 65 per cent (24120) of the children lived with their families on the street. Out of this, 61 per cent were boys and 38 per cent were girls. Street working children were the second largest group at 24.44 per cent (9058). Here, almost 88 per cent of the children were boys and just 12 per cent were girls. This was followed by street living children at 8.02 per cent (2973), out of which 82 per cent were boys and 18% were girls.

### **4. Age of the children**

The highest number of the children was in the age group of 16-18 years, i.e., 20.80 per cent, followed by 18.80 per cent in the age group 13-15 years, and 17.80 per cent in the 10-12 years bracket.

It may be noted that the number of boys kept increasing while the number of girls kept decreasing as the age of respondents increased, across the various age groups. One of the reasons for same could be that the girls are married off young, given that the environment that they live in is not safe, or may have been trafficked, or pushed into exploitative relationships.

### **5. Educational profile of the children**

The data showed that almost 24 per cent of children were illiterate. The educational status of girls was much below that of boys. About 14.80 per cent (5475) children were in the age group of 4 yrs to 6 yrs, who should ideally have been in the Balwadi category. The data, however, showed that only 1724 children went to a Balwadi. This implies that only 31 per cent of the children who fell within the age group of 4- 6 years went to a Balwadi. Only 22 per cent of the children had studied up to class III, and 20 per cent up to class VIII.

### **6. Occupational profile of the children**

About 11.50 per cent of children were found to be selling flowers, newspapers, fruits and other items on the road; followed by 9 per cent who were working in eateries; and 7.9 per cent were found begging. About 5.5 per cent were into rag picking; 2.5 per cent into construction work; and another 2.5 per cent did whatever work was available.

Most children said that they did not work; and about 92 per cent of these children were in the age group of 0-15 years. One of the reasons for the same could be that the children were living with families and genuinely not working. Another reason for the same could be that children or their parents must have felt threatened to reveal that they were working, given the awareness or the fear about child labour being illegal.

### **7. Location**

About 51.37 per cent children were found on the street, 13.33 per cent were found living in hutments, 10.25 per cent at construction sites, and 12.70 per cent in market places. Only 0.53 per cent of children were found in drop-in centres. One reason for this low number could be that these children are slightly older, 10 years and above, and may have stepped out to earn a living during the time of the enumeration.



## **8. Place of Stay**

Almost 37 per cent of children reported living in hutments, while around 20 per cent of children stated that they lived on the streets. Around 18 per cent of the respondents stated that they lived in the slums. Least number of children resided in tourist areas. One reason for this could be that many of these areas are now under police surveillance, as part of promoting tourism.

## **9. Health**

Only 1.46 per cent were observed or stated that they suffered from multiple health issues. However, one must be cautious while interpreting this data, as no medical examination of these children was conducted. These findings are based purely on observations and the ability of the enumerators to get information pertaining to the health status of the children.

## **10. Disability**

About 2.55 per cent (945 children) were found to have some kind of disability.

## **11. Addiction**

Around 15 per cent of children were visibly into addiction. Their addiction was not limited to drugs alone, but involved addictions like whitener, tobacco, polish and such substances.

## **12. Co-relation between education and nature of work**

The data shows that majority of the children who were illiterate were engaged in a range of occupations/ work on a full-time basis. Children who went to school were reported selling flowers, newspapers, etc. on a part-time basis. The reason for the same was that selling newspapers, flowers did not demand a full day of work. Children could engage in the same at any part of the day based on their school timing.

## **13. Co-relation between age and place of stay**

Majority of the children lived in hutments with their families, followed by those living on the streets. The next largest group of children lived under bridges/flyovers, sea shores/beaches and railway stations. The least inhabited spots were the tourist places, probably due to the increased security surveillance of these spots, post the Mumbai terror attacks. There was no specific trend that could be observed between age and place of stay.

## **14. Co-relation across various categories of children**

It was found that maximum number of street living children lived on the streets, market places, under flyovers, etc. Street working children lived either with their families in hutments or mostly near their work places, e.g., construction sites and market places. Children from street families lived in hutments. Almost 31 per cent of children who were found on railway platforms lived on the railway platforms itself.

## **15. Co-relation between disability and nature of occupation**

Children with locomotors disability engaged in various kinds of work compared to those who had other kinds of challenges. Majority of the children with disabilities engaged in begging.

## **16. Co-relation between age and nature of work**

It was found that the younger children engaged more in begging and their numbers kept decreasing with increase in age. On the other hand, the number of children engaged in rag picking, selling flowers, cleaning, working in shops or restaurants kept increasing with increasing age. An analysis of the data



of children found on railway platforms reveal that almost 50 per cent of them were engaged in either begging or selling things on trains or railway platforms. The maximum number of these children was in the age group of 4 to 12 years.

## **SECTION I**

### **Summary of findings from the survey**

#### **1. Demographic profile**

Around 50 per cent of children were between 13 to 18 years of age, a lesser percentage comprised of children between 7 to 12 years of age, followed by those up to 6 years. Most males were between 13 to 18 years while most females were between 7 to 11 years.

Since a large percentage (41.9 per cent) of children did not know what caste they belonged to, no significant inferences could be drawn. However, data indicated presence of children from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, NT-DNTs and the General Category.

Over 90 per cent children were not married, while few were married, widowed, divorced or separated, or were living with partners.

#### **2. Categories of children**

About 37.6 per cent children were street living children, 17.5 per cent were street working children, and 44.9 per cent were children who lived on the street with their families. The second and third categories may or may not be living with their families.

#### **3. Contact with family**

Majority of the children, i.e., 61.5 per cent of the children, resided with their families and 88.5 per cent were aware of their origin state, regardless of whether they lived with families. A majority, i.e., 93.1 per cent children reported that they were aware of their families' whereabouts; 65.2 per cent children reported that their families were residing in Mumbai; and 31.6 per cent children reported that families were residing outside Mumbai. Among female children, the number of children whose families were not in Mumbai was lesser, indicating that a lesser percentage of female children lived without their families in the city. It could also be possible that female children living alone in the city were in places not accessible to the researchers.

Families residing in Mumbai mostly resided on roadsides and slums, and others resided in open spaces, rental rooms, employer's premises, under bridges, near railway tracks, eateries, and own residences. Children not living with families, but in contact with them, reported to visit them during holidays, festivals and marriages, during illnesses of relatives, for contributing money to family, for periodic visits, for rest, after completion of work, whenever called by parents, because place of stay was close to family residence, depending on their mood, and other reasons.

#### **4. Reasons for reaching the streets**

About 43.7 per cent children had reached the streets being born and brought up in Mumbai or had reached the streets along with their families, while 50.8 per cent children reached the streets due to lack of opportunities at home or disturbed home conditions and relationships. The remaining children were on the streets as they were separated from their families, had just 'landed' on the streets, were displaced by the BMC, got lost, were kidnapped etc.





## 5. Occupation, Income and Expenditure

A large majority, i.e., 71.8 per cent of the children, were engaged in some economic activity. Selling items on the road and begging were the most frequently reported activity. Other occupations included working in roadside stalls or repair shops, rag picking, working in eateries or tea stalls or juice centres, cleaning cars and two wheelers, doing whatever work was available, working in manufacturing units, chindi work, work at construction sites, band bajana, basket making, catering, driving, trading utensils for clothes, household help, plumbing, loading, ironing, shoe polish, security guard, tailoring, selling self-made pots, selling scrap, sex trade and theft.

Most children were engaged in such activities up to 20 hours per week. Almost 70 per cent of the total number of children reported receiving an income for their work. About 38.5 per cent children earned up to Rs.1000/- per week.

Expenses were reported to be mostly on food, contribution to parents, and toilet and bath facilities. This was followed by expenditure towards tobacco, clothes, entertainment and drugs. A significantly high (25 per cent) number of children reported missing meals due to lack of money, dependence on others for food, illness and injury, lifestyle and other reasons.

## 6. Health and sanitation

Nearly 55 per cent children reported falling ill during the six months that preceded data collection. Among female children, a significantly higher percentage of children fell ill.

Government hospitals were more frequently approached for treatment. Other options for treatment included private homes and nursing homes, NGO-run clinics, maternity and child welfare centres, tuberculosis clinics, mobile services, medical camps, hakims, mosques, direct medication from pharmacy shops and traditional treatment. About 2.9 per cent of the children reported that they did not seek any treatment.

About half the children used paid toilets and 40.2 per cent used public toilets. The rest did not use structured toilets, or they used mobile toilets, toilets in gardens, banks, hotels, lanes, open spaces, and places of work. For drinking water, 72.1 per cent children used community taps or public wells. The rest used hand pumps and community wells; borrowed water from other homes, hotels, private pipelines, private taps, masjids and employers; accessed water from public places like railway stations and toilets; purchased water; or stole water.

## 7. Disabilities

About 8.2 per cent children reported disabilities in hearing, speech, vision, physical movement, skin and mental faculties. While 65 per cent of the children were born with single or multiple disabilities, others had acquired it through accidents, abuse or illness.

## 8. Uncomfortable experiences on the street

About 44 per cent respondents reported that they had seen or heard of somebody being abused. The nature of abuse observed included torture, beating, forced starving, and sexual abuse. Incidents of single and multiple forms of abuse were reported to have been observed. Verbal abuse was most frequently observed.

Children residing in the streets experienced risks from multiple sources. These included risks of police harassment, theft and to life, displacement by BMC, kidnapping, ghosts, other street people and children, owners (presumably employers and owners of roadside shops).



Threats were perceived by most at nights on the roads and especially in sleeping places, followed by threats in day time and at any time in the day.

## 9. Education

Around 65.2 per cent of the children reported that they had attended school at some point in their lives. Most children had been to government or municipality run schools, few attended informal schools run by NGOs, private schools, mobile schools, crèches, informal education offered by neighbours, night schools, anganwadis, madarsas, and boarding schools. About 28.8 per cent of the children had attended school up to standard fifth and 21.2 per cent had attended school for one to two years. About 18 per cent had attended school up to standard eighth.

Around 50 per cent of the total number of children showed an interest in attending school, given an opportunity to do so. Children preferred either school education or skill training, or both, or open school.

## 10. Support from Government and entitlement status

Around 77.7 per cent of the children were not aware of scope for assistance. Those who had received assistance had done so from civil society agencies, government, individual citizens, schools representatives, teachers, and 'leaders'.

About 53.3 per cent of children possessed one or more form of documentation such as education certificates, ration card, government recognized identity cards or Aadhar card, and other documents not specified.

## 11. Mobility

Around 16.5 per cent children reported shifting location from one to more than three times during the last month. Out of these children, livelihood governed their decision to shift location for 42.6 per cent of children, followed by displacement by BMC and threat to safety and security.

## 12. Future plans

About 63.2 per cent respondents expressed a desire to continue to stay in Mumbai. Others had not thought about it, or had thought of returning home, or said they would depend on employment options to determine their future, or did not specify plans.

# CONCLUSION

This study has been a very challenging exercise for the research team, given the scale, magnitude and time constraints around it. It is an important study as it is the first time that the issue of numbers of street children in the city of Mumbai has been addressed. The final tally of 37059 children found in the 24 Wards and three railway lines in Mumbai city may have broken a few myths and raised some questions about the magnitude of the issue. Contrary to popular belief, the category of street living children is the least represented and majority of the children belong to the category of street living families. This is linked to larger issues of homelessness, lack of citizenship rights, migration, poverty, and so on.

Overall, while the number of street children may seem to be less than expected, there could be number of reasons behind this. With increased surveillance of the city, especially post the 26/11 terror attacks, it has become increasingly difficult for homeless populations to live in public spaces. Our discussions with child rights activists revealed that street children may have been forced to shift to nearby locations





on the outskirts of the city limits, or may even have moved to other towns and cities. Another reason for the smaller numbers may be that, in Mumbai, a substantial number of children of street living families live in de-notified slums or those declared as 'illegal' slums. These families though not strictly under the category of street living families, remain marginalised. Chapter V (Case Studies) highlights the plight of these children. If a separate exercise is carried out to count the number of children living in such areas, the total number of street children would rise substantively.

The findings have reiterated that there exist various environment factors that determine the 'hot spots' of street children in the city. These are the areas that are hubs of the informal economy where plenty of opportunities exist for street children to find work and informal shelter. It points to the issue of child labour as a recurrent reality of the city's political economy. This also gets reflected in the relationship between dropping out from school and the type of work the children were engaged in – lower the education level, more menial the type of work engaged in.

Poverty emerged as the main backdrop through the study. Whether through the census or the survey data, one could relate poverty with most of the findings of the study. Most children lived with their families or were in touch with them; they were on the street as their families were on the streets or they had been pushed out from their families due to poverty. Most children had to work to subsist, when they should have been in school. Many had to drop out of school in order to work or had to earn and go to school, thus negatively affecting their chances of continuing their education. A significantly high number of children had to often miss meals, and many of them were pulled into addictive behaviour.

Conflict within family emerged as an important theme from the detailed interviews, and this was one of the reasons why children moved out of their homes. Nearly half the children had witnessed, seen or heard of violence around their lives. Violence included physical, emotional or verbal forms and perpetrators included families, peers, general public, government authorities, and the police.

More than two-thirds of the children were not aware of any form of government or civil society assistance that they could avail of, pointing to the poor reach of services and programmes for children on the streets. Given their vulnerability to neglect, abuse and exploitation, this emerged as one of the harshest realities about their lives. It points to the fact that most children are growing up in an environment full of risks, with no real chance of getting support in times of need. It is a telling comment on the 'uncaring' society that we live in today.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the data analysis and the findings from the census and the sample survey, the following recommendations are emerging.

### 1. Children living on the streets

*Data shows that 65 per cent children lived with their families on the streets, 24 per cent were street working children and about 8 per cent were street living children.*

Shelters for the homeless families need to be created across the city at various locations in Mumbai city, as per the **directions of the Supreme Court in the PUCL Vs. Union of India** case (Writ Petition (C) 196 of 2001), where all state governments have been directed to construct **24-hour shelters for the homeless populations in all cities with population of more than 5 lakh at the rate of one shelter of 100 capacity per lakh of population.**



The **civic authorities** should provide basic amenities like **water, sanitation and anganwadi facilities** (through the ICDS) to all families living on pavements and in de-notified slums so that health and hygiene conditions of these families can be improved.

For street living children, more **night shelters** should be started with **access to food and nutrition, drinking water, and sanitation facilities and link them with the education system** as per mandatory provisions of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act 2009. These shelters may be implemented through NGOs, supported by the civic authorities (by providing them space and financial aid), or run by the government.

## 2. Age and education

*Data shows that maximum children were in the school going age as per the age specifications of the RTE Act. The data revealed that 4.65 per cent of the children were eligible for balwadi (pre-school) education, 24.5 per cent were illiterate<sup>13</sup>.*

There is a need to bring all children in the 6 to 14 age group into the education system through better implementation of the RTE Act. Steps need to be taken to admit and keep children in schools. For this, two levels of work need to be done.

Firstly, steps need to be taken to identify, support and encourage children who have already found their way into schools, such as supporting them through educational sponsorships and tutorials. This is required keeping in mind the fact that these children may not have educational support in their home environment or a conducive climate, as family members may be caught up with issues of daily survival.

Secondly, steps are required to identify children who have not yet been enrolled into schools. The **Department of Education, GoM**, should appoint outreach workers to link children who are out-of-school with nearby municipal corporation-run and aided schools and also by using the 25 per cent quota for children from economically weaker and disadvantaged sections under the RTE Act. Alternately, the DoE may provide financial support to NGOs to appoint outreach workers to implement this recommendation.

A significant number of children belong to the SC/ST categories. The **Department of Social Justice and Assistance (SJA), GoM, and the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (SJE), GoI**, should examine their existing schemes to include this group and provide educational support to school going children among street children. **The SC/ST Commissions** should play a pro-active role in liaising with the government departments, civil society organisations and academic institutions through organising meetings, workshops and consultations to come up with innovative ways to achieve this purpose.

The **National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS)** and NGOs should play an active role to reach out to street children and bring them into the education process. They may collaborate with outreach workers attached to NGOs working with street children and start study centres at strategic locations for this purpose.

Bal Sangopan Yojana needs to be extended to families of school going children in order to provide support to the family to pursue children's education.

## 3. Working Children

*The data shows that 7 per cent street children are into begging, 5.5 per cent are into rag-picking, 11.5 per cent are into selling wares, 10.6 per cent work in shops, 9.5 per cent work in restaurants and eateries, and 2.5 per cent are engaged as construction labourers.*



The **Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD), GoM**, should constitute a **Task Force** involving the **Department of Labour, the Police, the State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (SCPCR), the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR)** and **NGOs** working on issues of child labour to devise a comprehensive strategy to address the issue of street working children, which includes steps towards effective rescue and rehabilitation as well as interim supportive measures to ensure such children get access to education.

Children into rag-picking, especially at hazardous sites such as dumping grounds, are a cause of serious concern. Urgent steps need to be taken to provide alternate housing to families living at these sites and rehabilitate children found working there. The role of employers is important, in terms of educating them on the hazards and adhering to the law. The same is true for children employed at construction sites, living with their families at these sites as well as children employed in similar hazardous occupations.

**The provisions of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, which is now being amended to prohibit employing children in any occupation up to the Age of 14 needs to be implemented effectively with regard to children, by taking action under the law against the employers and taking steps to bring these children into the education system** through steps outlined in Point No. 2. The purview of the CLPRA should also include children in the 14-18 years of age.

In case of children in the 16-18 years category, steps should be taken to link them with vocational education, apart from regular or open schooling. This can be done if the DWCD collaborates with the **Department of Technical and Higher Education (DTHE)** and implements the **Modular Employability Scheme (MES)** of the **Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE)**. Vocational courses may be implemented for such children in shelters run by the government or NGOs in collaboration with **Jan Shikshan Sansthan (JSS)**, which is supported by the **Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), GoI**.

#### **4. Children on the railways**

About 2.5 per cent of all children were found in railway trains and premises.

The railways are the first point of entry for most runaway and street living children. They are an important source of sustenance for children whether through begging on the trains, selling wares or working at stalls on the railway platforms. These children get relatively safe shelter, and access to water and sanitation in the railway premises. With stricter implementation of the child labour law and increased surveillance of railway premises by the police due to the threat of terror attacks, this space has shrunk for children in vulnerable circumstances.

There is a need to **sensitise railway authorities to the needs and problems faced by children found on railway premises. The railways should enter into a dialogue with the DWCD, SCPCR, NCPCR and NGOs working with street children to devise a strategy to address the needs and problems of such children in a humane manner**, and which aims at prevention of their exploitation and their rehabilitation. The railways may provide financial and infrastructure support to willing and credible NGOs to jointly address this issue.

#### **5. Children experiencing abuse**

*It was found through the sample survey that a large number of street children reported witnessing or experiencing verbal, physical and/or sexual abuse. The children's narratives indicate that violence exists on the streets, which highlights the vulnerability of those living there. This finding further reiterates the need for creating safe shelters for street children.*



The **Special Juvenile Police Units (SJPU)**s created under the JJ Act at all police stations should play a proactive role to reach out to street children who are vulnerable to physical/sexual abuse. **A mapping exercise of locations where street children are more vulnerable to abuse should be conducted.** The SJPU should be particularly cautious and keep a vigil at work sites or railway premises as children at these sites may be more vulnerable to abuse. An awareness campaign at work sites should also be carried out. **A Mobile Unit should be constituted in the Crime Branch, Mumbai Police consisting of police officials and trained social workers to patrol and reach out to children on the streets which assures children about help being available and encourages them to report violence. The SCPCR should monitor the implementation of the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO Act).** A **Special Cell** should be constituted in the **SCPCR** for this purpose which monitors the prevention of abuse of children on the streets.

## 6. Addiction

*About 15 per cent children looked like they were in a 'visible' form of addiction, during the census.*

There is a **need to create and set up de-addiction and rehabilitation facilities for children found in substance abuse. Such children may be reached out to through a dual strategy of rescue and outreach.** In this connection, the **DWCD** should convene a meeting with the **Health Department, the Police and NGOs** working in the area of drug abuse and treatment to devise a strategy to address the issue.

## 7. Health

*About 18 per cent children reported various illnesses. The highest reported illness being fever (9 per cent) followed by skin infections (3 per cent). However, one must be cautious while interpreting this data, as no medical examination of these children was conducted. These findings are based purely on observations and the ability of the enumerators to get information pertaining to the health status of the children. One must also add that during the census, mental health status could not be assessed.*

Experience of NGOs working with street children bears out that street children find it extremely difficult to access the public health systems due to the fact that they may be unaccompanied by adults, may be in dirty clothes or may not have documents required for admission. The sample survey showed that 35 per cent of children who had reported some form of illness accessed government hospitals. Most children are forced to go to private clinics which dig a deep hole into their scanty pockets or they simply avoid going to a doctor unless absolutely necessary.

The **Social Work Departments** along with the **Preventive Social Medicine (PSM) Departments** attached to **Municipal or Government Hospitals** should make special efforts to reach out to such children through regular outreach and health camps at various locations where such children may be found. Girl children who have attained the age of puberty could be periodically counseled. A system of distributing sanitary napkins, awareness about reproductive health and sexuality and regular check-ups could be carried out in these health camps.

The urban primary health care system needs to be strengthened to reach out to these children. This will help in prevention of illnesses, early diagnosis of serious ailments and creating a sense of familiarity about the hospitals among the children.

A separate exercise may be undertaken to study the mental health care needs of street children, as they may be prone to emotional / psychological disturbance, due to the trauma associated with the processes of reaching and living on the streets. Counseling centres should be set up and/or linked with these programmes to reach out to the mental health care needs of children.



The **National Health Mission (NHM)**, which is expected to include an urban component, should develop a strategy to address health needs of street children in their policy document and programmes.

## 8. Nutrition

*Around 25 percent of the children in the sample survey reported skipping at least one meal a day. Having no money for food was the most cited reason, while dependence on others for food, illness and injury (probably indicating inability to earn or inability to eat), lifestyle habits and other unspecified reasons were reported.*

The **DWCD** should **start anganwadis through the ICDS** at various locations, especially in areas where there is a higher concentration of street children. As earlier recommended, **shelters** should be started at various locations for street children throughout the city **where children can get freshly cooked meals at least twice a day** (refer to Point No. 1). Families living on streets should be given the BPL ration cards.

## 9. Disability

*Around 2.5 per cent children were found to have some form of disability in the census. However, the percentage of disability was reported to be slightly higher at 8.2 per cent in the sample survey.*

Special facilities and arrangements should be created to cater to the needs of street children with disabilities. These children live in extremely vulnerable situations and are prone to be exploited / pushed into begging by organised rackets. The **DWCD** may **organise a special consultation** along with the **Department of Social Justice and Assistance, GoM, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, GoI, the Centre for Disability Studies and Action, TISS, and NGOs** working on disability issues to discuss and come out with concrete suggestions to deal with this issue in a holistic manner.

## 10. Overarching Recommendations

- a. There has to be a stronger commitment and urgency shown by the GoM and GoI towards the issue of street children and their problems.
- b. There should be a paradigm shift in the thrust of the Juvenile Justice system and the DWCD from a **curative approach towards children in difficult circumstances, to an outreach and preventive approach to vulnerable children**, wherever they are located.
- c. The SCPCR and NCPCR can play a vital role in ensuring that existing schemes for vulnerable and marginalised children include street children through innovative ways of reaching out to them with the help of NGOs.
- d. A **State Inter-Departmental Committee on Vulnerable Children should be set up to review and monitor existing laws, policies and programmes for vulnerable and marginalised children, chaired by the Chief Secretary, GoM with the DWCD being the Member-Secretary**. This Committee should include members from Social Justice and Assistance, SCPCR, Department of Education, Directorate of Higher and Technical Education, Directorate of Health Services, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, Department of Labour, Police, academic institutions like TISS and College of Social Work Nirmala Niketan, Coordination Committee for Vulnerable Children and NGOs working with street children. The **Committee should meet at least once in six months to take stock of issues at the field level and take corrective measures to address the same**.
- e. Existing child rights bodies like the SCPCR, the State Advisory Committee on Juvenile Justice Act and the High Court Committee on Juvenile Justice Act should take on board problems relating to street children and take necessary steps to deal with the same from time to time.



- f. Findings indicated that children are often controlled by other street contacts, indicating their dependence on these contacts. In order to facilitate contact with the wider society, strategic planning would be required. It should be the mandate of the SJPU to identify and refer children on the street (especially living alone) to social workers / NGOs / Probation Officers in the Task Force (as suggested in Point 3) for periodic counselling. Counselling centres may be located in NGOs, municipal corporation ward offices, or locations specially designated for this purpose. Procedures for referring children to the counselling centres should ensure that children do not feel threatened. Repeated counselling coupled with information and awareness sessions may motivate the children to seek support outside the street.





1. Census tool

Sex (1)	Age (apprx) based on observation	Education(2)	Occupation (3)	Location where child was found (4)	Place of Stay at night (5)	Type of Street Child (6)	Visible Health Problems (7)	Disability (8)	Addiction (9)



## Code sheet

**1. Sr No.** = Actual Number so will get number of children.

### Code 1:

Male: 1, Female: 2, Third sex: 3

### Code 2:

Illiterate: 1, Can read and write but did not go to school: 2, Up to Primary (Class III): 3, Between Primary and Secondary (Class IV to VIII): 4, Between Secondary and SSC (Class IX and X): 5, Above SSC (Class XI and above):6, No response:7,Not Applicable:8

### Code 3:

Begging: 1, Rag Picking: 2, Sell flowers, newspapers, fruits & other items on road: 3, Cleaning cars & two wheelers: 4, Working in road side stall or repair shop: 5,Working in small restaurant/eatery or tea stall -6;Whatever available: 7 Construction Workers: 8, Nothing: 9, NA.(Not Applicable):10, Others (specify):11

### Code 4:

On the street: 1, In a Drop-in Center: 2, Under a bridge/flyover: 3, At place of worship: 4, Market place: 5,Park: 6, Railway station: 7, Bus station: 8, Hutments: 9,Tourist place:10, Work/construction site:11, Sea Shore/Beaches: 12 ,Others (specify):13

### Code 5:

On the street: 1, In a night-shelter: 2, Under a bridge/flyover: 3, At place of worship:4, Market place: 5, Park: 6, Railway station: 7, Bus station: 8, Hutments: 9, Tourist place: 10, Work site: 11, construction site: 12, Sea Shore/Beaches:13, In a Slum:14, No response:15, Others (specify):16

### Code 6:

Street Living Children: 1, Street Working Children: 2, Children from Street Families: 3, No response: 4

### Code 7:

Fever and Cough: 1, Skin Infections or sores: 2, Bruises, wounds or injuries (requiring medical attention): 3, Multiple Health issues: 4, Others (specify): 5

### Code 8:

Locomotor disability: 1, Speech impairment: 2, Hearing impairment: 3,Visual impairment: 4,Mentally challenged: 5,Multiple disability: 6, Others (Specify)

### Code 9:

Addiction: No:1, Yes:2



## 2. Sample survey of street children in Mumbai

### Interview Schedule

#### 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

1.1. Ward.....

1.2. Locality/Area.....

1.3. Location of Interview .....

*Footpath/Pavement/near traffic signal: 1, In a shelter: 2, Under a bridge/flyover: 3, Religious place: 4, Market: 5, Park/open ground: 6, Railway station: 7, Bus station:8, Slum: 9, Tourist place: 10, Construction site: 11,*

*Other (Specify).....*

1.4. Respondent's Name: .....

1.5. Relationship status in case of child less than 5 year old:.....

*Self: 1, Father/Mother: 2, Brother/Sister: 3, Grand-father/Grand-mother: 4, Uncle / aunt /relative: 5, Friend: 6, Contractor/employer: 7, Fellow villager/ biradiriwala: 8, Other relation: 9 (Specify).....*

1.6. Sex: ..... (male:1, female:2, third sex: 3)

1.7. Age (in Completed Years): \_\_\_\_\_

1.8. Marital status

(Never married: 1, Currently married: 2, Widow/widower: 3, Divorced/separated: 4, Abandoned: 5, Live-in relationship: 6, Others (Specify.....)

1.9. Caste:.....

(OBC: 1, SC: 2, ST: 3, NT-DNT: 4, General: 5, Don't know: 6)

1.10. Religion:.....

*(Hindu: 1, Muslim: 2, Christian: 3, Sikh: 4, Don't know-5, Other Specify).....*

1.11. Investigator's Name: .....

1.12. Signature and Date of Survey:.....



1.13. Supervisor's Name:.....

1.14. Signature and Date of Survey:.....2

2. BACKGROUND: FAMILY/ORIGIN DETAILS

2.1. Why are you on the street?

*Ran away from home: 1, Parent sent me away: 2, In search of jobs/income/to pursue my dream 3, Came with family members: 4, Lost contact with family while travelling/visit: 5, Lost family during calamity: 6, Kidnapped: 7, Abuse/violence at home: 8, Poverty/hunger: 9, Just landed here: 10, No response: 11, Others (specify.....)*

2.2. Do you have any idea about your family (Yes: 1, No: 2, Don't know: 3)

If YES, kindly answer the following:

2.2.1. Where is your family? (In Mumbai-1, outside Mumbai-2)

2.2.2. If they are in Mumbai, where do they stay?

*(Slum-1, Road side: 2, Open space: 3, Rented room/house: 4, Others (specify.....)*

2.2.3. Do you stay with your family?

*(Yes: 1, Not staying with the family but in contact with them: 2, Not staying with family and no contact: 3, No response: 4, Others (specify.....)*

2.2.4. If YES, kindly provide following details:-

	Count	
	Male	Female
Adult		
Children below 18 years		
Total		

2.2.5. If you are not staying with your family members, do you visit them?

*(Yes: 1, No: 2, No response: 3)*

2.2.5.1. If YES, how frequently (Weekly: 1, Monthly: 2, Quarterly: 3, Half Yearly: 4, Yearly: 5, Any Other.....: 6)

2.2.5.2. Reasons for visit:

*Holiday/festival/marriage: 1, Visiting sick relative: 2, Visiting periodically: 3, To send money: 4, Agricultural season starting: 5, Others (specify.....)*

2.3. Do you know where is your origin place? (Yes: 1, No: 2, No idea-3)

*If answer is YES, Specify 2.3.1, where is it?*



(Born and brought up in Mumbai and live with family: 1, Born and brought up in Mumbai, but left the home: 2, Born outside Mumbai, but brought up here and live with family: 3, Born outside Mumbai and live alone: 4)

3. OCCUPATION, INCOME AND FOOD

3.1. Are you engaged in any income earning activity (Yes: 1, No: 2)

If answer is YES, kindly specify the following

3.1.1. Specify the main activity that you have engaged in last one month

(Begging: 1, Rag Picking: 2, Selling flowers, newspaper/ magazines/ books, fruits & other items on road: 3, Cleaning cars & two wheelers: 4, Working in road side stall or repair shop: 5, Working in small hotel or tea stall -6; Whatever available: 7; Working with manufacturing unit: 8, Not working: 9, No response: 10, Others (specify).....)

3.1.2. Average hours of engagement (per day in the last one week)

3.1.3 Total number of days engaged in it last week.....

3.1.4.Total income/earning last week (Rs.) .....

3.2. Kindly specify, how do you spend your money (last one week)

Please tick whatever applicable

3.2.1	Expenditure on Food Items
3.2.2	Entertainment : Movies/Eating out, having fun with friends etc
3.2.3	Clothing, cosmetics
3.2.4	Shelter
3.2.5	Health supports – medicines
3.2.6	Consumption on tobacco (1), alcohol (2), whitener (3), drugs (4) (.....)*
3.2.7	Give to supervisor/ Leader
3.2.8	Give to parents/ guardian
3.2.9	Police and others (per cent)
3.2.10	Toilet
3.2.11	Taking Bath

\* Use code in the bracket and if it is others use 5 as code.

3.3. Did you miss any meals in a day in the last one week

(Yes: 1, No: 2, No response: 3)

3.3.1. If YES, specify the reason .....



4. HEALTH & SANITATION

4.1. Did you fall sick/ill in the last six month? (Yes: 1, No: 2)

4.1.1,If YES, Place where you went for help/treatment  
(NGO clinic: 1, Family planning center: 2, Maternity and child welfare center: 3, Tuberculosis clinic: 4, Govt Hospital: 5, Private Nursing home/ clinic: 6, Mobile services: 7, Health camp: 8, Didn't go anywhere, No treatment: 9, Others (specify).....)

4.2. Do have any kind of disability (Yes: 1, No: 2)

If answer is YES,

4.2.1 specify type of disability (multiple answer specify it)  
Hearing: 1, Speaking: 2, Eye sight related: 3, Disability in Walking: 4, Mental disability: 5, Other (specify.....)

4.2.2. Nature of disability (multiple answer specify it)  
(By birth: 1, Accident: 2, Abuse by parents/guardian: 3, Abuse by agents/employer/goons: 4, Abuse by police: 5, Abuse by unknown people: 6, Sickness, but not able to treat: 7, Others (specify .....))

4.3. What kind of toilet do you currently use?  
(No toilet: 1, Public Toilet: 2, Sulabh Sauchalay (paid):3, Mobile toilet-4, Others .....)

4.4. What are your main sources of drinking water?  
(Community well:1, Community/public tap:2, Hand pump:3, Others (specify)\_\_\_\_\_)

5. UNCOMFORTABLE EXPERIENCES IN THE STREET

5.1. Have you ever seen/heard anybody abuse a street child? (Yes: 1, No: 2)

If YES, please answer

Sex of the affected child	Who abused** (multiple answer specify it)	Type*
5.1.1	Physical abuse*	
5.1.2	Verbal abuse	
5.1.3	Others (specify.....)	

\* (torturing: 1, beating: 2, forced starving: 3, Sexual: 4),  
\*\*(Parents/ guardian: 1, Agents/ contractors: 2, Police: 3, Relatives/ friends: 4, Other street people: 5, Other people who come in car and other vehicles: 6, Others (Specify).....)

5.2. What are the major risks (multiple answer specify it)  
(Police harassment: 1, Sexual Abuse: 2, Threat to life: 3, Thieves: 4, Others (Specify).....)





- 5.3. Which is the place you face more threats? (multiple answer specify it)  
(On the road in day time: 1, On the road in night: 2, On the sleeping place in night: 3, Others (specify.....))

## 6. EDUCATION DETAILS

- 6.1 Did you ever attend school? (Yes: 1, No: 2)  
If answer YES: 6, 1.1, Specify the kind of school/ education  
(Mobile school: 1, Mobile crèche: 2, Informal school offered by NGO: 3, Informal education offered by neighbours: 4, Night school: 5, ICDS/ anganwadi: 6, Other (specify.....))
- If YES, 6.1.2, Specify the level of schooling  
(Pre-school: 1, Attended only for few months: 2, Attended for 1-2 years: 3, Attended up to middle school (5th class): 4, Attended up to secondary school (up to 8th class): 5, Attended above secondary class: 6, Attending informal school: 7, Attending formal school irregularly: 8, Attending formal school regularly: 9, Others (specify.....))
- 6.2 If given the opportunity to attend school or skill training, will you attend?  
(Yes: 1, No: 2)
- 6.2.1.If YES, kindly specify the type of education/ skill training  
(School education: 1, Skill training: 2, School education and skill training: 3, Open School: 4 )
- 6.2.2. Kindly specify the preferred time for education/ skill:.....  
(Morning/ Pre-noon:1, Post lunch/ Evening: 2, Night: 3)

## 7. SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENT AND ENTITLEMENT STATUS

- 7.1 Are you aware of any assistance for street children? (Yes: 1, No: 2)
- If YES, 7.1.2. Have you received any assistance (Yes: 1, No: 2)
- If YES, 7.1.3.who provided it?  
(Government:1, NGO:2, Both Government and NGO: 3, Others (specify )
- If YES, 7.1.4. Type of assistance (if multiple answer specify it)  
(Money: 1, Clothing: 2, Medicines: 3, Education or Training: 4, Shelter-5, others specify).....
- 7.2 Do you have any identification document? (Yes: 1, No: 2)
- 7.2.1. If YES, type of document  
(Birth/Age certificate: 1, Education Certificate: 2, Copy of Ration card: 3, Other Govt. identity Card/Aadhar card: 4, Others (Specify).....)



8. MOBILITY WITHIN MUMBAI

- 8.1.1 How many times you have shifted your locations in the last one month?  
(Once: 1, Twice: 2, Thrice: 3, More than that: 4, Never shifted: 5, No response: 6)
- 8.1.2 Why do you move around?.....
- 8.1.3 How do you decide which part of the city to move to, explain .....
- 8.2. Future Plans of stay:  
(Will stay in Mumbai: 1, Will go back home: 2, Depends on job: 3, Did not think: 4, Others (Specify).....)

9. Doyou want to say anything else?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Interviewer’s Remarks (if any):

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....



### 3. DOs and DON'Ts

- Do not use camera, or cell phones cameras/recorders for audio or visual recording.
- Don't force any child to speak.
- Don't give chocolate, gifts, false promises, money, etc.
- Avoid attracting attention on the field.
- Don't give personal phone numbers; give TISS number if needed.
- Carry letter from TISS all the time when in the field. Please return this letter to us after the survey period when you come to collect your honorarium. In case anyone asks for this letter, please make a copy and hand it over to the person in authority.
- Carry your identity card (e.g. college id, agency id, voter's card, driving license, etc.)
- Note your observations or specific experienced in the provided noting pad, if any.



## 4. List of drop-in centres and night shelters

<p>Hamara Foundation Room. No 27, 1st Floor, Gilder Lane Municipal School, Mumbai Central, Mumbai – 400 008 Tel.: 2305 4108</p>	<p>Committed Communities Development Trust (CCDT) 8, Pali Chimbai Municipal School St. Joseph Road, Chimbai Bandra (West), Mumbai - 400050 Maharashtra Tel: 91-22-26443345 , 22-26443345</p>
<p>Salaam Balak Trust C/o Project Street Child P.T Welfare Centre Asha Sadan Marg Umerkhadi Mumbai 400009 Tel: 23744148, 23675233 Fax: 23634318</p>	<p>Society Undertaking poor people's onus for rehabilitation (SUPPORT) Manthan Plaza, 3rd floor Vakola Market, Nehru Road Santacruz (East) Mumbai 400055 Telephone- 22 26652904</p>
<p>Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) 52/3, opp.Narepark Municipal Ground, Parel, Mumbai 400012, Maharashtra 022-4143498</p>	<p>Hamara Foundation Gilder Lane Municipal School Room No. 27, Mumbai Central Mumbai - 400 008 Maharashtra, 91-22-3054108</p>
<p>World Vision Trust 2nd Floor, Gurunanak Industries Safeed Pool Andheri Kurla Complex Mumbai - 400062 Tel: 91 22 28503389</p>	<p>Vatsalya Foundation Anand Niketan, King George V Memorial Dr. E. Moses Road, Mahalaxmi (W), Mumbai</p>
<p>Apne Aap Women's Collective (AAWC) 1st lane Khetwadi 1st Floor Municipal School Near Alankar Cinema Mumbai 400 004.</p>	<p>Shelter Don Bosco Opp. St. Joseph High School Wadala, Mumbai – 31 Ph: 24150562</p>



## 4. BMC Ward boundaries

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF GREATER MUMBAI							
	Ward	Council or Ward Nos	Ward Boundaries				Area (Sq.Km.)
			East	West	North	South	
1	A	1-4	Dock Area, Ballard Estate, Shahid Bhagat Singh Road, P.D' Mello Road.	Netaji Subhash Marg, (Marine Drive), 'D' Road to Navy Nagar.	F Road to Carnac Bridge, Ajanta Square, P.D'Mello Road, Anandilal Poddar Marg, Lokmanya Tilak Marg & 'F' Road.	Colaba (Military Area).	12.5 (Sq. Kms)
2	B	5-7	P.D'Mello Road.	Ibrahim Rahimtulla Road & Abdul Rehman Street.	Ramchandra Bhat Marg & Jivabhai Mulji Rathod Marg.	Lokmanya Tilak Marg.	2.47 (Sq. Kms)
3	C	8-11	Ibrahim Rahimtulla Road & Abdul Rehman Street.	Seashore, Netaji Subhash Road.	Maulana Shaukatali Road, Trimbak Parshuram St, Ardeshir Dadi Jaykar St., Vitthalbai Patel Road, Babasaheb Ambedkar Marg.	L.T. Marg, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke Marg, Anandilal Poddar Marg & 'F' Road Marine Drive.	1.78 (Sq. Kms)
4	D	12 – 20	V.P.Road, Ardeshir Dadi Street, Trimbak Parshuram Street, Shukhlaji Street.	Road leading to Govt., Printing Press, Netaji Subhash Road, D.N.Purandhare Marg, Band Stand, Walkeshwar Road, B. Indrajit Road, Bhulabhai Desai Road up to Haji Ali.	Bomanji Behram Marg, Arthur Road, Tardeo Road, Keshavrao Khade Marg.	B. Jaikar Marg up to Bhuleshwar Naka, Crossing M K Road up to Seashore.	6.63 (Sq. Kms)
5	E	21- 29	Seashore, Reay Road	Sane Guruji Marg, Western Railway along Jahangir Boman Behram Marg, Shukhlaji Street.	Dattaram Lad Marg.	Ramchandra Bhatt Marg, Wadi Bunder, Maulana Shaukatali Road.	7.40 (Sq. Kms)
6	F South	30- 38	Sewri Seaface	Central Railway	Mumbai Marathi Granth Sangrahalaya Road, Road No. 26	Dattaram Lad Marg, Kala Chowky	14 (Sq. Kms)
7	F North	39- 48	Thane Creek.	Central Railway.	N.S. Mankikar Marg.	Mumbai Marathi Granth Sangrahalay Marg & Road No.26, Scheme No.57, thereafter straight line up to Thane Creek.	12.98 (Sq.Kms)
8	G' South	49- 58	Central Railway.	Seashore.	S.V. Savarkar Marg, Kashinath Dhuru Marg to Kakasaheb Gadgil Marg.	Keshavrao Khade Marg & Sane Guruji Road to Western Railway.	10.00 (Sq.Kms)



9	G' North	59–71	Senapati Bapat Marg to Sion Culvert along Dharavi.	Seashore.	Mahim Causeway, Mumbai Agra Road.	Kakasaheb Gadgil Marg and Kashinath Dhuru Road.	9.07 (Sq. Kms)
10	H' East	79–89	Mithi River, CST Road, Santacruz (E).	Western Railway.	Ville Parle (Milan) Subway.	Mahim Causeway, Dharavi-Link Road.	13.53 (Sq.Kms)
11	H West	72–78	Bandra-Khar-Santacruz Railway Line.	Arabian Sea.	Milan Subway.	Mahim Causeway.	11.55 (Sq.Kms)
12	K East	90–104	Mithi River, Mumbai Airport.	Western Railway.	M.C.Brothers, Ajgaonkar Plot.	Milan Subway.	23.5 (Sq. Kms)
13	K West	105–117	Western Railway.	Arabian Sea.	Oshiwara Nala & Bridge.	Milan Subway Road Wall of Santacruz Bus Depot.	23.29 (Sq.Kms)
14	L	163–176	Tansa Pipeline along Chembur Hill between Ghatkopar & Vikhroli.	Road up to Mithi River.	Powai.	Sion Creek.	13.46 (Sq.Kms)
15	M East	185–195	Octroi Check Naka to Trombay.	W.T. Patil Marg, V.N.Purav Marg & R.C.Marg.	Deonar Dumping Ground.	Payalipada Village, BARC, BPCL.	32.5 (Sq. Kms)
16	M West	177–184	R.C Marg, Nirankari Math up to RCF Qtrs., C.G.Road, W.T.Patil Marg, Parallel Road to C.Rly up to Subhash Nagar, Nala from Creek Towards E.E.Highway.	Tansa Pipeline.	Chembur-Ghatkopar Somaiya College,.Nala, Ghatkopar Pumping Station.	Up to Arabian Sea.	19.50 (Sq.Kms)
17	N Ward	196–207	Thane Creek.	From Palkar Marg along Ghatkopar and Vikhroli Hills up to Varsha Nagar Off Parksite Colony.	From the end of Varsha Nagar along the Western Boundary of Godrej Co., 17th Road (Parksite Colony) along LBS Marg meeting Vikhroli Railway Station and along Phirojsha Godrej Marg up to the Nalla and Thane Creek South to Kannamwar Nagar.	Palkar Marg, Khala Village, Nathani Steel Yard, South of Chittaranjan Nagar, Hindu Cemetery up to Nalla near Ghatkopar Pumping Station.	39 (Sq. Kms)
18	P South	118–125	Aarey Village East Boundary.	Malad Creek	N.L.Marg up to Chincholi Level Crossing	Oshivara Bridge,Bandrekar Wadi	29.56 (Sq.Kms)





19	P North	126–139	Eastern Boundary of Kurar Village.	Manori & Seashore beyond Madh Island.	Goraswadi, Valnai Village (Marve Road), C.O.D. (Eastern side of Western Railway).	Boundary of Goregaon-Mulund Link Road, Govind Nagar Road, Chinchavali Bunder Road Ext. (at Western side).	19.13 (Sq.Kms)
20	R South	140–147	Damupada, Hanuman Nagar.	Charkop Village.	Mahavir Nagar, Poisar River up to Western Railway line, F.C.I. Godown & Samata Nagar.	Bandongri Military Depot, Khajuria Talao, Goraswadi Road, Ganesh Nagar, MHADA.	17.78 (Sq.Kms)
21	R North	157–162	T Ward Boundary (West Side).	Municipal Boundary Creek.	Municipal Boundary -Check Naka.	R/Central Ward Boundary (North Side), Devidas Lane, Ashokvan, 60 Ft. D.P.Road towards Nancy Colony and Road touching Borivali Dahisar Village.	18.00 (Sq.Kms)
22	R Central	148–156	Sanjay Gandhi Rashtriya Udyan.	Gorai Kulven Manori Road, Gorai & Kulven Villages.	Devidas Lane touching No Development Zone on West Side of proposed fly over bridge at Devidas Road, Proposed 60 feet D.P. Road leading to Nancy Colony, Borivali (E), Ashokvan further dividing line of Village boundary of Borivali & Dahisar.	90 feet D.P. Road, North -East Creek on the east.	50.00 (Sq.Kms)
23	S	208–220	Eastern Express Highway, Kannamwar Nagar.	Boundaries of L and K Wards, Saki Vihar Road, L & T Vikhroli-Jogeshwari Link Road.	Up to Old Tansa Line up to Mulund-Goregaon Link Road further up to Vihar Talao.	North Nalla of Kannamwar Nagar, Vikhroli Cross Line Road up to L.B.S Marg (W) up to Godrej Compound	64 (Sq. Kms)
24	T	221–227	Thane Creek.	Vihar Lake.	Boundary line of Greater Bombay.	Goregaon Mulund Link Road.	45.41 (Sq.Kms)



## 5. BMC Ward-wise List of street names

The following is a Ward wise listing of street names and areas covered by the enumerators, drawn from the field notes of the enumerators.

### Ward wise Street Names of Areas Covered

Sr No.	Ward Name	Name of Streets
1.	A	Amrut Keshav Marg, Azad Maidan, Barrister KS Dhariya Chowk,BEST Marg, Bomanji Lane,Cama Hospital, Canon Pav Bhaji Marg, Carnac Bandar, Charanjit Rai Road, Colaba Market, Colaba Police Station,Cross Maidan,CST, Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Dorab Ghadiwala Chowk, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Chowk,Bombay High Court, Fort Market, Fashion Street, Hutatma Chowk, Forbes Company Ltd., Gateway of India, GPO, Jehangir Art Gallery, Kala Ghoda,Karamveer Bhaurao Patil Marg, Maharashtra Police HQ, Mandalik Road, Mantralaya, Maruti Galli, Meena Mehta Marg,MG Road, Metro Cinema, Mint Back Road, Homy Modi Street, Mohammed Shukar Marg, Mumbai University, Nathlallal Parikh Marg, Nariman Street, Oval Maidan,Navy Nagar, Premilabai Chauhan Chowk, Railway Colony, Ramdev Podar Chowk, Regal Cinema, Reserve Bank of India, Samaj Sharada Chowk, Sasoon Dock, Shaheed Bagat Singh Marg, Siddharth College, St. George Hospital,Standard Chartered Bank, Sterling Cinema, Taj Hotel, Veer Nariman Road , Wallace Road, Yellow Gate.
2.	B	Abdul Rahman Street, Crawford Market,Dawa Bazar, Dongri, Elphinstone Road to Worli, Ganesh Wadi, Jama Masjid, Kala Niketan, Kalbadevi, Marine Lines, Mohd. Ali Road, Mumbadevi, Musafir Khana, Sandhurst Road Station to JJ Hospital, Zaveri Bazaar.
3.	C	Babu Ghanu Road, Bhang Wadi, Carnac Bunder, Charni Road to Grant Road,Chandanwadi Crematorium, Dhobi Talao, Dynaneshwar Galli, Francis Xavier Lane, Goan Church, Indira Dock, Jhaba Wadi, Kalbadevi Road, Mangaldas Market, Masjid Station, Metro Cinema, Mustafa Bazar, Parsi Agiary, Palekar Road, Popat Wadi, Princess Street, Ropa Galli, Sandhurst Road, Sutar Chawl Lane, Yellow Gate.
4.	D	Akbhar Peerbhoy Road, Akbar Peerbhoy College, Alankar Cinema, Arya Samaj,Babsaheb Badkamkar Marg, Babulnath, Balaram Street, BG KherMarg, Bhatia Hospital, BCCI Garden,Bhendi Bazar,Bhulabhai Desai Road, Bellasis Road, BMC Garden, Buvaji Nagre Chowk,Chandra Holeshwar Mahadev Road,Chor Bazaar, Chowpaty, Cumballa Hospital, Do Taki, Dreamland Cinema, Falkland Road, Forjett Street, Gai Wadi,Girgaum, Grant Road East, Grant Road to Charni Road, Gowalia Tank, Hanging Garden, Haji Ali, Hotel Arabia, Jaikar



		Marg, Jaiphal Wadi, Jehangir Daji Road, Kamala Nehru Park, Kamathipura, Khambatta Lane, Khadilkar Road, Khetwadi, Kumbhar Wada, Lalchand Hirachand Chowk, Mahalaxmi Mandir, Malabar Hill, Marathe Bandhu Chowk, Mukbhat Lane, Nana Chowk, Napean Sea Road, Navjivan Society, Nishant Cinema, Omar Park, Opera House, Pandit Paluskar Chowk, Parsi Wada, Peddar Road, PM Garden, Race Course, Raj Bhavan, Shahir Garipuncham Road, Shree Sainath Chowk, Shuklaji Street, Sindhi Galli, Tardeo, Thakurdwar Road, Tukaram Javji Marg, Vittalbhai Patel Road, Tulsiwadi, Wadi Bhandar, VP Road, Walkeshwar, Wilson High School.
5.	E	Bharat Mata Cinema, Mumbai Central Station, Byculla, Byculla Church, Balwant Singh Dhobi Road, Dockyard Road, Dr. Ambedkar Road, Chanchi Bhimji Road, DP Road, Dattaram Road, Fruit Market, Gandhi Hospital, Gunpowder Road, Fakir Mohd Hatawkar Road, Jacob Circle, Jinabai Muljit Rathod Road, JJ Flyover, JJ Hospital, Jhula Maidan, Kala Chowkie, KEM Hospital, Lalbaug Market, Manskarna Road, Mazgoan, MD College, Mangaldas N Varma Chowk, Mhatar Pakhadi Road, Mohd. Ali Road, Mustafa Bazaar, Nair Hospital, Nagpada, Namdev Umaji Balinge Road, NM Joshi Marg, Parel, Patangwala Marg, Police Sirikshak Taklij Chowk, Railway Colony, Reay road, Sadashiv Gopla Naik Chowk, Sithaphal Wadi, SS Rao Road, St Mary's Road, Tank Road, Thakkar Estate, Victoria Road.
6.	F	North Acres Club, Ambedkar Nagar, Amrutwar Marg, Amba Pada, Anand Nagar, Anik Depot, Antop Hill Church, Ashish Theatre, Azad Nagar, Barkatali Road, BDD Chawls, Bhakti Park Colony, Bhakti Bhavan, Bhim Wadi, Chembur Naka, Chunabhatti, CGS Colony, Cinemax, Collector's Colony, Doordarshan, Elphinstone Road Station, Everard Nagar, Gandhi Market, Ganesh Nagar, Gokul Marg, Gopal Nagar, GTB Nagar, Hanuman Galli, HP Nagar, IMAX, Indian Oil Terminal, Kane Nagar, Kokri Agaar, Korba Mitaghar, Khadi Area, Lal Dongar Wadi, JJ Wadi, Mahul Village, Priyadarshini Road, RCF, RC Marg, LBS Nagar, Loke Ramlila Singh Marg, Madhusudan Mills, Mahul Road, Matunga East, Marvali Church, MHADA Colony, MG Road, Nadkarni Park, NM Joshi Marg, Panchsheel Nagar, Pandurang Budhakar Road, PB Marg, Priyadarshini, Ravindra Kulkarni Chowk, RCF Colony, Sasmira Road, Sadguru Swami Jairam Das Kunj, Shahir Annabhau Sathe Nagar, Sion Hospital, Sion-Koliwada, Sion Station, Sion-Trombay Road, Sindhi Camp, Sindhi Colony, SG Barve Marg, ST Road, Sadashiv Chowk, Suman Nagar, Swami Vivekanand College, Swastik Park, Tansa Pipeline, TS Shesan Road, Umarshi Bappa Chowk, Vashi Gaon, Vatsalatai Nagar Road, Wadala Police Station, Wadala to 5 Gardens, Wadala Bridge.
7.	F	South Bhavani Shankar Road, Citylight, Dadar Chowpatty, Dadar Station, Dadar West to Siddhivinayak, Flower Market, Gokhale Road, Jakhadevi, Kabutar Khana, Kelkar Wadi, Kirti College, Prabhadevi, Parel Depot, Senapati Bapat Marg, Shaitan Chowki, Shiv Sena Bhavan, SK Bole Marg.
8.	G	South Adarsh Nagar School, Annie Beasant Road, Babar Shaikh Chowk, Bombay Dyeing Road, Costa Borges Road, Century Bazaar, Century Mill,



		Dadar Chowpathy, Dadsaheb Vichare Marg, Deepak Talkies, Dhun Mill Naka, Doordarshan, Dr. Annie Besant Road, BDD Chawls, Coast Guard HQ, Govindbai Koli Chowk, Geeta Talkies, Gulfadevi Marg, Haji Ali, Jairam Balaji Temkar Marg, Elphinstone Road, Jacob Circle, JK Kapur Chowk, Lala Lajpatrai College to Geeta Cinema, Koliwada, Keshavrao Khadiya Marg, Lala College, Lower Parel Station, Mahakali Nagar, Mahalaxmi, MK Vinod Chowk, NM Joshi Marg, Old Prabhadevi Marg, P Balu Marg, Prabhadevi, Race Course, Ravindra Natya Mandir, Samana Printing Press, Sane Guruji Marg, Worli Sea Link, Senapati Bapat Marg, Siddhivinayak Mandir, Veer Sarvarkar Marg, Worli Koliwada, Worli Village, Worli Naka, Worli Seaface.
9.	G	North Ambedkar Nagar, Antonio D'costa School, Arvind Harirunot Marg, Azad Nagar, Balaji Nagar, Balika Nagar, Bhagwanbhai Park, Bhavani Shankar Road, Catering College, Dadar Chowpathy, Dadar Flower Market, Dadar Station, Dharavi 60 Feet Road, 90 Feet Road, Dr. Babsaheb Ambedkar Nagar, Duru Marg, Elphinstone Road, Ganeshpeth Lane, Jakha Devi Chowk, Jasmine Mill Road, Kamgaar Vasahat Nagar, Kala Killa, Kalika Mata Chowk, Kalyanwadi, Kale Gumjee Marg, Kamraj School, Kings Circle, Kirti College, Krishna Menon Marg, Kumbhar Wada, Kunte Nagar, Kutty Wadi, Madina Compound, Mahim, Mahim Junction, Mahim Dargah, Matunga West, Matunga Road, Makdum Shah Chowk Mukund Road, Mukul Nagar, Naik Nagar, Nardulla Tank Maidan, Nehru Nagar, Old RP Nagar, ONGC, Palki Gali, Parel Station, Periyar Chowk, Pila Bangla, PMGP Colony, Ram Maruti Road, Reti Bandar, Sant Kakkyia Road, Sadguru Swami Maharaj Marg, Saibhat Nagar, Sankar Dahanukar Raod, Sant Rohidas Chowk, Sayani Road, Senapati Bapat Marg, Shivaji Park, Siddhibaba Marg, Sitaladevi Road, Sion Dharavi, 90 Foot Road, Tulsipipe Line, Shahu Nagar, Sion Bandra Road, Sion Bandra Link Road, Sion Hospital, Sion Sation, SK Bole Marg, Veer Savarkar Marg, Wadala Circle to Mahim Creek.
10.	H	West Almeda Park, Baptist Church Road, Bandra East, Bandra West, Bandra Market, Bandstand, Carter Road, Cyril Road, D'Monte Park, KC Marg, Guru Nanak Road, Kane Road, Mehta Marg, Mount Mary Church, Nutan Nagar, Perry Cross Road, St Andrews High School, St Dominic Road, St Joseph Convent, School, St. Leo Road, St Peter's Church, St Pius Road, SV Road, TPS Road, Turner Road.
11.	H	East Acharya Tulsi Chowk, Air India Road, Ambedkar Nagar, Anand Nagar, Anthony Road, Ashok Nagar, Bandra East, Bandra Station, Bharat Nagar, Buddha Nagar, BKC, CD Umachen Chowk, Dadaji Khondke Marg, Danil Nagar, Eastern Express Highway, Gandhi Nagar, Guru Nanak Night School, ITC Hotel, Haji Noor Mohd Chowk, Hanuman Tekdi, Hyatt Hotel Road, Jawahar Nagar Road, Kala Nagar, Khar, MIG Military Camp, Nehru Nagar, Nirmal Nagar, Old CST Road, P&T Colony, Prabhat Colony, Saibaba Road, Sant Dynaneshwar Chowk, Santacruz, Sanjay Nagar, Subhash Nagar, Suman Nagar, St. Mary Junior College, Vakola Pipeline, Vahtak Police Station, Valmiki Nagar, Yoga Institute Marg.



12.		K West Versova, Andheri Dumping Ground, Gorai, Borivili Dumping Ground, Behram Baug, Kamalkar Pant, Walwarkar Marg, Tarapore Chowk, Maheshwari Chowk, Anand Nagar, SBSC Colony, Vasant Rao Shinde Chowk, Gyansagar Vidyalaya, Om Sai Krupa Chawl, Ganesh Nagar, Sri Sai Leela Nagar, Kadam Nagar, Link Road, Yadhav Chawl, Santosh Nagar, Ujala Nagar, Infiniti Mall, Citi Mall, Oberoi Chambers, JP Road, Veera Desai Road, Sahakar Nagar, Azad Nagar, Udyog Gruh Chowk, Blossom Park, Ahmed Omerbhoy Memon Colony, Haji Ismail Hassan Khan Marg, Ceasar Road, SV Road, St Blaise Church, Crimsom Park, Nanavati Hospital, SNDT University, Danpade Road, Juhu Koliwada, Sindhinagar Mandir, SV Road, Nehru Nagar, Indira Gandhi Nagar, YM Road, Mithibai College, NM Collge, Juhu Church, Juhu Police Station, Hotel Novotel, Vittal Mandir, Gulmohar Road, Nagardas Road, MV Road, Bhavans College, Dadabhai Road, Apna Bazar, Annasaheb Sawant Marg, Bhimwada, Francis Church, Satey College, Rajiv Gandhi Institute, Four Bungalows, Kala Niketan, Janabai Garden, Hare Rama Hare Krishna, Manish Nagar, Indian Oil, PVR, Kamdhenu, Kale Marg, Seven Bungalows, Sri Yateshwar Mandir Cooperative Society, Paru Road, Sarbat Path, DJ Road, Bhuta Chowk, Desphande Marg, Bajaj Bazar, Indira Nagar, Vittal Nagar, Jamnabai Garden, Juhu Vaishali Shopping Centre, Vaikantilal Mehta Marg, B Patel Chowk, Gandhi Shikshan Bhavan, New Delhi Nagar, Kokilaben Dhirubhai Ambani Hospital, Jogeshwari Station, Shri Rameshwar Mandir, Nagardas Road, PK Parmahans Road, Natwar Nagar, Hindu Nagar, MV Road, Narayan Mishra Chowk, Western Express Highway, Nicolas Wadi, Parsi Panchayat.
13.	K	East Andheri, Jacob Circle, Sane Guruji Marg, BEST Station, Maulana Azad Marg, Bhimwada, Vile Parle, Mahalaxmi Cave Road, Mohd Ali Qureshi, Ramesh More Chowk, Parsi Colony, Shahiji Road, Gajanana Maharaj Chowk, Nehru Road, Ram Nadir, Anandrao Parwade Chowk, Annasaheb Sawant Marg, Azad Road, Nagar Das Road, PP Road, RK Singh Road, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan Cross Road, Amrut Nagar, Holy Family Church, Hanuman Nagar, Mahakali Caves, Andheri East, St. Dominic Savio Church, Guru Gobind Singh Temple Road, Sher-E-Punjab, Jijamata Road, Azad Nagar, Manish Park, Joheshwari East, Shankar Wadi, Janat Colony, Ram Mandir, Shri Vayushiv Trust, Sant Rohidas Nagar, Gandhi Nagar, Milan Subway, JB Nagar, Samrat Nagar, Maya Murti Marg, Chakala, Parsi Baug, New Link Road, Shahid Bhagat Singh Road, Avinash Bharat Goan, JB Nagar, Sahar Road, Airport Area.
14.	L	Saki Naka, Tunga Village, Chandivili, Powai, Mhada College, Oberoi Garden, Vaibha Vihar Estate, Date Chawl, Vihar Road, Raheja Vihar Chawl, Tarabai Nagar, L&T, Babsaheb Ambedkar Garden, Lumbini Buddha Vihar, Mambai Chawl, Jogeshwari Vikhroli Flyover, Sangharsh Nagar, Noor Hospital, Kalpana Cinema, LBS Marg, Tilak Nagar, Boiwada, Rajaram Chauhan Marg, Chatrapati Shivaji Maharashtra Pond, Poly Felix Britto Chowk, Premier Road, Holy Cross Chowk, Someshwar Mandir, Kurla, Sarveshwar Marg, Dinkar Vishnu Chikne Chowk, Dataaguru Seva Sangh, Rajiv Gandhi Nagar, Kamran, Old Agra Road, Sonapur Lane, LBS Marg, Kheemaji Marg, Kamani, Vinoba Bhave Nagar, New Mill Road,



		Krushna Chowk, Malik Liyakat Hussian Marg, Sambaji Chowk, Abdul Latif Chowk, Brahmanwadi, Pricipal Hussain Chowk, Narayan Nagar, Himalaya Society, Milind Nagar, Shiv Mandir, Purenbai Wadi, Datta Prasad Wadi, New Maneklal Estate, Gatkopar, Bhatwadi, Ganesh Wadi, Sundar Baug, Sanjay Nagar, Teresa High School, Asalfa Goan Road, Sanjay Nagar, Pereira Wadi, Andheri Kurla Road, Zari Mari, Vijay Nagar, Kajupada Pipeline, Saki Naka, Mai Ambedkar Chowk, Maharsa Masjid, Pahalwan Chowk, Lal Bahahdur Shastri Nagar, D'souza Colony, Telephone Exchange, Mahatma Phule Nagar.
15.	M	West Diamond Garden, Jijabai Bhosale Marg, Chembur Sandhu Marg, Shell Colony To Siddharth Colony, Swastik Park, Corporate Park, Mangal Anand Hospital, Vatsalabai Naik Chowk And Nagar, Thakkar Bappa Road, Shell Colony Road, Shramji Nagar, Saibaba Nagar, New Everest Society, Kasturba Society, Chembur Gaotan, Balvikas Sangh, Natsamrat Machindar Kambli Chowk, Dattatraya Krushna Sai Marg, Baseshwar Chowk, Shahid Abdul Hamid Nagar, Aacharya Marg, Pt CR Vyas Marg, M G Bharve Marg, Umarshi Bappa Chowk, S T Road, Chembur Club, RC Marg, Beggars' Home, RH Chemburkar Marg, Postal Colony, Chembur Fish Market, Chembur Railway Station, VK Krishnana Nagar, Garib Nagar, Sree Narayan Nagar, PL Lokhande Marg, Mahatma Phule Nagar, Vatsalatai Naik Marg, Cheddha Nagar, Jai Ambe Nagar, PWD Ground, Shubash Nagar, Ambedkar Garden, Gamdevi Maidan, Karnatak High School, Ghatla Village Road, Pappu Garden, Shatabdi Hospital, Natraj Talkies, Vaibhav Nagar.
16.	M	East Agarwadi, Krishna Nagar, Jain Compound, Chembur, Amar Nagar, Gavandi, BARC Flyover, Madan Mohan Malviya, Shatabi Hospital, Waman Patil Road, Amar Nagar, Vanmali Road Society, Babdevi Chowk, Mahavir Education Trust Stadium, V N Road, RK Studio, Chembur Colony, Indira Nagar, RCF 4, Dr C G Marg, Loretto School, Aziz Baug, RCF Police Station, HP Nagar, Gandhi Market, Jama Manjid, Vashi Naka, Ashish Pond, Azad Nagar, Alagbaba Road, Shahji Nagar, Purav Marg, MG Ramchandra Marg, HVM Hamid Marg, Shivajinagar Dumping Ground, Govandi, Krishna Nagar, BARC Flyover, BPCL Refinery And Sports Club, Monorail Station, Acharya Vidya Niketan School, Mazgoan Dock Ltd, Wadala Road, OLD BPT Road, Jyoti Nagar, Vishnu Nagar, Paryag Nagar, LU Gadkari Marg, MMRDABldg, Dutt Mandir, Gavanpada, Sharad Acharya Smarak, Chembur East, Mahul Village, Tata Power, Mazgoan Dock Ltd, Cricket Academy, Wadala Road, Mahul, Mumbai Port Trust Jetty, Indian Oil, Chembur Station, Jyoti Nagar, Vishnu Nagar, Navsena Prasavan Kendra, Nane Acharya Smarak, Trombay, Panjali Pada, Jainsons Jacob, Namdeshwar Mandir, UTI FR Colony, Mandala, BARC, Mankurdh Station, Mohite Patil, Shahstri Nagar, Shivaji Nagar, Ekta Nagar, Janta Nagar, Maatang Rushi Nagar, Sanjay Gandhi Nagar, Jehangir Nagar, Cosmos Building, Chemical Company, Hindustan Biochemicals, Saras Baug, Supari Baug, Vishal Nagar, Sion-Trombay Road.
17.	N	Vidya Vihar Road, Gandhi Marg, Garodia Nagar, D K Jadhav Marg, Anna Marg, Dr Ambedkar Marg, Lions Yoga Science Centre To 90 Foot Road, Corner Of





		<p>90 Foot Road To Pai Nagar, 90 Foot Road To LBS Marg, Vaibhav Baug To KD Jadhav Marg, Kureja Society To Sideshwar Maheshwar Nagar, Balaji Marg, Sant Shree Kheteshwar Nagar, JN Bhai Patel Chowk, RB Mehta Marg, Hingwal Lane, Kokani Lane, Gurudutt Mandir Marg, Sant Gynaneshwar Vidya Mandir, Dr Ankush Shankar Gawde Marg, Pantnagar Derasar Chowk, Seth Devji National School Chowk, Jain Temple, Bhanushali Lane, Ratilal Mehta Marg To Tilak Road, Shreeramchandra Marg, Tilak Road, Bhagwanbhai Salteka Chowk, Shyamji Krishna Varma Chowk, Khimji Lane, Rajawadi To Ambedkar Nagar, Chittaranjan Nagar, Khimaji Lane, Rajaram Path Marg, Mansubham P Velly Marg, Kranti Jyoti No.1, Savitribai Phule Nagar Galli No 2, Suyansh School, Ismail Muslim Sunni Masjid, Shivraj Chowk, Veer Savarkar Chowk, Saibaba Shivneri Chowk, Laxmi Nagar Lane 1, Bhim Nagar, RB Road, Bhatiwadi Market, Ram Joshi Marg, Shri Siddhi Ganesh Mandir Chowk, Ramji Marg, Ganesh Maharaj Mandir Marg, Andheri Link Road, Minatai Thackerey Garden, Golibar Road, Jagdushah Nagar, Golibar Raod 1, Amrut Nagar Road, Gamdevi Road, Ramabai Nagar, Kamraj Nagar, Along the 'Khadi', Amrut Nagar, Ram Nagar, Road No 6 &amp; 7, Sarvodaya Hospital To RB Kadam Road, Ram Joshi Marg, Bharve Nagar, Sidharth Nagar, Park Site Signal, Vikhroli Railway Station.</p>
18.	P	<p>North Gorai Village, Manori, Borivilli West, Marve Beach, Gagangiri Maharaj Ashram, Koliwada, Raut Wadi, Landing Point, Monalisa Wadi, Lutran Church, Adarsh Dairy, Fr Justine D'Souza Road, Domnic Colony, Shankar Lane, Kanch Pada, Orlam Church, Link Road, Mamlatdar Wadi, Natraj Market, Malad West, Trimurthi Marg, New Municipal Market, Sainath Road, Malad Station Road, Ishwarlal Parekh Road, SV Road, Shankar Mandir, Jain Estate, Jakaria Road, Kisan Road, Hanuman Temple, Shivaji Chowk, Dr GR Samanth Chawl, Tilak Chowk, Ashirwad Hospital, Sardar Chowk, Garton Road, Liberty Garden Road, Kothari Compound, Banjara Pada, Ambedkar Nagar, Sanjay Gandhi Garden, Phatak Baba, Bejara Pada, Gokul Nagar, Hanuman Nagar, Darhan Road, Dadiseth Road, Somwar Bazaar, Navy Colony, SMKG Mittal College, Waman Dev Chowk, Malad Koliwada, Bandra Cross Road, HP Apts, Sarvodaya Ballika School, Rotary Club Of Bombay North, Harukhan Road, Chincoli Phatak, Gavith Vilas, Ambojwadi Market, JT Madh Beach, Rajaram Chowk, Anudatte School, Raheja Estate, Shivaji Vidya Mandir.</p>
19.		<p>P South Goregoan, Oshiwara Bus Depot, Bhagatsingh Chowk, Link Road, Bangur Nagar, Ayappa Mandir Marg, Shastri Nagar Ground, Late Raghavan Panicker Marg, Sitaram Temple Road, Khalsa High School, Laxmi Nagar, MDP Road, Ganesh Garhat Road, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Rajiv Gandhi Garden, Khadi, Rajaram Galli, Sonawala Marg, Udyog Bhavan, IB Patel Road, Cama Estate, New Ashok Nagar, Western Express Highway, Golden Chariot Marg, Vanrai Colony, Patan Line, Goregoan Station, Nesco, Patel Chowk, Valbat Road, Bajrang Nagar, Nirmal Park, Duriyan Road, Vishwanagar, Girija Udyan, Sakvarse Colony, Pandurang Wadi, Jogeshwari Link Road, Chakala, Andheri, Shivneri Marg, Ismail Yusuf College, Chandra Shekar Nagar, Hanuman Tekdi, Jawahar Nagar, Shivshankar Patil Marg, Ramdas Tukaram Yadhav Marg, Datta Mandi,</p>



		Jay Prakash Road, Narayan Garden, Tilak Nagar, Aarey Road, St. Pius College, St. Thomas High School, Murari Rao Rane High School, Vinayak Maharashtra Masurkar Chowk.
20.		R Centre Gorai Borivili Road, Koliwada, Malli Compound, St Catherine's Home, Gorai Beach, Shanon Wadi, Borivali West, Borivali Market, Borivali Station To Swami Vivekanand Marg Punjabi Galli, Gulmohar Road, Om Shanti Chowk, Roshan Nagar, Pai Nagar, Prem Nagar, Devidas Nagar, Yogi Nagar, Jairaj Nagar, Vabai Naka, Malad Village, Marve Bunder, Marve Zopadpatti, Aksa, Manori, Dan Paani, Marve Bunder Road, S V Road, Jain Temple Road, Phatak Road, Daulat Nagar Road 1 To 10, Seth Gopaliji High School Marg, Chinchpada Road, Kasturba Road, Dattapada Road, Third Quarter Road, Rajendra Nagar Road, Datta Phatak Road, Damji Raghavji Compound, Tata Steel Company And Officers Quarters, Special Steel Company, Durga Devi Nagar, Rajendra Nagar Police Chowky, Foot Corporation Of India Godown, M G Colony, Gaondevi Road, 90 Feet Road, Thakur Complex, Thakur Savli Road, Omkareshwar Mandir, MG Road, J K Road, Gokul Apartments To Ramdev Hospital, All India Radio, Gorai Nagar, Bhim Nagar, Sathya Sai Nagar, Padma Nagar, Green Tower, Jamballi Galli, Simpoli Road, Sambhainath Bhagwan Jain Mandir, Savarkar Garden, Munisuvarth Swami Chowk, Haridas Road, Ram Nagar, Kalpana Chawl Chowk, Kasturi Park, Kasturi Village, Sardar Vallabbahir Chowk, R Bhatt Marg, Shantinagar Road, Kora Kendra, Link Road, Magathane Bus Depot, Jai Maharashtra Nagar Market, Sadguru Nagar, Fish Market Road, National Park Flyover.
21.		R South Gorai Village, Essel World, Pagoda, Khandivili West, Vegetable Market, Ganga Nagar Zopadpatti, Thakur College, Vihari Tekdi Road, Om Kreshwar Shivaji Mandir, Janata Koliwada Bazar, Gandeve Road, Jai Bhavani Maidan, Ganga Prasad, Krupa Shankar, Poisor Workers Welfare Association, MHADA Colony, Hanuman Nagar, Ashok Nagar, Sheetal Nagar, Padma Nagar, Apna Nagar, Valibhai Chawl, Defence Colony, Damu Nagar, Akurli Road, Express Highway, Dada Sare Marg, Sambaji Mandir, Kolhar Road, Chintai Patel Road, Chanakya Nagar, Gautam Nagar, Lokhandwala Chowk, Prabhat Chowk, Bhim Nagar, Lohan Road, Ramgadh, Anita Nagar, Akhila Nagar, Vasant Vihar Park, Dattani Park, BMC Colony, Chikalwadi, Jandu Pada, Oberoi Park, Samta Nagar, Gangajal Devi Chawl, Sambhaji Nagar, Kranti Nagar, Mamta Gandhi Marg, Hindustan Naka, Sardar Vallabbhai Swimming Pool, Kamla Nagar, Nirmal Mahavidhyalaya, Tank Road, Anand Nagar, Mathurdas Road, Trani Wada, Hemu Colony, Parmandar Mehta Marg, Shankar Lane, Shantilal Modi Road, Tikamdar, Rantanbhai Bhulabahi Marg, Bahnumati Sharaf College, MG Marg, Sahjanand Rachani Chowk, Kamla Nagar, Anand Nagar, Sarojini Naidu Road, Jeta Nagar, Ambewadi, Sai Nagar, Tulsiwadi, Parikh Nagar, Charkop Naka, Bajaj Marg, Tulsekar Wadi, Patel Nagar, Keshav Hedgewar Chowk, Dahanukar Marg, New Link Road, DP Road, Babrekar Road, Islam Compound, B Pakadi Marg.



22.		22. R North Dahisar, Gadve Nagar, Ashokvan, Express Highway, Kajupada, Shri Krishna Nagar, Hanuman Tekdi, Sanjay Gandhi National Park, CT Hospital, Dube Road, Rawalpada Police Station, Sant Kabir Marg, Shanti Nagar, Ramabai Ambedkar Marg, Sambaji Nagar, Manish Nagar, Mahavir Magar, Dahisar Pada, Mini Nagr, Shukla Chawl, Samta Nagar, Gokul Nagar, Shanti Nagar, Kokni Pada, Kailash Nagar, Mata Ramabai Nagar, Tatiya Pawashar Chowk, Ramkumar Thakur Road, Bhavli Pada, Surendra Nagar, CS Cross Road, Barucha Road, SNL Complex, GSB Sabah Garden, SV Road, CS Link Road, AAI Land, Shiv Shakti Nagar, Gurudwara Kalgi Dher Chowk ,Nared Park, Hari Singh Road, Mishtika Nangr, Gamdevi Mandir Chowk, Avdoot Nagar, Bavli Pada, Misquitta Nagar, Dr Baba Amte Maidan, Shanti Nagar, Toll Naka, Vaishali Nagar, Shankar Tekdi, Tara Singh Estate, Kashmira Police Station, Atmaran Nagar, Daulat Nagar, Ambewadi, Swami Vivekanand Marg, Mira Raod, Shanti Nagar, Chapekar Wadi, Borivili, SN Dubey Road, RT Road, NM Joshi Marg, Patil Wadi, IC Colony, Nawa Gaon, Ganpat Patil Nagar, Sanjay Chawl, BP Road, Khand Pada, Tawde Wadi, Jain Mandir, Jaywant Sawant Road, Rustomjee International School, Babu Bagwe Road, Anand Park, Devidas Road .
23.	S	Bhandup West, Veer Savarkar Marg Road, Sham Nivas, Datar Colony, Tata Nagar, Pump House, Bhawanidas Nagar, Eastern Express Highway, Kanjurmarg, LBS Marg, Iswar Nagar, Maharishi Vital Ramji Shinde Marg, Samarth Nagar, Sayadri Marg, Patil Estate, Ameen Iqbal Estate, Jijamata Vidya Mandir, Pratap Nagar, Lala Bahadur Shahstri Road, CGC Colony, Sai Nagar, Nehru Nagar, Chamund Nagar, Nutan Nagar, Farid Nagar, Maharashtra Nagar, Baba Ashram Chowk, Ratnashi Hirji Bhojraj Marg, PK Road, Ambedkar Marg, D Sharma Chowk, Namdeo Bhimji Gangurde Chowk, Mulund, PratapNagar, Kaju Tekdi, Subhash Road, Gandhi Nagar, Kammanvar Nagar, Vikroli, Hiranandani Garden, Dr DN Road, Powai Lake, Ganesh Nagar, L T Company, Jagdishwar Mandir, Sakti Vihar Road,Panchkutir, Shiv Shakti Nagar, Hakone, Main Street, IIT Powai, Gowale Nagar, Jain Mandir, Padmavati Road, Hanuman Road, Chandan Nagar, Surya Nagar, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule Nagar, Tirandas Village, Sainath Nagar, Chaitanya Nagar, MHADAColony, Gopal Nagar, Ramabai Ambedkar Nagar, Godrej Hing Road, Narayan Bhode Chowk, Kannamwar Nagar, Priyadarshan Garden, Goderj Company, Goregoan-Mulund Link Road, Bhim Nagar, Shyam Nagar, Sonapur, Lokmanya Nagar, Shivaji Nagar, Tambe Pada, Usha Nagar, Shanti Park, Tata Nagar.
24.	T	ACC Road,Agarwal Road,Ahilyabai Chowk, Airoli Link Road, Ambedkar Nagar,Anand Nagar,Ashok Sakharam Bhalerao Chowk, Ashok Kashiram Gangavan Chowk, Baba Ashram Chowk,Bal Rageshwar Marg, Bandhu Marg, Bahadur Shahstri Marg, Bhakti Marg,Bhatwadi, BPT Road B R Road, Datatram Chowk, Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg, Devidayal Road,D P Road, Dr Ambedkar Marg, DKT Sahani Marg, Dumping Ground, Gangaben Morarji Chowk, Gavde Road,Gawanpada Goatan,Gopalji Thakker Chowk, Goshala Marg, Guru Gobind Singh Marg, Gowardhan Nagar,Hari Om Nagar, Hutatma Chafekar Indira Nagar, Jain Mandir Road,JN Road, Kalidas Marg,Kantilal Thakkar Marg,



		<p>Kopari Colony,Lala Lajpat Road, LBS Marg,Laxmi Nagar, Link Road,Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mahakali Nagar,Mahatma Phule Marg, Maharishi Arvind Chowk, Maharana Pratap Chowk, MHADA Colony, Morar Road, Mitaghar Bus Depot, Mulund Bus Depot, Mulund West, Mulund Station,Musafir Singh Marg, Nansaheb Padmavati Marg, Navghar Marg, Neelam Nagar, Patil Market, PK Road, Peru Pada, PVR Cinema, Rahul Nagar, Raja Industrial Estate, Ramgadh Nagar, Ratanji Hirji Bhojraj Marg,RHB Road, R Mall, R P K Road,RRT Road, RSH Bhojraj Marg, S Bhandare Chowk, Vinoba Deshehya Chowk, Rajendra Prasad Sant Narhari Maharaj Chowk, Shanti Nagar, Sambhaji Maidan,Sarojini Naidu Road,Sardar Nagar, Sarvodaya Parshwanath Nagar, Shankar Gopal Joshi Marg, Shree Chandrakant Koche Marg, St Gregarious School, Subash Chandra Bose Road, Swapna Nagar, Thanekar Wadi, Udyan Chowki, Vaishali Nagar, Valji Laddha Road, Veera Nagar, Vittalbhai Patel Marg, Vidyarthi Thakur Chowk, Vaitya Bahvan, Yogi Hill, Wadarwadi, Wamanrao Parab Chowk, Zaveri Marg.</p>
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