



"Bachenge to Phir Milenge"

(See you again if I survive)

**Children and Youth in Mumbai's
High-Risk Neighborhoods**

Foreword

One of our Aangan researchers was finishing up a focused group discussion with a group of youth in Mumbai's Govandi slums. As the boys got up to leave, they waved goodbye. The youngest smiled cheekily saying, "Satakta hoon. Bachenge to phir milenge!" (See you again if I survive). Although the phrase reeks of teenage cool, there is an unmistakable irony that reminds us, even warns us about this thirteen year old's daily battle to survive in one of the city's most deprived communities.

Forty four million of India's children and youth live in "difficult circumstances" - conditions of poverty, chronic abuse, and subjected to multiple layers of violence. Every single day they face problems like communalism, violence, dysfunctional families, substance abuse and health hazards related to AIDS and other diseases. According to a World Bank Report, India has half of the world's child labor victims. In another national study⁽¹⁾ it was found that two thirds of Indian children have faced some form of sexual abuse and 50% have faced physical abuse by the age of eighteen. Left with deep scars, such children inevitably find themselves caught in the cycle of violence and crime – both as victims and perpetrators.

Many such children land up in institutional care, in state custody. Many don't, and continue on an even more dangerous path only to end up as young adults involved in crime or anti social activities. A recent report by the National Crime Records Bureau states that young adults⁽²⁾ are responsible for 56 % of all crimes committed in the country and youth crimes have increased by 40% in the past decade. This makes it imperative that we reflect on the context that surrounds trends of violence and dangerous behavior in youth and young adults.

So how do we get to the root of the problem? How can we give these children more protection? How can we make their communities safer places to grow up in? How can we prevent youth them from engaging in dangerous behavior – harmful to themselves and others?

Aangan is a Mumbai based non-profit organization that has been working with youth in institutional care for the last five years. During this time we have found that many institutionalized children come from certain pockets of the city. What's more, children of such communities tend to return repeatedly to institutions for involvement in dangerous behavior. These, we believe are Mumbai's "high risk" neighborhoods - characterized by a complete break down of care and protection systems. Using a sample of six such areas (Dharavi, Antop Hill, Bhiwandi, Govandi, Jogeshwari (East) and Dongri, our effort here is to examine risk factors that are common across 'high risk' neighborhoods.

This study is the first step towards helping us identify some of the recurring issues that put youth at risk of engaging in dangerous, anti-social or offensive behavior. We do hope it provides interesting insights about this population and their environment – and brings the focus on effective prevention, protection and early intervention strategies.

Suparna Gupta
Director
Aangan

⁽¹⁾ The first national-level study by Ministry of Women and Child Development with Prayas, Save the Children and the United Nations Children's Fund, published on April 9, 2007 stated that two-thirds of the children in India are physically abused while more than half have faced some form of sexual abuse. It covered 13 of India's 29 states with a sample size of 12,447 children in the 5-12 age-group.

⁽²⁾ Young adults are defined as those between 18-35 years.

Acknowledgement

This study would not have been possible without the support, assistance and encouragement of many. The co-operation received from all of them was imperative for the completion of the project. First and foremost, we express our gratitude to:

- Flora Family Foundation, New York for funding this study.
- All the organizations of Mumbai working in the sectors of welfare of street children, child rights and reform in the juvenile justice system; namely (in alphabetical order):
 - ❖ Antop Hill Dargah
 - ❖ Pratham
 - ❖ Prerana
 - ❖ SHED
 - ❖ Sneha Sadan
 - ❖ Apnalaya, especially Director – Mrs. Leena Joshi
 - ❖ FPAI, especially Program Manager Ms. Vandana Vawal
 - ❖ Rangoonwala Foundation, especially Director – Mr. Ibrahim Shaikh

We deeply appreciate the co-operation received from them in terms of imparting information and facilitating our communication with stakeholders.

- The Aangan Team:
 - ❖ Ankit Macwan and Neeraj Prasad: For shaping the study, interviewing community members and networking with NGOs and CBOs.
 - ❖ Ganesh Lokre, Tushar Thakur and Sanjay Tiwari: For interviewing community members and preparing case studies.
 - ❖ Neeta Joshi: For hands-on assistance with codebooks and data analysis.
 - ❖ Meghna Vesvikar: For data analysis and documenting and editing the study.
- Lastly, and most importantly, we would like to thank all the children we interacted with, who are too numerous to mention here - we thank you for giving valuable information and helping us complete this study.

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Before They are Institutionalized

The salient feature of the Juvenile Justice Act of 2000 was the provision that all children coming under its purview were to be rehabilitated, chiefly through institutions. These children belong to two categories: Children in Need of Care and Protection and Children in Conflict with Law. The former are children who lack the support system of a family or guardians. They may be orphans, runaways, lost or abandoned children, rescued child laborers or victims of trafficking or children with physical or mental infirmity. The latter are those who have committed offences against national, special or local laws, as a personal choice often influenced by numerous factors.

According to the HAQ Report, New Delhi, 4 lakh children came in contact with the police for various reasons. Also, a total of 32,681 juveniles were arrested and sent to various courts during 2005.¹ State-run children's institutions however are notorious for mismanagement and abuse. The conditions in these institutions are not conducive to either child development or rights' protection. Whichever be the category under which the child has come into the institution, he feels that he has committed a mistake for which he is being punished. This feeling is compounded by the inadequate services of education, counseling, recreation and healthcare. There is also a high probability of being abused - verbally, physically or sexually, by the staff or peers. Also, most of these institutions are located in central sites. As a result, when children from the surrounding regions are admitted, they lose their support systems of family and community. Often, some CICL are also illegally detained and physically abused in lock-ups or incarcerated in adult prisons. The overburdened police system also tends to overlook systematic investigation, timely submission of charge sheets, attending hearings etc. and contributes to the number of institutionalized children. Their cases are often delayed and the children are rarely updated about their case-status. The child's parents may not even be aware of the child's incarceration in some cases. Or they may not have the requisite financial resources or legal documents for bail etc..

As a result, when they return to their homes or to the society, the children and youth return to the same criminogenic environment, without any coping strategies or self-help skills. This makes it even more difficult for them to reintegrate themselves into civil society. These children often bear the scars of incarceration and frequently come out as hardened criminals or bear a grudge against "the system" that has incarcerated them without providing sufficient services or even distractions. Thus both the child's entry and exit from the system is marred by a lack of orientation and adequate facilities. These children often see the worst facets of the juvenile justice system. As a result, it is important to intervene before the children are institutionalized. To work at the family and community level in order to enable the children to make healthy lifestyle choices.

Families and communities however are not blemish-free either. Be it child sexual abuse, domestic violence, alcoholism, communalism, proximity to a red-light area or a high incidence of crime, children in some areas have already been exposed to factors contributing to offences. Mumbai has numerous such areas that resemble festering sores on the city's landscape. And this finding is reflected in the institutions' statistics. Most offending children in the city's institutions hail from the high risk areas of Bhiwandi, Bandra (East), Jogeshwari, Antop Hill, Govandi and Dongri. Numerous childcare functionaries as well as the police have confirmed this finding. Aangan conducted a baseline research to identify the causative factors that propel the local youth to commit more offences than others. These causes are individual, familial and community-based. As a result, it becomes increasingly important to intervene at a point before these youth are incarcerated. Before causative factors take on an unnecessarily strong influence on their lives. To ensure that the "future of the nation" in these communities is empowered to take the path leading to constructive, sustainable, humane, joyful lives.

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¹ Crime in India-2005, NCRB, New Delhi

The Process and the People

Objectives of the Study:

- To identify the factors contributing to the high number of offences committed by youth from six high risk areas in Mumbai
- To examine the cause and effect relationship of children coming in conflict with law and the influence of high-risk factors of the surroundings
- To study the awareness level of the youth regarding the risk factors existing in that area

Operational Definitions:

- CNCP: These include any boy or girl below 18 years of age who is found without any home or settled place or means of subsistence, who has no parent or guardian, who is physically or mentally infirm, who is likely to be abused in any manner or is a victim of a natural or manmade disaster.
- CICL: These include all boys and girls below 18 years of age who are alleged to have committed an offence and are admitted as CICL to Observation/Special Homes by the JJB under the Juvenile Justice Act of 2000.
- Child Welfare Committee: It is the competent authority in relation to CNCP
- Juvenile Justice Board: It is the competent authority to deal with all cases of CICL.
- Children's Home: It's an institution established by the State Government or a recognized voluntary organization and certified by that government, to cater to the CNCP
- Observation home: It's an institution established by the State Government or a recognized voluntary organization and certified by that government, to cater to the CICL. An Observation Home is for temporary shelter and custody till the child is discharged, granted bail or admitted into a Special Home.
- Special Home: It's an institution established by the State Government or a recognized voluntary organization and certified by that government, to cater to the CICL. The children stay here for a period designated by the order of the JJB.

Selection of Sample: In order to understand the effect of the environment on children at risk of being institutionalized, data was collected from CNCP (both girls and boys), CICL (both girls and boys), and personnel from local NGOs. The sample sizes were as follows:

- Non-institutionalized and previously institutionalized CNCP and CICL (boys and girls) – 120
- NGO personnel in related sectors – 50

Criteria for Selecting Sample:

- The children should be residing in the particular locality for the past 5 years
- The children should be aged between 13 to 18

Sampling Techniques:

The sample consisted of 120 respondents. This study was conducted in six slums of Mumbai and Thane districts, namely Dongri, Jogeshwari, Dharavi, Antop Hill, Govandi and Bhiwandi. The researchers randomly selected 120 slum children from the six slums with the help of local NGOs working in those areas for more than ten years. The local NGOs were contacted in advance and their field facilitators helped the researcher enter the community and identify the high-risk areas where the researchers randomly selected respondents.

The Process and the People

Data Collection:

- a) Sources:
Primary Sources:
 - Observations by the research team during the visit and informal interaction with the childrenSecondary sources:
 - Information from books, reports, articles and the internet
 - Records of the NCRB relating to juvenile offences
- b) Tools: The tool used for data collection was a structured interview schedule. The interview schedule contained both open and close-ended questions and also multiple-choice questions.
- c) Data Processing: Data was processed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).
- d) Data Processing and Analysis: The data collected was edited and the close-ended questions coded. The open-ended questions were categorized and coded. The data was summarized using frequency distribution and percentages and analyzed using cross tabulations.

Scope: This study is quantitative, exploratory and limited to Mumbai and Thane districts. It has covered the prominent areas that report the highest incidence of juvenile offences. The focus of the study is to understand the factors that lead the youth to commit offences.

Abbreviations:

1. CNCP: Child in Need of Care and Protection
2. CICL: Child in Conflict with Law
3. CH: Children's Home
4. OH: Observation Home
5. SH: Special Home
6. CWC: Child Welfare Committee
7. JJB: Juvenile Justice Board
8. PO: Probation Officer
9. CWO: Child Welfare Officer
10. JJ Act-2000: Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act of 2000
11. IPC: Indian Penal Code
12. CrPC: Criminal Procedure Code
13. JJS: Juvenile Justice System

Cityscape

Aangan's finding of certain areas in Mumbai sending forth the highest number of CICL demanded an insight into the causes that propel these children to take to crime. This study was conducted in order to identify these causative and contributive factors.

Most of these six areas are characterized by at least one criminogenic factor, be it proximity to a large railway station or to a red-light area, presence of large number of liquor shops or video parlors, communalism, presence of organized crime, poverty, alcoholism, domestic violence, child sexual abuse etc. These factors alone do not cause a person to commit a crime as crime in spite of being an individual decision, is always influenced by numerous external factors. This point is better understood with reference to an introduction to each of these settlements as mentioned below:

1) Antop Hill (Pratiksha Nagar, Sangam Nagar, Sheikh Misri Chawl)

The man appears middle-aged. He tells one of the young children clustered around him to hit a nearby youth and run away. This is because the youth had probably abused or hit the man previously or some other similar perceived slight. The child being nimble escapes the youth's retaliatory strike and reports back successfully to the man. His reward? A plate of the food of his choice. This explains the number of children who, lacking parental supervision, hang around with relatively unfamiliar male members of the locality and hence are likely to be misguided.

Or may be they are the children who grow up divided among themselves into the Madrasis (Tamil settlers) and the Hindus. If any of them crosses over, even accidentally, into the others' territory, he is relieved of his belongings, often at the point of a knife. The victim then reports the incident to his leader who will then declare vendetta that continues into time. At any given time, one can see a group of boys hunching over to discuss the latest topic of interest - It may be the planning for the next attack on the enemy group, or the latest "hot" film at the video parlor, or their latest woman.

The report on Internal Security Issues of Maharashtra published in September, 2006 mentions terrorism as a major concern, especially given the large number of youth being lured into terrorist activities and crime. Notorious for being associated with crime, anti-social activities and communalism, Antop Hill is a centre of police intervention. The slum is heterogeneous with migrants from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. With a population of 6 lakhs, the slums of this area are centered around CGS colony. Education as well as employment levels among youth are low. Significantly, in spite of the highly dense population there is only one municipal school in this area. The ratio of municipal schools to alcohol shops and video parlors is 1: 8 and 1: 10 respectively. Hence education does not appear to be a valuable commodity. At this point there is no NGO intervention in any sector. Dargahs do maintain a significant presence in educational as well as social activities in order to promote all-encompassing development. However, the impact of religion cannot be overlooked, especially as it raises concerns about the status of the girl child and the polarization of the community. Children as young as 7-8 years old can be found to be members of rival gangs, usually the Muslims versus the Tamils. The crime trends in Antop Hill range from arms and wildlife seizures to organized crime.

2) Govandi (Shivaji Nagar, Bainganwadi, Lotus Colony)

The straggly group of boys gets up at around 5am and heads towards the dumping ground. They scavenge through the garbage looking for empty tins, glass bottles, syringes – anything that may have resale value. They have decided to ignore the cuts and scratches obtained in the process. At around two in the afternoon, they collect their day's earnings from the scrap wholesaler and head home. There they change into their "going out" clothes. It's time for the afternoon siesta and doors everywhere are closed, with the window blinds pulled down. It's the perfect time for these boys to meet women at Kurla and then hire a room at a cheap lodge. Or head with their girlfriends to the tunnels made under the piles of refuse in the dumping ground. Apart from these afternoon rendezvous, the girls of the locality otherwise seem to be only an invisible entity. Without an opinion, without a presence.

There is another group of children who appear to be the polar opposites of the rag picking children. The rag pickers seem to be mature beyond their years, be it their haggling with scrap wholesalers or their visits to the women of the night or their not-so secret meetings with the opposite sex. The other group has never seen the light of the day or the moon of the night, as it were, because they work in their factories for about 14 hours a day. During their traineeship or shagirdi, they are paid a nominal amount of about Rs. 20/- a day and as they learn the trade, they can earn up to Rs. 70/- daily. Lodging and food are paid for by the "Seth" who has usually brought them to the city to escape the poverty and hunger somewhere in UP, Bihar or another Northern state. The Seth has another responsibility – to furnish evidence that the child was in fact attending school if the child has been inept enough to be caught in a raid and brought to an institution. If this happens, the child will cry in the institution for his parents, and after a clumsily directed conversation regarding his name and address, will be repatriated by the police. Surprisingly, the children sometimes also cry for their Seth, because in spite of their miserable living conditions, he is the only one who stands between them and starvation.

With a population of 2.5 to 3 lakhs, the Shivaji Nagar slum has been in existence for the past 40 to 50 years. The people here belong to different states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh. Migrating to Mumbai due to unemployment, the people are mostly engaged in daily wage activities like masonry and zari units. The literacy level is between 25 to 35 %.

There is one municipal school. The dropout ratio is high at 35% as is the number of alcohol shops (16) and video parlors (10).

The landmarks of Govandi are the slaughterhouse, the leather industry and the dumping ground. The Govandi crime rate is also characterized by heinous sexual crimes.

3) Dharavi

Dharavi is Asia's largest slum housing nearly 4 lakh people, with a ratio of 18,000 people per acre. Most of the people are migrants from Maharashtra's interior districts, Tamilnadu, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. Most are daily wage earners, especially in the snacks and well-known leather industry.

There are two municipal schools and many private schools but not many teaching in vernacular languages. Due to lack of documentary proof, enrollment of migrants' children in schools is low.

Apart from the Mohalla Committee there are no NGOs working with children and youth.

- 4) Jogeshwari
With a population of almost 7 lakhs, Jogeshwari was the worst hit area during the 1992 communal riots in Mumbai. A communally sensitive area, it is dominated by Muslims. The population consists of migrants from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal. The people are mostly engaged in daily wage activities and small-scale businesses like zari. The literacy level is low with 2 BMC & 6 private schools. There are 10-12 alcohol shops, 5 video parlors and 9 health posts.

- 5) Bhiwandi (Shanti Nagar, Sangam Pada, Anjir Pada, Chaudhri Compound, Nehru Nagar, Gayatri Nagar)
Bhiwandi was one of the worst affected areas in the 1992 communal riots in Mumbai. Bhiwandi is known for its power looms industry. It is Muslim-dominated and communally sensitive. Bhiwandi has a population of 12 lakhs, with a low literacy level (15 to 20%).
There are 2 municipal attached to the slum areas, 10 alcohol shops and 3 video parlors. Each slum has an Out Patient Department.
Significantly, the Bhiwandi Observation cum Children's Home always has a higher ratio of CICL (almost 50% more CICL than CNCP) unlike any other home in Mumbai or Thane districts. The number of repeat offenders is also unnaturally high as compared to other areas. With arms seizures and caste-based riots and incidences of violence taking place till last year, adults too seem to share a volatile relationship with the police. Bhiwandi is also a stop over on the route wherein minor girls are trafficked via Kalyan. And when they attempt to escape, they usually end up in the local institutions.

- 6) Dongri (P D'Mello Road)
With a population of 3.5 to 4 lakhs, Dongri tops the Mumbai police's list in terms of antisocial activities. The area is Muslim-dominated but has varied income groups such as daily wage earners, garage mechanics, hotel owners, leather factory workers etc. The slums have a low literacy level (25 to 35%) and high population density.
There are 8 municipal schools and 8 to 10 alcohol shops and 7 to 12 video parlors. Also, the drop out ratio is high at 30 to 40%. Significantly, the stretch between CST and Dongri has the highest density of street children, chiefly due to the availability of free food from the dargahs and the location of the Observation cum Children's Home in Sandhurst Road. Mumbai's largest red light area – Kamathipura and the underworld's nest – Nagpada, where every major player has maintained a presence – are the other landmarks of the area.

What We Realized

The major findings of the study have been divided into six categories:

1. Quality Time with Family
2. Education Beyond Classrooms
3. Dangerous Games
4. Violence and Crime Everyday
5. Health Hazards
6. Us versus the Police

1. Quality Time with Family

- Significantly, children living with parents/guardians have accounted for 91.7% of the total juveniles apprehended in 2005. The share of homeless children who were involved in various crimes was just 8.3 percent. * (Tables 1.F, 1.G and 2.D) (This finding is in contrast to the popular notion that homeless children commit more crimes than children with families.)
- 71.2% of the total juveniles apprehended in 2005 belonged to poor families whose annual income was Rs. 2,000/ per month or less as compared to only 0.12% from the upper income group (Rs. Three lakh and above).* (This indicates that the majority of the apprehended juveniles belong to the lower socio-economic strata and have been institutionalized chiefly due the lack of other alternatives, legal aid etc.)
- The higher the number of family members, especially children, the lower the quantum of parental guidance.
- 58% of the respondents who belong to the lower socio-economic strata dropped out of school to earn. It was found that family pressures forced respondents to work and contribute to the family income, causing them to drop out of school; and not just due to disinterest.
- 96.7% of the mothers did not work as opposed to 80% of the fathers who did. (This supports the belief that mothers can be active partners in the centers' activities.)
- 40% of the respondents who worked were the primary contributors to the family's income.
- While an average school-going child would have spent about 7.5 hours in school, 55.8% of the respondents spend this amount of time taking care of their siblings.
- 57.5% of the respondents spent an average of only 2-4 hours with their mother.
- Also, 48% said that they did not get sufficient time to speak about their problems to their parents. The quality of the time spent with family members is also redoubtable. In fact, most respondents have mentioned that they do not speak about important issues to their parents such as health, relationships and education. 31% felt that their parents would not understand and 30% that parents were not interested.

2. Education Beyond Classrooms

- 67.5% of the respondents interviewed were illiterate. (Table 4.A) Of the remaining, 20% had obtained primary education, 11.7% secondary education and 2.5% higher secondary education.
- 38% of the respondents had dropped out from school at an early age.

* Crime in India-2005, NCRB, New Delhi

What We Realized

- 65% of the dropouts had been exposed to anti-social activities such as theft, organized crime and prostitution. Regardless of the education level, 51% of the entire sample population had visited a red-light area or were used to going there. (Table 1.C) This indicates that the risk is inherent in the community itself.
- A lower income has been equated to a lower level of schooling. (69% of the dropouts had the lowest income of the respondents. Out of the dropouts, 78% worked and earned an average of Rs. 500/- per month.)
- Significantly, out of the total juveniles involved in various crimes in 2005, 25% were illiterate and 40% had education up to primary level. ²
- Across these six areas having an approximate population of thirty lakh, there are only 17 municipal schools as compared to at least 62 alcohol shops and 50 video parlors and 40 religious institutions.
- 23% of the respondents studied in BMC schools, 15% in private schools and 48% in other schools such as madarsas. The attendance in madarsas is double of that in BMC schools and this indicates the deep impact religion has on the respondents and their families as opposed to education.
- Most of the municipal schools surveyed are till the primary level, with only a few providing secondary education.
- 37 % of the respondents who felt upset when domestic violence took place and believed that it should be stopped had studied till the primary and secondary level. The remaining sixty three per cent respondents who were indifferent were illiterate.

These findings indicate that though the availability and affordability of education is low, its impact on social attitudes and behaviors is positive. Thus, there is a strong need to strengthen educational services, especially at the primary and secondary level.

Top Three Reasons for Dropping out of School

"I had to work for the family" (52%)

"I wasn't interested" (30%)

"School is too far" (5.8%)

3. Dangerous Games

- 66% of the respondents spent an average of 7.5 hours with their friends. This can be compared with a child's ideal schedule of spending 6 hours at school and a further 4-6 hours with family. Also, it was found that the time spent by the respondents with their peers was almost double of the time they spent with their parents.
- Hanging around with friends, eve-teasing, gambling and substance abuse are the chief activities with friends. As is Chatting - about girls, sex, money-making schemes, police, raadas (gang fights) and of course films.
- Actors are role models for most children but the respondents chiefly liked action heroes who fought for what they wanted – Sunny Deol, Sunil Shetty and Sanjay Dutt.
- 78% of the respondents worked and 73% for more than 8 hours a day. Of these, 56 respondents (46%) spent an average of 7.5 hours with friends after work. This underlines the fact that working children spend little time with their families resulting in an absence of value education.

² Crime in India-2005, NCRB, New Delhi

What We Realized

- 60% of the respondents said they liked visiting video parlors (Table 3.A) and 42% visited them daily. 66% liked or intended to go to red light areas. The latter category earned between Rs. 1,500-2,500/- per month. 47% of the respondents who visit video parlors were from the lower income group (Rs. 500-3,500 per month). On the other hand, only 30% of the respondents who visited video parlors were from the higher income group (Rs. 3,500-7,500 per month). (This indicates that in spite of the low incomes, youth in high-risk communities do engage in dangerous behavior, chiefly due to a lack of appropriate recreational facilities, which is likely to lead to institutionalization.)
- Video parlors officially do show both Hindi and English films. However, their image is more symbolic as they stand for much more. Video parlors are often notorious for showing pornographic films and can often be found in the proximity of red light areas. Minors are allowed entry and hence these parlors can also be used as pick up joints for children as well as adults.
- Also, the police had picked up almost 50% of the entire population at some point or other.

Top 5 Items on which Working Children Spend Money

Video parlors
Visiting red light areas
Gambling
Substance Abuse
Films / Contributing to family's total income

4. Violence and Crime Everyday

- Working children are understandably exposed to a greater level of violence than school-going children.
- 50% of the working children spent money regularly on substance abuse.
- 65% of the respondents had participated in anti-social activities and 64% had been to the police station.
- 66% liked visiting red light areas.
- We asked the respondents which criminal activity they were exposed to in their daily lives, be it in terms of hearing about it, witnessing it, participating in it or believing that it was a common occurrence in their community. The results have been tabulated as follows:

Criminal Activity	Exposure (In Percentage)
Gang rape	98%
Rape	97%
Petty offences	97%
Drug peddling	95%
Violence	92%
Robbery	91%
Communal riots	87%
Dacoity	86%
Murder	83%
Anti-social activities	77%

What We Realized

5. Health Hazards

My best friend Rakesh has a girlfriend. They met when he was returning from the scrap dealer after getting his day's collection valued. When she saw the money he had, she was impressed. For Rakesh, it had been a good day at the dumping ground. They first used to go to the numerous tea stalls and small hotels dotting the area. Then Rakesh suddenly started disappearing during the humid afternoons and evenings. Once another boy from our group at the dumping ground discovered them at the ground itself in the evening when he came back to collect his sack. They were both together in a sort of tunnel made below the heaps of garbage. Day before yesterday I saw them both running behind the public toilet when it was getting dark. When I told him that I had seen him, Rakesh insisted that I shouldn't tell anybody or he'll get into trouble with the girl's family. He told me that there's one spot near the pipeline he discovered where he'll go because there is no disturbance. School is also nearby so sometimes his girlfriend bunks and goes with him.

- The two main dangerous behaviors practiced by the respondents in the area of health were early sexual activity and substance abuse. Boys as young as 10 years old reported having girlfriends and boys above 14 years of age (57% of the respondents) mentioned that they liked to visit red light areas.
- Drug use has been found to lead to other criminal activities, the peer group and media being the chief factors for initiating use. The user generally progresses from non-use to tobacco, to alcohol and then to drugs. Adverse medical and social effects generally do not motivate the user to stop. This is further compounded by the easy accessibility and availability of drugs, especially prescription drugs.
- 35% of the respondents who worked spent their income or part of it on substance abuse. Out of these 22.5% were from the lower and 12.5% from the higher income group.
- Also, 57.5% of the respondents who spent an average of 7.5 hours with their peers liked/were used to visiting prostitutes. This indicates that income and time spent with peers does not necessarily affect life style choices including high-risk behaviors.
- 95% of the respondents had witnessed or participated in drug peddling in their neighborhood.

"We are smart children, we know where to get it all.."

("Daaru kya daaru ka baap bhi milta hai, jo brand tumko chahiye idhar milega.")

Substance	Price (in Rs.)	Source
Charas	80 for 10gm	Supplier
Brown sugar	65 for 10gm	Supplier
Ganja	60 for 10gm	Supplier
Netrotine	50 per tablet	Supplier / Local medical shops
Whitener / Turpentine / Solution	15 for 200 ml	Local shops
Minar / Bhaang	2.50 per tablet	Local paan shops

6. Us versus the Police

"One evening we were sitting at the katta, smoking and hanging out. They just came and picked us up. We told them that we haven't done anything. They kept us in the lock up till the next afternoon. They just plant the evidence like weapons we have never seen and file the FIR that we are into criminal activities. I cried all day in the lock-up. They

What We Realized

didn't even let my mother meet me. They caught some other boys from another area. They let Suresh, Ramesh and Harish go but they kept back Abdul. One of the Havalgars told us that we shouldn't have been standing in a group at evening time. He said that it raised suspicion. Now after getting out after eight months, I still get scared when I see the police. We just shout and tell each other when the police van comes, "Dabba aa gaya, bhaago!" They say that the police is supposed to protect citizens. Then why do they arrest children, that too for not doing anything? I still don't know why I got picked up.

Ramesh did get caught a second time. They beat him up at the police station when he protested against the charges they had laid against him. They took him to the remand home where one of the staff members beat him for refusing to clean the toilets. Ramesh also hit the guy. I mean, why should he clean toilets that others have used? Is it fair? I heard they took him to jail after the incident. I saw him last week after he had been in jail for six months. He has changed. His voice is deeper and harsher. He doesn't seem to care much about anything. It's almost menacing. Recently, I saw him hanging around with the cronies of Jaggu Dada. Jaggu Dada is the gunda of our Galli. He says that Ramesh will become his successor one day if he joins him now. His mother came to our house the other day. She was saying that Ramesh goes to meet loose women in Kurla. He is also threatening people there for money. She doesn't know what to do with him.

- 65% of the respondents had participated in anti-social activities out of which 45% spent less than seven hours with their peers. Only 20% spent more than seven hours on an average with their peers. This indicates that irrespective of the time spent with their peers, the incidence of children participating in anti-social activities was high. Also, children participated in anti-social activities not just because they had nothing else to do but also because they had already been exposed to them. This applies to visiting video parlors and red light areas as well.
- 50% of the respondents believed that anti-social activities were caused by poverty, 27.5% believed that they were caused by lack of guidance and 18% by the influence of surroundings.
- 43% of the respondents were working children who had participated in anti-social activities and had been to a police station. Also, 18% of the respondents who worked and had been to a police station spent money on substance abuse and 11% on gambling.
- 23% of the respondents had been to a police station for entering areas meant for adults, 10% for petty offences, 8% for substance abuse and 2% for purportedly false cases.
- 58% of the respondents reported that they were not happy with the police's service delivery and 51% believed that the police took bribes.

* Malhotra C, Sharma N, Saksena R, Ingle GK: Drug Use Among Juveniles in Conflict with Law, Indian Journal of Paediatrics-2007, 74:353-356

What is Needed

It is difficult to isolate the single-most significant risk factor in “high risk” neighborhoods. Rather, there seems to be a web of interconnected issues that have their roots in the deep deprivation and poverty of these “high risk” neighborhoods. Most significant of all is the absence or break down of care and protection system in these areas. The lack of parenting, positive role models and appropriate recreational facilities and insensitive law enforcement are some of the glaring problems in such areas. There is no doubt that prevention and protection systems go hand in hand. As recommendations we have looked at local prevention and protection strategies that are multi-disciplinary, individualized and supportive.

Sr. No.	Key Issue	Sub-Issue	Recommendation
1.	Focusing on prevention and protection by addressing root causes of issues like truancy, running away or anti-social behaviour	Community-based factors contributing to high risk behaviour in youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Provide youth a safe space</i> by developing community centers, clubs or drop-in centers where they have a place to meet every evening. Where they can talk, play, discuss problems and identify their own solutions. Where they are also able to interact with adults who can guide, monitor and facilitate conflict between youth – helping them to resolve them internally • <i>Strengthening bonds within community</i> by organizing festival celebrations, cultural and sports events that include women, children and youth • <i>Sensitizing local authorities</i> such as law enforcement and municipal functionaries, elected representatives etc towards needs and problems specific to youth
		Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Develop parenting skills</i>, especially for adolescence and provide ongoing support e.g. Social and health interventions with new parents, disciplining and monitoring teenagers, learning effective communication to promote interaction and understanding • <i>Encourage active participation by mothers</i> in running and planning youth related programs • <i>Interventions targeted to the needs of the girl child</i> – most often neglected and excluded due to social norms
		Education/ Vocational Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Make mainstream education more accessible</i> by increasing awareness about alternatives as well provide assistance for admissions etc. • <i>Mentoring</i>: Identify positive role models who will coach, guide and advise children and youth on remedial work, educational and vocational choices, planning and related matters. Mentors can be local volunteers who are corporates, school/college students or involved individuals
		Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Identify high risk children through local resources</i> • <i>Targeted assistance and outreach</i> - This includes social services and coordinated responses by key agencies • <i>Life skills education</i> in order to identify dangerous situations and develop a mechanism of appropriate responses e.g. Gender sensitization, healthy living, conflict resolution

What is Needed

Sr. No.	Key Issue	Sub-Issue	Recommendation
2.	Alternatives to Institutionalisation	Need for diversion and personalized rehabilitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sensitize police, CWCS, JJBs and other relevant bodies</i> to provide customized and non-institutionalised options especially for children in need and non-violent, non-serious offenders • <i>Identify and partner with local organizations</i> to help divert children from institutions e.g. Foster care and adoption agencies or counselling and educational organizations to rehabilitate offenders within the community
3.	Understanding Reoffending Better	Absence of statistical data and trends; follow up mechanisms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support research on target populations such as repeat offenders and high risk populations as well as social factors such as age, gender and peer influence • Establish system with JJBs and institutional authorities to follow up with children after release. Also partner with organizations that will monitor and mentor children to ensure that there is no discrimination by law enforcement and other agencies, leading to smooth reintegration into civil society

Conversations

Just Another Day at the Govandi Dumping Ground

For an ordinary citizen garbage is a waste product, but for some it's as valuable as gold, for some it's the source of their livelihood. We met a few such children whose families survive on scrap from the local dumping ground. They collect paper, metal and plastic and sell it to the nearby scrap dealer. Allaudin is one such 13 year old who spends his day at the garbage dump.

"I live with my parents very close to the dumping ground. My house is tiny, the roof is made of plastic sheets. We are used to living among garbage heaps. There are huge dumps of garbage surrounding the house, and an open gutter right in front. Mosquitoes and flies are my best friends. But then I'm a really friendly guy. I've got a whole group of friends right here. You see, living in a gang is very important here - because there is tough competition to collect garbage.

I get up early. Like all the other children who get up at 5:30 am or 6 am to get ready for school. Except I have never been to school. Instead we get ready to visit the dumping ground. At the dumping ground, trucks loaded with garbage (and our destiny for the day) arrive. Various gangs run behind them to get the garbage that is unloaded. After a lot of fights, groups settle - and then one group gets the ownership over that heap of garbage. After some time another truck arrives and this cycle continues. Ultimately everything gets settled through mutual understanding, but everybody fights over the garbage like it is their life.

My friends and I continue to collect scrap till late afternoon and then I come back home. Here the next process starts - I sort the collected scrap into metal, plastic, paper, glass etc. The sorted materials are then cleaned and dried. Then we go to the scrap dealer and sell it. I earn around Rs. 100-150 daily. Of this I keep Rs 30 with myself and the remaining I give to my parents. By the time we return home it is around 2:00 pm. After this I have a bath. Although I am filthy by this time, I have to use very little water - because there is a huge water problem in our area. And finally it's time for lunch.

The evening is my favorite time because I hang out with my friends. We don't have anywhere specific to go to, but we love to roam around in nearby areas - always in groups. You should hear how we talk to each other and the girls. Bad language is very common among us, it's just the way we are. The children of Govandi are smart. There are many video parlors in the area and the tickets are very cheap - just Rs. 10-15. So we go to these parlors to see movies, most often we see blue films. The remaining money we spend on eating gutkha and smoking. I eat around 8-10 gutkha packets a day. One of my friend eats around 25-30 packets a day.

Some of my friends also have girlfriends, but I am still alone. Those of my friends who have girlfriends go out with them for movies and then go to hotels. I feel it's a waste of money to have a girlfriend. But when I am with my friends, we love roaming around teasing the girls. We follow them around sometimes, it's fun. I enjoy this.

I roam around with friends till 10:30-11:00 in the night and then return home only when I am really tired. Sometimes I have dinner and sometimes I just fall asleep without having any food.

When the World Sleeps

We visited Govandi in the afternoon and found these children sitting in the shade of a closed shop. Some were eating gutkha. We went and sat among the children. We started talking to them but they hesitated.

Jabir: Why have you all come over here, are you policewallas?

We introduced ourselves, spoke for a while and then they loosened up a bit.

Aangan Facilitators: Do you eat gutkha or smoke?

Saleem: This is Govandi, sir, here children are very smart. You will find most children eating gutkha, smoking, sniffing solution, taking tablets. Some children even take charas and ganja. Sir, if you also want something like charas, we have contacts - we can get it for you.

Aangan Facilitators: Where will you get it from?

Ujale: There are many "bhais" (peddlers) in these areas from whom we can easily get this stuff.

Aangan Facilitators: Is this where you hang out all day?

Ujale: No, no, there is lots to do. Look, we get up early in the morning by around 6:00a.m and then we get ready and go with our friends.

After this statement there was a sudden silence. When we coaxed him, he continued.

Ujale: "Dost log station jaate hain, isliye unke saath hum bhi jaate hain." (We go to the local railway station... with friends)

Aangan Facilitators: Why do your friends go to the station so early in the morning?

Saleem: Item logon ke liye jana padta hai. This is the time when hot girls walk out of their houses to go to their schools and colleges. So we go to make friends with girls. Some of us also have girlfriends and this is the time when we get an opportunity to be with our "items" (girlfriends).

Aangan Facilitators: What else do you do with your girlfriends?

Ujale: Sometimes girls bunk their schools and we go for movies. Sometimes we also go to some picnic spots. Somewhere far and isolated.

Aangan Facilitators: And do you ever visit the red light area?

Ujale: Yes, but rarely. It becomes expensive to visit often. Because we have to pay for lodging. Lodging is easily available in Kurla and Tilak Nagar areas but the expenses go to Rs.800-1200. Instead it is easier to make friends with a girl, go for movies and develop relationships. That's what our friends do and then they have sex with the girls.

Aangan Facilitators: Where do you get money for this stuff?

Shoaib: Sometimes we get from our parents, sometimes we gamble, sometimes we also do small thefts at night. Also some of our friends work, so they also spend on us. Here we have strong bond among friends. So if one of our friend earns Rs. 400 then he will spend on all of us, we will go together for movies, eat at the Chinese stalls, splurge on girls.

Aangan Facilitators: How do we meet your other friends?

Saleem: There are addas (meeting spots) in each galli where children meet. If you come between 10:00- 11:00 in the night, you can easily meet these children. Or during the day you can meet them between 1:00-4:00p.m. This is sleeping time for other people, so children assemble at meeting spots and play cards, cricket and so on. When the world sleeps, our fun begins. Hanging out, jokes, laughter... when the rest of the world is silent, it's our time to take over.

Aangan Facilitators: Policemen roam the streets at nights, don't they say anything to your groups?

Saleem: Jab dabba (police van) aata hai toh hum bhaag jaate hain ya fir chhup jaate hain. Mamulog sale bahut harami hote hain. Woh logon ko pata nahin ki ye swatantra Bharat hai, woh log Angrezon jaise pesh aate hain. Humein kahin bhi pakadte hain, gaali dete hain, maarte bhi hain. Who sabse bade gunde hote hain. Sare lafde wahi karwate hain. Sab lafde ke bare mein unhe pata hota hai lekin hamesha lafde ke baad hi pahunchte hain. Isliye humein chhupna aur bhaagna padta hai.

(When the police van comes we run away or hide. The policemen are real swine. They don't know that this is independent India, they act like the British. They catch us anytime, abuse us, they beat us also. They are the biggest goondas. They are the ones who arrange all the fights. They know about all the fights but reach the place only after the fight is over. That's why we have to hide or run.)

Suddenly the children say, "Sir, bas ho gaya; abhi hum log satakte hain. Bachenge to phir milenge." We were left contemplating the reason behind their abrupt exit.

The City of Dreams

At first Naseer, a mischievous 11 year old was a little nervous. He felt that we were police personnel and was reluctant to speak.

"I'm fed up of living in Mumbai. Mumbai is a very bad city and I want to go back to my native place, my village in Uttar Pradesh. Yahan par humko road pe rehna padta hai. Policewalon ka tension hamesha rehta hai. Saali yahan ki zindagi bekar hai. (Here we live on the streets...in constant fear of the police. Life is really not worth living like this.)

We live our lives in reverse. When others sleep, we wake up and set out to steal. We have some small agents in the railways who supply us with scrap material from the railways. Then sometimes when we are lucky enough we get soft targets at night whom we rob. We roam till around midnight doing "time pass" and after that our work begins. We live in fear of police and are always on the look out for them. Then we get up by around 11:00 in the morning. After having lunch, we go to sell the scrap, mainly waste iron. I earn around Rs. 200 daily. Out of this I keep Rs. 100 with myself and the remaining amount I give to my mother.

I am addicted to gutkha and sniffing solution. Rs. 40-50 is spent on this every day. Then there are many video parlours in Surat Gali. Sometimes I visit these parlors with my friends. I also watch blue films. There is no danger of police raids here because hafta (bribe or protection money) goes to police regularly. The rest of my money is spent among friends. Sir, I also have a girl friend and some money is spent on her also.

I'm fed up of this painful life. My father had some acres of land but after his death the land has been taken away by my uncle. I am not sure whether I will get back my land if I go back to my village. But it's my dream to go back to my native place and get back my land. Pata nahi mere khwab ka kya hoga! They call this the city of dreams, but it is in fact like living a nightmare!"

The Streets of Dongri: Age No Bar

This was a special group for us as it consisted of children between 7-10 yrs. They were playing with coins under a tree. We went near them and sat there watching their game. They pretended not to pay attention to us but became more active and tried to show off. After some time Aangan Facilitators initiated the conversation:

Aangan Facilitators: Can we play with you?

Rajesh: Tum logon ke paas paisa hai toh khelo. (If you've got the money.)

Aangan Facilitators: You all play, we'll learn the game by watching.

What we saw shocked for us. A majority of the boys were eating gutkha. One boy was sniffing solution. Then there was a boy named Manoj who had lot of money and was showing off to the children.

Rajesh: Kal raat ko isko bhaari maal haath laga tha. Isne teen sau rupaye ka bhangar becha. (Last night he had a big haul. He sold scrap worth 300 rupees.)

Munna: Manoj, let's all head to Surat Galli tonight. (Surat galli is a lane dotted with video parlors showing blue films. And as the tickets are very cheap, boys frequently visit it. This is also an area where charas and ganja are easily available.)

Manoj: Chalbe, aaj item ko leke jaana hai." (No way. I'm taking my girl out tonight.)

The rest of them laughed heartily on hearing this.

We saw signs of self mutilation on ten year old Munna's arms.

Aangan Facilitators: What are those cuts on your hands?

Rajesh: Item ke chakkar mein isne apna haath kaata hai. (He cut himself... for a girl.)

Aangan Facilitators: Really? What is his girlfriend's age?

Rajesh: She's also ten.

Conversations

The boys started teasing Munna. Almost all the boys have girlfriends and spending on girls and fighting for girls are common. Eve teasing, molestation and early sexual relationships are also very common here.

We changed the topic.

Aangan Facilitators: So you steal every night? Don't your parents scold you when you rob or steal?

Abdul: Why should they? They steal too. In fact sometimes they take us along to steal.

Rajul: We have to steal in order to survive. Sir, when we try to do something honestly - like selling fruits, pens etc., the police harasses us, and sometimes even takes us to jail. That's why stealing at night is easier, safer.

Aangan Facilitators: Aren't you afraid of the police?

Abdul: There is always a fear of police, but whenever they catch us, we give them Rs. 100-150 and they leave us alone. In fact we've done it so often that some policewallas have even become our friends.

When we asked them about their daily schedule, the boys said that they didn't have any daily plan; the day was theirs to do as they pleased. Sitting there we knew that every day was spent in a haze of solution, charas or ganja. The boys forgot about us, busy with their games. After waiting for sometime, we left the place.

A Thousand Alis

I met Ali at his work place - a nearby shop for spare parts like nuts, bolts, rods and knives. When I met Ali, he was enjoying his short break with a cup of hot tea. Ali was friendly and approachable and started chatting:

"I left school when I was in Std. VI. The reason was simple. I had gone to my native place - Jaunpur, in U.P., with my parents and that very year my grandmother died. So I couldn't return to Bhiwandi on time. My name was struck off the school register. And today I'm here working for just Rs. 150 per week. I earn Rs. 600 per month and I give back every penny to my parents because my family is poor. My family is large; we are 8 members - two brothers and three sisters. My sisters are elder to me and they have to get married. So the entire responsibility is on my father. He works in a loom for just Rs. 5,000 per month. So it's necessary for me to work. Here the work is not so difficult. I've to look after the stored materials and sometimes transport them.

I get up by 7:30 in the morning. My work starts at 9:00 a.m. and gets over by 8:30-9:00 at night. Then I go back to home, have dinner with the family and go to sleep. There is no TV at my house, so radio is the only mode of entertainment. Again, the next day I get ready to go to work.

I get a holiday on Fridays (Jumme ka din) and I enjoy it the most. I'm with my friends the whole day. We just roam here and there and do time pass. We also go near the pipeline where we meet our other friends and play cricket or wrestle. Sometimes we also go for movies, but till now I haven't tasted even meetha paan. And I've promised myself that I'll never smoke or drink.

Earlier, when I was studying, I wanted to become a police officer. Mera baap bhi bolta tha ki ye bahut lafde karta hai. Police banneke liye sahi hai! (My father also used to say - He's always getting into mischief, he's just the person to become a police officer!) But today I have no aim in my life. I just want to get my sisters married.

Once I had gone to my native place but I didn't like it. Yahaan ka hawa pani our wahan ka hawa ekdum alag alag hai. Par mere ko toh apna Bhiwandi hi achccha lagta hai. Aur Sir, apni item bhi to idhar hi rehti hai." (The atmosphere of the two places is very different. But I like Bhiwandi the most. And sir, my girl also is here only.)

Ali has potential and he thinks deeply. Ali personalizes the phrase that "Youth are not hundred percent of the population, but hundred percent of the future surely lies in their hands". There are thousands of Alis in India, a gross wastage of the potentially evolved human resources available to us.

Future Plans

I was passing a small ground in Gayatri Nagar when I saw a group of children playing marbles. I started watching their game. They saw me and stopped. One of them asked me, "Kya hua, aap kaun hain?" One of them further remarked, "Shayad ye policewala hai, chal apun nikalte hain". Then I informed them about Aangan's project. After some casual talk the boys became a little more relaxed and I took them to a nearby juice vendor. We sat under a tree and commenced our discussion:

Aangan Facilitator: So your holidays are going on! Are you enjoying them or getting bored?

Rahim: Kaisi chhutti? Among us only this Jagdish goes to school. The rest of us are all dropouts.

Aangan Facilitator: But why did you all leave school?

Javed: Sir, padhke kya hota hai? Aur school mein teachers itna maarte hai, kaun jayega padhne ke liye? Usse achccha kaam karneka aur mast enjoy karne ka!

Jagdish: Also sir, some parents are not able to pay for the fees and books. Even for me sometimes it becomes very difficult to pay the fees. I am in Std. VIII but I don't like to study because children of my age work and earn and then they are respected in their family. They have a high status among friends and they can also spend on girlfriends.

Aangan Facilitator: How do you all spend your time?

Arif: Sir, most of us work in the loom. We get holiday on Fridays. This is the most precious day for us. In the morning we play with friends or just sit and chat. Then we go and say our afternoon namaaz. After that sometimes we go to Khadwali garden near Bhiwandi. It has a small pond inside where we swim or bathe.

Sir, wahan par couples bhi bahut aate hain, aur hum log chhupkar kissing bhi dekhte hain. Kabhi- kabhi to hum log chhedkhani bhi karte hain. Maza aata hai!

Aangan Facilitator: To tum logon ki item hai ki nahin?

Jagdish: Sir, jiske paas paisa hota hai, item bhi usike paas jaati hai. Aur yeh area bhi dangerous hai. Here girls are not allowed to go out of their houses. Haan, chhota-mota jhadi marna, item logon ko chhedna. Bas idhar itna hi chalta hai.

Aangan Facilitator: So what are your future plans?

Jagdish: Sir, hum logon ka bhavishya kaisa hoga? We can't think of anything because we are not rich and neither are we educated. So dekhte hain - jo hoga so hoga!

Raada in Antop Hill

There is high tension between the Tamil and the Muslim children in the community. We met Jaffar, a seventeen year old who has lived in Antop Hill for a while now. A sharp, observant boy, his peers look up to him as a leader. He gave us his unique perspective on life in Antop Hill:

Jaffar: If our houses had not been demolished, we would have not been in all this trouble.

Aangan Facilitator: What trouble?

Jaffar: The tension with the Tamil children. Raadas (fights among gangs) and daily conflicts. You know right now the Tamil boys rule the area...but wait and see..it's going to be our turn soon.

Aangan Facilitator: Tell us about this colony and the residents!

Jaffar: *Iska bahut purana itihaas hai.* Originally Antop Hill was dominated by the Tamil population (from Salem, Tamilnadu). But about seven years ago the slums near the railway tracks of Sewri were also demolished and the people rehabilitated in MHADA colony. So when the Muslims came here from Sewri, we were highly dominated by the Tamils.

Aangan Facilitator: In what way were you all dominated?

Jaffar: Firstly we were not accepted by the Tamil people. They just hated us. We were not allowed to sit outside our houses or assemble at the meeting spots. They used to beat our community's children. Our children were not allowed to play in the area. There were also many clashes during the time of our religious festivals. Later on conditions started improving, but even today regular clashes take place among children of both the communities.

Aangan Facilitator: How did the conditions start improving?

Conversations

Jaffar: Two years ago, a policeman called Nadeem Khan was posted here. The bloody guy was a senior officer – he had three stars you know. He is a Muslim - very strict. So the Tamilians got scared. This has put some control on their notorious behaviour.

Aangan Facilitator: What kind of notorious behaviour?

Jaffar: These Tamil people carry on the businesses of video parlors, video game centres, and matkas (gambling centres), prostitution, supplying drugs etc. So they have contacts with the bhais and goondas (gangsters). They are not afraid even of the police. Their children are also into notorious behaviour like chain-snatching and small thefts, beating and harassing children and eve-teasing.

Aangan Facilitator: What are the reasons for the clashes between the Tamil and the Muslim children? Are the adults involved in these fights?

Jaffar: Lots of reasons. But at present the clashes mainly happen in the name of girls. Here children as young as seven years old chase girls. *How can we tolerate them harassing our women? Izzat ka sawal hota hai.* Sometimes we also tease and molest their girls and they attack us. Adults are generally not involved in these fights, but sometimes in serious cases they do get involved - and the matter reaches the police where it is settled. Many fights also happen over games like carom and cricket. But these are small and they are settled among children.

Aangan Facilitator: How serious are the fights?

Jaffar: A few boys bring knives or something easily available in their houses, mainly to create fear. Boys rarely actually use weapons. In some cases where the matter becomes worse, *mandvalis* (compromises) are reached with the involvement of the big bhais. Like there is one known as Khan bhai from the Muslim community and there is one Selva Bhai from the Tamil community.

Aangan Facilitator: So how will all this end?

Jaffar: Sir, the ones with the strength rule the roost. Till yesterday they had the power, but very soon we are going to take over.

Isse Achchha to Bhaigiri Hai! (Being a Gangster makes More Sense)

Suresh is 15 years old and has passed Std. IX. He belongs to a lower middle class family originally from Salem, Tamilnadu. When we met this boy he was busy playing cards with his friends. But he obligingly came with us to a nearby tea stall where we had hot tea and a hearty discussion:

"Though my parents belong to Tamilnadu, I have been born and brought up in Mumbai. My father works in nearby buildings as a sweeper. I study in Gurunanak School. Last year I failed in Std. IX and I had to repeat the class. But this year I passed. I hate mathematics and my parents can't afford tuitions. I have completely lost interest in studies. What's the use of school anyway? My brother studied till Std. XII but he just has some silly job. It makes much more sense to be a gangster.

Most of my friends have girlfriends but I don't have any. I don't have the money to spend on them. And let's face it – if you have money then you get the girls too. Anyway I watch them and tease them...that's enough for me right now.

I hardly get any pocket money from my parents. Sometimes I lie to my parents - I ask for money to buy books or to pay the fees and then I spend it with my friends. We go to the video parlour to see blue films, we smoke, drink and eat gutkha, but I don't drink...I know the consequences. My father is an alcoholic. There was a pause and then he changed the subject. I wanted to become a police officer but it requires lot of money. Now I want to become a bhai because you can earn a lot and even the policewalas fear the bhais. The bhais get all the pretty girls also.

Three years earlier I had been with my parents to my native place. It's very hot over there and there is no electricity. But I liked the place very much. I got a chance to be with my grandparents. Since then, every year I wait to go to my village.

At this point Suresh's friend called him outside. Suresh came back and said that he had urgent work to do and had to rush off. Later when we asked, his friends said it was time for the matinee show of the blue film at the nearby video parlor.

As he left he promised us, " *The next time you come you won't see Suresh...you'll see Suresh bhai.*"

1. C. Age of the respondent - How do you perceive prostitutes?

Age of the respondent	Perception - How do you perceive prostitutes?				Total
	Like to go with them	We are used to go with them	Don't like	Indifferent	
12	3	1	0	0	4
13	6	2	3	0	11
14	5	4	4	1	14
15	4	2	8	1	15
16	9	6	5	2	22
17	10	11	13	2	36
18	6	1	9	2	18
Total	43	27	42	8	120

1. D. Age of the respondent - Do you visit video parlors?

Age of the respondent	Do you visit video parlors?			Total
	Yes	No	NA	
12	4	0	0	4
13	6	5	0	11
14	5	5	4	14
15	7	7	1	15
16	16	3	3	22
17	21	10	5	36
18	13	4	1	18
Total	72	34	14	120

1. E. Age of the respondent * If yes - how often do you visit video parlors?

Age of the respondent	If yes - how often do you visit?						Total
	Every day	Once a week	Twice a week	Once a fortnight	Once a month	NA	
12	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
13	5	3	1	0	0	2	11
14	8	1	1	1	0	3	14
15	6	1	2	0	0	6	15
16	10	4	4	2	1	1	22
17	12	10	5	2	0	7	36
18	6	2	6	0	1	3	18
Total	51	21	19	5	2	22	120

1. F. Age of the respondent - Have you ever participated in anti-social activities?

Age of the respondent		Have you ever participated in anti-social activities?				
		Yes	No	NA	33	Total
12	Count	2	2	0	0	4
	% of Total	1.7%	1.7%	.0%	.0%	3.3%
13	Count	2	9	0	0	11
	% of Total	1.7%	7.5%	.0%	.0%	9.2%
14	Count	4	8	2	0	14
	% of Total	3.3%	6.7%	1.7%	.0%	11.7%
15	Count	4	10	1	0	15
	% of Total	3.3%	8.3%	.8%	.0%	12.5%
16	Count	5	16	1	0	22
	% of Total	4.2%	13.3%	.8%	.0%	18.3%
17	Count	7	19	9	1	36
	% of Total	5.8%	15.8%	7.5%	.8%	30.0%
18	Count	1	15	2	0	18
	% of Total	.8%	12.5%	1.7%	.0%	15.0%
Total	Count	25	79	15	1	120
	% of Total	20.8%	65.8%	12.5%	.8%	100.0%

1. G Number of family members who are minors * Have you ever been to a police station?

Number of family members who are minors	Have you ever been to a police station?			
	Yes	No	NA	Total
1	3	8	7	18
2	4	13	3	20
3	5	4	8	17
4	2	14	10	26
5	3	8	6	17
6	3	3	1	7
7	1	4	0	5
8	1	3	1	5
9	1	0	2	3
10	0	1	0	1
11	0	1	0	1
Total	23	59	38	120

2. D Type of family of the respondent - Have you ever participated in anti social activities?

Type of family of the respondent	Have you ever participated in anti- social activities			
	Yes	No	NA	Total
Nuclear	23	68	12	103
Joint	2	11	4	17
Total	25	79	16	120

3. A Monthly income of the respondent's family - Do you visit video parlors?
3. B Monthly income of the respondent's family - Do you spend time with your parents?

Monthly income of the respondent's family	Do you spend time with your parents?			
	Yes	No	NA	Total
500-2000	31	5	0	36
2001-3500	21	11	0	32
3501-5500	20	8	2	30
5501-7500	6	2	10	18
7501-9500	3	0	0	3
9501-10000	1	0	0	1
Total	82	26	12	120

How much time do you spend with your mother?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1-4 hours	69	57.5	57.5	57.5
5-7 hours	38	31.7	31.7	89.2
8-10 hours	8	6.7	6.7	95.8
NA	5	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	120	100.0	100.0	

4. Education Beyond Classrooms

4. A Education - Are you literate?

		Frequency	%
Valid	Yes	39	32.5
	No	81	67.5
Total		120	100.0

4. B Education - Are you literate - If no, what is the reason?

Education - are you literate? problem	If no, what is the reason?					Any Other	Total
	Economic School	School is far	Not Interested in studies	To work for the family	NA		
Yes	20	5	4	0	10	0	39
No	22	2	16	21	13	7	81
Total	42	7	20	21	23	7	120

4. C Did you drop out from the school * Have you ever participated in anti social activities?

		Have you ever participated in anti- social activities?					
			Yes	No	NA	Total	
Did you drop out from the school	Yes	Count	14	32	0	46	
		% of Total	11.7%	26.7%	.0%	38.3%	
	No	Count	7	24	3	34	
		% of Total	5.8%	20.0%	2.5%	28.3%	
	NA	Count	4	23	13	40	
		% of Total	3.3%	19.2%	10.8%	33.3%	
Total		Count	25	79	16	120	
		% of Total	20.8%	65.8%	13.3%	100.0%	

5. Peer group influence on respondents

5. B Do you have friends - How much time do you spend with your friends - Age of the respondent

Age of the respondent			How much time do you spend with your friends?			
			1-4 hours	5-7 hours	8-10 hours	Total
12	Do you have friends?	Yes	2	1	1	4
	Total		2	1	1	4
13	Do you have friends?	Yes	4	4	3	11
	Total		4	4	3	11
14	Do you have friends?	Yes	4	5	4	13
		NA	0	0	1	1
	Total		4	5	5	14
15	Do you have friends?	Yes	7	5	3	15
	Total		7	5	3	15
16	Do you have friends?	Yes	7	8	6	21
		NA	0	0	1	1
	Total		7	8	7	22
17	Do you have friends?	Yes	12	6	16	34
		NA	0	0	2	2
	Total		12	6	18	36
18	Do you have friends?	Yes	4	5	9	18
	Total		4	5	9	18

6. Influence of surroundings on respondents

6. A		Age of the respondent - High risk factors *					
		How many times have you heard about it – Violence - Gender of the respondent					
Gender of the respondent		High risk factors how many times have you heard about it - Violence					
		Once a week	Once a month	Once in 3 months	Once in 6 months	Total	
Male	Age of the respondent	12	3	0	0	1	4
		13	7	0	0	4	11
		14	7	3	0	3	13
		15	9	0	1	3	13
		16	13	3	0	5	21
		17	23	1	2	3	29
		18	11	0	1	3	15
	Total	73	7	4	22	106	
Female	Age of the respondent		14	1	0		1
		15	2	0			2
		16	0	1			1
		17	6	1			7
		18	1	2			3
	Total		10	4		14	

6. B Age of the respondent - High risk factors *How many times have you heard about it - Petty offences?

		High risk factors - How many times have you heard about it - Petty offences					
		Once a Week	Once a month	Once in 3 months	Once in 6 months	Once in a year	Total
Age of the respondent	12	2	0	0	2	0	4
	13	5	0	0	4	2	11
	14	6	2	0	4	2	14
	15	9	0	0	5	1	15
	16	11	2	0	5	4	22
	17	21	5	1	1	8	36
	18	9	0	1	3	5	18
Total	63	9	2	24	22	120	