

CHOICELESS ON STREETS



Need Assessment Of Homeless in Mumbai

Research Project conducted by

Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD)

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A Study of 300 samples of homeless across pockets of Mumbai

Researcher: Shwetank Mishra

Research Project conducted by

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Published in 2011

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For Private Circulation only

Support Contribution: Rs.100/-

Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD) is a non-profit organization founded in 1973 registered under the Bombay Public Trust Act. BUILD is mainly engaged in community organization/mobilization among the urban poor especially slum communities in Mumbai with the aim of equipping and empowering them to attain a dignified life through multi-dimensional, right based approach, research and advocacy.

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Foreword

Dear readers

Homelessness, one of the worst conditions of existence for a person deprived of security, growth and dignity of life. There are millions of homeless people in India especially in the cities. The far cries of their needs are unheard by the policy makers or the State. Though there were few attempts by the civil society organizations to survey and study the situations of the homeless but not much has happened in this line. At the outset of Supreme Court of India's directives to the States to build night shelters and the Census Directorate of India's census enumeration of the homeless in India, we at BUILD thought it would be appropriate to have a proper research on the Need Assessment of the Homeless in Mumbai, which will help academics, NGO's, civil society members, policy makers and city planners to plan and design appropriate measures for this problem.

This study was supported by Bread for the World (BftW), Germany as a part of larger project to understand poverty and hunger in the African and Asia Pacific countries and to develop strategies to overcome the gravity of the situation. Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD) – a partner of BftW, was given the opportunity to do this micro study on the Homeless in the city of Mumbai. We thank Bread for the World, Mr. Martin Remppis and his colleagues for providing this opportunity and their inputs and constant encouragement.

We sincerely thank our principal researcher Shwetank Mishra, M.A. (Eco) Delhi School of Economics and his team for undertaking the task of extensive survey, data collection and analysis. We extend our sincere thanks to Fr. (Prof.) S. M. Michael, Department of Sociology, University of Mumbai, for his inputs and suggestions.

We hope this pioneer attempt of making the Need Assessment of the homeless in Mumbai titled "Choiceless on Streets" will generate interest in understanding the problem and to make needful interventions.

Rev. George Daniel
General Secretary
Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD)
Mumbai
November 2011

Acknowledgement

It was at a fortuitous meeting of 'Homeless Collective' in January 2011 that Rev. George Daniel spoke to me about doing a study on Homeless in Mumbai. I was also toying with a similar idea, having just completed coordinating the census of houseless in Mumbai with the Census Directorate, Maharashtra and the NGOs. During the last six years of my work with the urban homeless in Mumbai, one of the sore missing points that I often experienced was the practical non-existence of any systematic study of the homeless population in India. While there is a substantial literature both academic and non-academic available on the issue in the west, there is little in the Indian context that one can refer to. There are a number of studies however, on the homeless children, dealt under the title of Street Children but it is age specific and does not do justice to the issue of homelessness.

In the completion of this Need Assessment Study I must first and foremost thank the homeless people who agreed to be interviewed and spoke with a lot of hope, expecting that this study will not end up like other surveys that they have been part of and which yielded no positive change in their lives. Next I must thank Rev. George Daniel and Rathna of BUILD for giving the opportunity to work on this study which we hope will prove a useful reference for understanding the issues of homeless in Mumbai. I would also like to thank them for painstakingly going through the first draft of the study and giving very useful and important suggestions.

I would also like to thank my team members Brijesh Arya, Prem Kumar, Shравanthi Dasari, Pranab Dole, Sobroto Dey and Durgesh Solanki for following a very short and tough deadline for the data collection. Durgesh Solanki also did the tedious work of data entry. I must thank separately Ranjana Raghunathan, (who herself has done a separate study on homeless women) for assisting me during the pre-data collection stage and for her suggestions in designing the questionnaire besides being part of the data collection team.

I must also thank Mr. Martin Remppis of Bread for the World for supporting this study on an extremely marginalised and vulnerable population among the urban space.

I hope this study satisfies both the academic and the non-academic reader, but most importantly this Need Assessment leads to increased interventions with the homeless in the city.

Shwetank Mishra
Mumbai
November 2011

*"With jobs must come homes
if they don't,
then people will live where they can...!"*

says Shirish Patel,
one of Bombay's best known civil engineers and city
planners

ⁱ As quoted by columnist Dilip D'Souza in 'Cut-off by the date' on India Together website.
www.indiatogether.org

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Who is Homeless?

The urban homeless represent the poorest of the poor in urban society who have to survive with only two of their basic human needs being met – *Roti (food)* and *kapda (clothing)*, but no *makan (shelter)*. Homeless people also called “Rough sleepers” in western countries. They are noticeable all through the later part of night in the city, sleeping on the roadside pavements, on dividers, above hand carts, at staircases of religious places, under the bastion of closed shops, beneath over bridges, at railway platforms, on sea beaches and so on. However, this is an image which leads people to conjure up images of substance abusers, pick-pockets, thieves and unclean rowdies - an image which is not quite the truth; an identity that has led to their exclusion from the rest of the society except for the minimum economic interactions.

Simple things like finding a job, taking a shower are things we take for granted, but are problems for homeless people. How a homeless person goes about getting a job? What address and phone number would they use as a contact? A lot of these things we take for granted, but they are real concerns for the homeless.

Frequently unemployed homeless people are simply tagged as lazy, but there are a lot of homeless people who want to work, but face numerous stumbling blocks. When their appearance is unkempt and their clothes are weathered, they are often shunned from simple restaurants where they may be seeking a meal.

There are some homeless people who face mental illness issues, but they often fall through the cracks of the system and have a harder time accessing health care. They can be seen as scary and crazy, but a rich artist or movie star with mental health problems is often described as eccentric. Addictions are sometimes a problem as well with similar dynamics in attitudes between the rich and the poor.

This group due to its generally unclean outward appearance has difficulty in accessing basic facilities of health, shelter and protection. Most importantly they are an easy and vulnerable target even for law enforcement agencies; their very existence being under threat with rampant violations of their constitutional, legal and human rights. Article 21 of our Indian Constitution grants its citizens right to life with dignity, but the conditions in which homeless are forced to live de-dignify a person and violate all his/ her rights.

Homeless people face many problems beyond the lack of a safe and suitable home. They are often faced with many social disadvantages also, reduced access to private and public services and reduced access to vital necessities:

1. Reduced access to health care services.
2. Limited access to education.
3. Increased risk of suffering from violence and abuse.
4. General rejection or discrimination from other people.
5. Loss of usual relationships with the mainstream
6. Not being seen as suitable for employment.
7. Reduced access to banking services

Homeless people get treatment similar to the untouchables. This sort of banishment treatment can add to the homeless' feeling of despair and reinforce issues of low self esteem and unworthiness.

2. Origins of Homeless

Majority of Homeless are migrants who **migrate to the city for better opportunities**. People **affected by evictions and displacement, runaways, family problems, communal clashes, natural calamities, misfortune and people with psychological problems** are other groups of people who end up on the streets. However, once on the streets their *fate accompli* is common - trapped in the cycle of homelessness and its associated difficulties.

3. Definition

The Census of India uses the term "Houseless" for homeless persons and definesⁱⁱ the 'houseless population' as those persons which do not live in buildings or Census houses but live in the open or roadside, pavements, in hume pipes, under fly-overs and staircases, or in the open in places of worship, mandaps, railway platforms, etc. 'Census houses' refers to 'a structure with roof'. This part of the population includes those sleeping without shelter, in constructions not meant for habitation.

4. Categories

The entire homeless population can be divided in to two categories: 1) homeless families-homeless families living alone and/ or in communities of families and 2) Individual homeless - those who live singly.

5. Number of homeless in Mumbai

2001 Census of India found there were 38,000 homeless people in Mumbai. This is likely to be a gross underestimateⁱⁱⁱ, as the enumeration of homeless is not carried out in proper manner as observed during the 2011 Census in Mumbai and Delhi where many parts and the locations where the homeless sleep were left out and only those which were in open were enumerated. The researcher and BUILD assisted the census authorities with counting of homeless during the 2011 homeless census in Mumbai. It is estimated that only in Mumbai there are around 100,000 homeless.

According to the census of India the total Urban homeless population in India in 2001 was 770,000. The urban homeless population of the entire state of Maharashtra was approximately

104000-the largest population of urban homeless across all states in the country. The NCT of Delhi had only 24000 homeless. West Bengal had 90000, UP 97000, and Tamil Nadu 57000.

However, we now know that these figures are also underestimations with nearly 30 to 50 percent population being left in the one night counting of homeless done by the census according to estimates by the Collective for Homeless Citizens, a Network of NGOs in Mumbai.

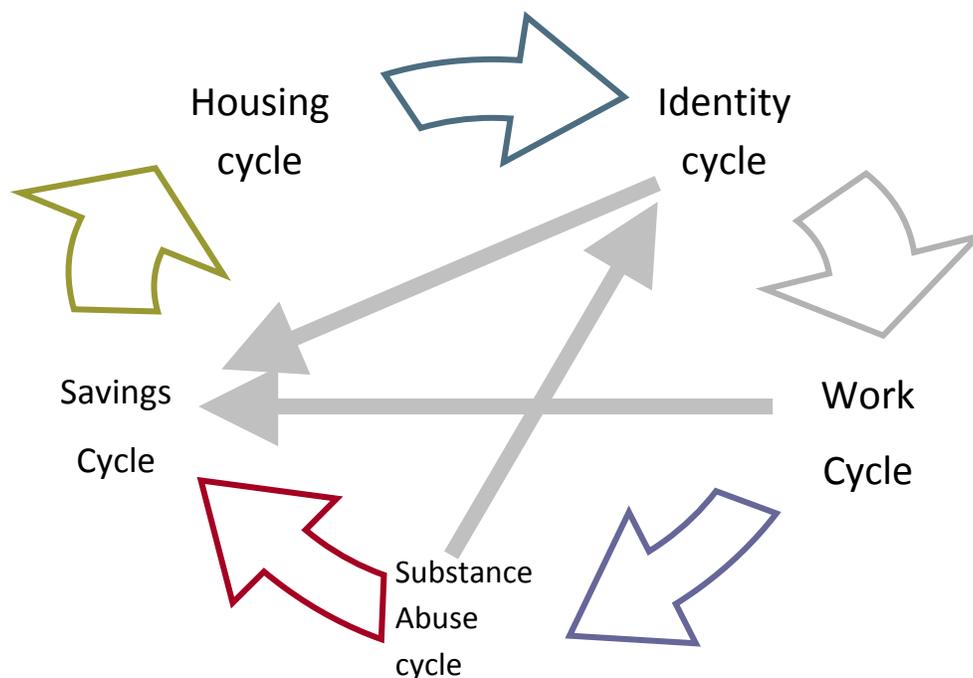
6. Work profile of Homeless

Homeless in Mumbai are working in the informal sector as coolies, thela (cart) pushers/pullers, loaders/unloaders, casual workers in construction, catering, carpenters, etc. Children are engaged in rag picking, hand cart pushing, street eating joints, contract catering in marriages and other Parties, etc.

While they are contributing to the growth of Mumbai and subsidise our costs of living by providing cheap labour (Rs. 129/day) and keep our cities clean (they are hired by BMC to clean the cities drains) but they get nothing in return, except insults and indignities heaped on them day in and day out.

7. The Vicious Cycle of Homelessness^{iv}

The most basic fact of a person considered homeless is the lack of a roof above his/her head. This leads to the creation of a number of other conditions which keep reinforcing each other, keeping a person trapped in street life. The operation of forces that keep a person homeless can be understood by looking at the following diagram:



**Note: The thickness of the arrows has no correlation with the strength of the forces.*

A person living on the streets does not have a house so, cannot have a residence proof, which is mostly required as an identity proof and of credit worthiness and credibility. The lack of identity proof results in employers not hiring them in regular well paying employment. As a result the homeless are not able to have an income which allows them to save enough. Since they are not able to accumulate savings they are not able to pay the deposits and rent required for renting a space in the city of Mumbai. Thus a person without a roof ends up being caught in this cycle: no house - no identity - low paying work - no savings - no house - no apparent way of getting out without external support.

Each point in this cycle has a sub cycle of its own which further reinforces the larger homelessness cycle and keeps a person on the streets. They are a) the identity cycle, b) the work cycle, c) the savings cycle and d) the substance abuse cycle.

Once in to homelessness, the dignity of life is taken away from them, they loose their confidence and are disempowered.

There are many other dimensions and ways to look at the homelessness issues, however for this study of need assessment; to keep tractability and clarity on the issues this framework is being used. This is not to deny that other ways like hidden and visible, according to age groups and according to reasons of homelessness cannot be looked at.

CHAPTER 2

RIGHTS OF THE HOMELESS

1. Rights of the Homeless

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR): On the basis of the provisions established in the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the right to adequate Housing occupies a significant place in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Article 11.1 of the Covenant States that: *"The States Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realisation of this right, recognising to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent"*. However, India being a signatory to this Covenant has not done much in realizing these Rights among the citizens.

The right to adequate housing is also recognised internationally in several other instruments that have focused on the need to protect rights of particular groups, such as CEDAW (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women), CRC (Committee on Rights of the Child) and CERD (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination), and there are even a few General Comments specifically on housing as a fundamental human right.

The Indian Supreme Court has placed great emphasis on guaranteeing housing rights as part of the larger goal of achieving social and economic equality, which is also a fundamental constitutional objective.

Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act 2000(JJ act): A homeless person under the age of 18 should be dealt under the JJ Act. They should be seen by the Child Welfare Committee and their enquiry be held as per their needs. There are various options under this Act such as the child is returned to the family, sent for adoption or to shelter homes. However, a study by the organization Quality Institutional Care and Alternatives for Children (Maharashtra) in 2003-04 shows that there are serious violations of the JJ Act, including lack of resources and rehabilitation. Instead of providing assistance to the many children on the streets they have been brutally assaulted by the police.

The National Youth Policy, 2003: This Policy aims to cover the youth in the country under the age group of 13-35 to develop in them qualities of citizenship, to instill in them secular principles to ensure peace and harmony. The Policy assures that the youth be provided with proper educational and training opportunities to facilitate employment, shelter, clean environment, basic health services, protection from all manner of exploitation, suitable participation in decision making bodies related to the youth, sufficient fund allocation for the development of youth. However, with regard to the Homeless Youth, these rights are far from being realized.

The Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act (1959) is one of the main laws that affect homeless. This states that a person can be arrested for begging or even selling things on streets. According to this, someone who is spending time in a public place with no visible means of subsistence can be taken in as a beggar (BPBA, Section 2-(1) (d))^v. This leads to homeless who toil on the streets to earn a living, being humiliated and held in custody and criminalised.

2. Schemes & Policies Protecting the Homeless

Government Employment Programs

1. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India has various schemes set up in the field of livelihood training. Their affiliated **Industrial Training Institutes (ITI)** exist within all states in the country. The institute offers training in various trades such as welding, tailoring, book binding, driving etc. but only for individuals who passed the 8th grade. However the real situation is that many youth at risk, including those who have grown up on the street with or without family support, do not have enough educational qualifications to participate in these programmes.

2. The **Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA)** aims to address the root cause of poverty and arrest migration. This scheme promises 100 days of employment at minimum wage per day for one person in a rural, poor household. There is no equivalent programme in urban setting.

3. The **Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY)** offers a self employment program and a wage employment program. However, the self employment scheme requires a business plan and a little capital which homeless do not have. The wage program is only active in cities with less than 5 lakh people, which rules out all major cities like Mumbai where the problem of Homeless is the worst^{vi}.

Housing

Over the past fifty years, government policy has matured from a fragmented scheme-oriented approach to one that sees housing as part of integrated development. The National Housing Policy and the National Housing Bank are results of this new thinking. However, as we will see below none of the schemes really have included the needs of homeless within them.

The **Rajiv Awaz Yojana (RAY)** envisages a 'slum free India' by encouraging States/ UTs to adopt a multi pronged approach focusing on tackling the issue of shortage of urban land and housing for the urban poor. The RAY would be till the end of the 12th five year plan (2009/10 – 2016/17). It aims to bring in to the formal system those who are forced to live without right to basic amenities and services and towards correcting the deficiencies regarding urban development and town planning which have failed to create conditions of inclusiveness and equity.

The National Common Minimum Programme (2004) had a key focus on tackling the needs of India's poor. The one lakh core **Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)** Project was introduced in 2005 which focused attention to the integrated

development of urban infrastructure and services with special emphasis on provision of **basic services to the urban poor**, including housing, water supply, etc.

However, even the present emphasis misses out the street dwellers in the houseless category. They have been neither accounted for nor acknowledged in any of the policy documents and the programmes for housing.

In 2007 on World Habitat Day, the Union Cabinet cleared the **Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana** with a grant of Rs 2000 crores for the next Five-Year Plan period.

The Union Minister for Urban Development of the NDA government had declared that four lakh affordable houses would be built every year by public sector institutions for the urban poor. Real estate developers estimate that for a family to acquire a one-room kitchen tenement, situated in the distant suburbs of metro cities, would cost a minimum of Rupees Two hundred thousand . The monthly installment for a 15-year loan would be Rs. 1860, or roughly 75% of the average monthly income of a slum dweller! Forget the Homeless in this costing, it is way beyond they can even dream of (as will be seen ahead from the study).

Mahatma Gandhi Path Kranti Yojana^{vii} of Government of Maharashtra is a programme to rehabilitate pavement dwellers. This scheme requires anyone applying for rehabilitation must have his/her name in the electoral rolls before 1995. This is probably the only scheme under which some homeless families can claim residence from the government. It was introduced in 2007 and has benefited homeless families from Senapati Bapat Marg, Grant Road and P D Mello road^{viii}.

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, Government of India, introduced a **Night shelter scheme for the urban homeless**, 1988-89^{ix} which was to be implemented by State governments and supported by HUDCO (Housing and Urban Development Corporation). However, the scheme has been discontinued from 2005 after the Central government transferred the night shelters scheme to the State sector. When the Scheme was functional for a few years, except for a construction of a Pay and Use Toilet there was no Shelters built in Mumbai.

3. Programmes and Facilities in Other States

Delhi Government and some other states like Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan run night shelters for homeless. There is no such facility in the city of Mumbai. Delhi is a good benchmark to compare the issues of homeless and services available for them due to its comparable size of population and importance.

In Delhi the shelters are permanent shelters running in community centre buildings or in dedicated facilities for shelters for the homeless. They are called "*rain baseras*" or night shelters. More temporary shelters in tents are set up during the winters. Some of these shelters are managed directly by the Delhi Government and some are managed as public private partnership (PPP) with NGOs. A total of 34 permanent shelters are running in Delhi.

The Delhi government under its programme called "Mission Convergence" has set up a separate mechanism and structure to address the issue of homeless. It has one Mother NGO

(MNGO) and 5-6 NGOs for running the operations for the homeless. The Services aimed to be provided for by this body includes *Health and Samajik Suvidha(basic social) Services for Homeless, Night Shelters and Soup Kitchens (called Jana Ahar), Homes for Street Children, Rehabilitation of Beggars, Improvement of Asha Kiran and Services for Mentally Ill Homeless, Policy and Operational Research Support*^x.

Delhi government conducted a comprehensive survey of homeless in the city in the year 2010 and gave provisional identity cards to them. The ID cards are photo ID cards with their location mentioned in it.

4. Supreme Court Directions about Homeless

It was due to the neglect reflected in the policies above where homeless are ignored that in the winters of 2010 January, the Delhi government demolished shelters^{xi} meant for Homeless, for beautification of the roundabout at Pusa Road for the Commonwealth Games resulting in death of two persons due to severe cold. The issue was raised by the activists and the media coverage forced the Delhi High Court and Supreme Court to take *Suo-motto* action on the matter. The Supreme Court passed directions to all State governments to set up 24 hour Shelters for homeless in 62 class one cities and provide all basic facilities in those shelters. Every city must have one shelter for every hundred thousand of the total population of the city. Thus, Mumbai with a population of 12478447 as per 2011 provisional data must have at least 124 shelters. But none exists.

The shelters should have basic facilities as beds and beddings, toilets, potable drinking water, lockers, first aid, de-addiction and recreation facilities.

This order was passed in May 2010 and even after a year the Government of Maharashtra has doggedly tried shirking its responsibility towards the homeless and has not set up shelters in accordance with the order.

Thus, it is clear from the list of programmes above that the homeless population is not yet on the radar of the Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) and the state government of Maharashtra. Most schemes are relevant for slum dwellers or other categories of urban poor but fail to take care of the needs and capacities of the homeless.

5. Intervention of NGOs in the City

There are a large number of NGOs that work with street children and street youth like Childline, Salaam Baalak, Saathi, and Yuva. Some NGOs work on specific issues of street populations and homeless like ration cards. There are organizations like Support that work with Substance users on the streets. Some provide emergency medical needs. But there is no organization in the city which has a comprehensive and holistic intervention with the homeless.

CHAPTER 3

NEED AND RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY

The major difficulties faced by the homeless in their day to day affairs relates with:

- Shelter
- Food
- Health
- Employment
- Identity
- Beating and abuses
- Drug abuse
- Sexual exploitation, etc

Changed Dynamics in the last decade in Mumbai

“Shangisation”

The last decade has seen a shift in the dynamics of the city with major emphasis being put on beautification of the city (“Shanghaisation”) through slum clearance and slum rehabilitation. There has also been a movement of many commercial centres and work towards the suburbs thus shifting employment opportunities towards the north of the city. These changes seem to have affected the homelessness in the city as well.

“Terrorism”

Terrorism in the city has probably had the greatest impact on the homeless in the last few years. It has reduced the already limited options of work available to the homeless by increase in security verifications and rigorous identification proofs required which is not available to most homeless as has also emerged in the study.

No systematic studies

Despite their marginalization, the severity and enormity of problems and the dynamic nature of the homeless there has been no systematic study and documentation of their issues in the city of Mumbai. Whatever is known and understood about the issue of homeless in Mumbai is mostly through experiential sharing of people working on the issue. There was an attempt by Action Aid to do a study on Homeless in 2004 (BUILD was part of this study) and did a head count of homeless in the city. It also collected basic socio-economic information from a sample amongst them however the study was not completed and is not in the public domain. Thus, there exists practically nothing to base any fresh intervention or even advocacy activity. Therefore, a systematic study of a chosen sample of homeless was pertinent to build proper evidence based understanding and interventions.

CHAPTER 4

AIM, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

1. Aim

The aim of the study is to assist in the formation of a strategy for starting a need based intervention with the homeless in the city of Mumbai and for initiating advocacy for their rights.

2. Objectives - Issues to be Assessed

The study assesses the needs of the homeless- in respect of:

- a. **Food security:** Access, availability and affordability of food- Specially look in to the wardi system of free food in the areas of study. Wardi is a system of free food hotels associated to Muslim religious practice of feeding the poor.
- b. Access to other **basic services** like Shelter, health and hygiene facilities
- c. Access to **education for children**
- d. **livelihood**
- e. Whether the target group enjoys any **government welfare schemes**, like ration cards, social security, and such other
- f. Other needs issues of, **identity**, and access to rights

The study would explore the above needs with regards to

- a. Whether the homeless are aware about services
- b. Whether they are able to access them and
- c. What are their aspirations about them

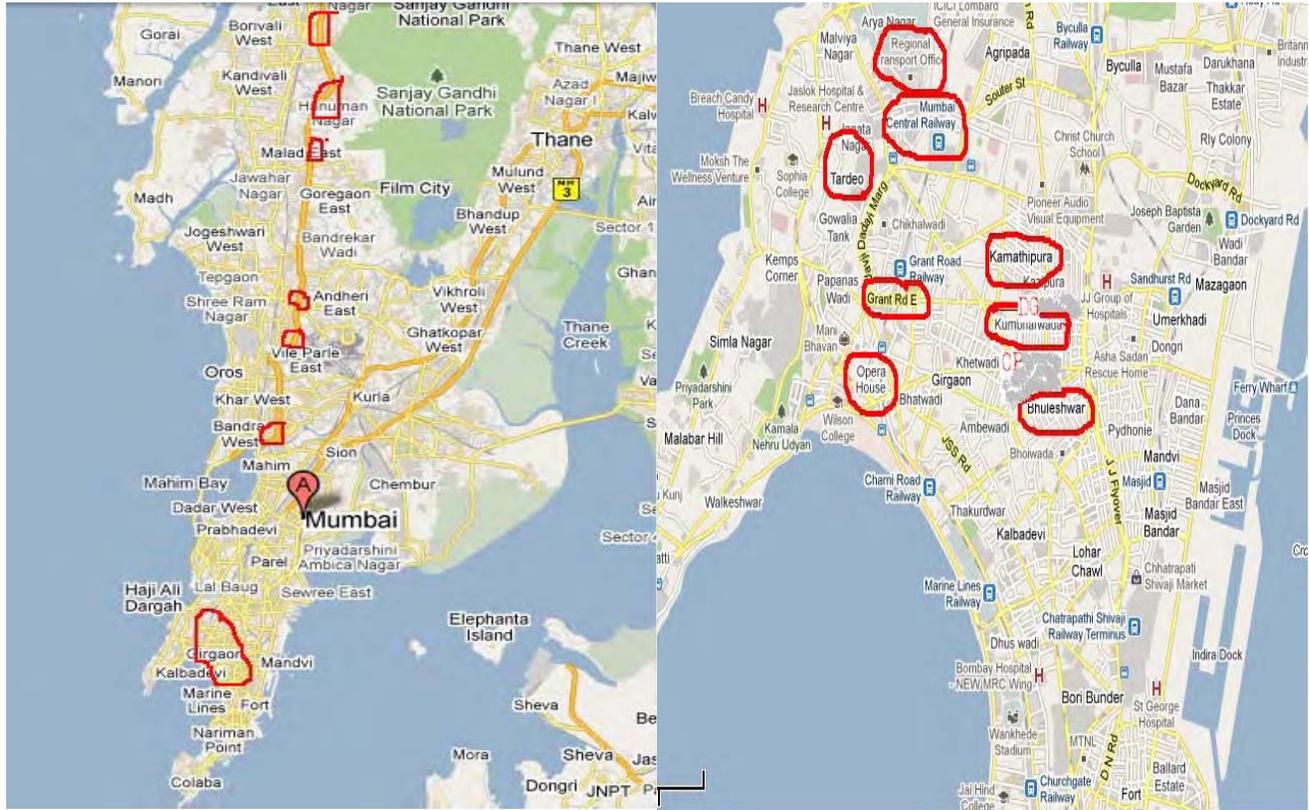
3. Methodology

a. Definition

Homeless for this Study mean persons who do not have a house and have been living in the open on the roadside, pavements, drainage pipes, under staircase, or in the open, temple mandaps, platforms and the like for **at least more than a month**'.

The qualifying criterion of a month was kept so as to ensure that a homeless has lived long enough in the city to have used and experienced most civic services in the area and would have experienced other issues while living on the streets. The basis for keeping this time duration is based on the experience of the researcher having worked with homeless for more than five years.

b. Geographical Coverage:



The locations were selected from the areas where BUILD has its current interventions. Thus, initially the study was to be conducted in North-Western Mumbai, i.e. Bandra, Malad, Kandivili and Borivili. However, after the pilot study it was found that only homeless families resided in these locations where BUILD had its interventions. Therefore, other areas in the city needed to be included to have a better mix of the homeless. Locations in South-Central Mumbai where pockets of Homeless were known to exist were included. Some pockets were discovered while interacting with the homeless. Thus, the selection of locations was more purposive than random.

Hence Durgadevi Garden, Kumbharwada, Bombay Central Terminus, Kamathipura, Women's College-Andheri, Vakola Bridge, Sane Guruji Marg, RTO Tardeo, Bandra Terminus, Mathews Road (Opera House), Tardeo, C.P. Tank, Charni Road, Borivali Flyover near National Park, Sai Baba Mandir-Malad, Kandivili flyover on Western Highway, Grant Road, Bhuleshwar, a total of 19 locations spread from the north to the south of the city were covered in the survey. Due to this change after the pilot study, while on the one hand it created difficulties in terms of sampling, at the same time it enriched the study by making it truly pan-Mumbai. The current survey gives good indicators about the issues of homeless in the chosen locations and trends across the city.

c. Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Purposive sampling was used for choosing the sample. A total of 300 homeless were spoken to covering 56 single individual homeless and 244 families. In smaller locations all families and individuals were taken as respondents. At other locations anyone who was willing to speak was interviewed. Attempt was made to keep parity between males and female. 126 males and 174 females overall were interviewed. However, more males were interviewed among individual homeless because more males were visible and available in the individual's category. 42 (75%) were males out of 56 individual homeless. In Families 82 (33%) males out of 246 were interviewed. In the families mostly women were available as the men were at work hence the lower percentage of males in families and not because their numbers are lesser than females in homeless families.

d. Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

The need assessment was done by direct personal interviews with the sample, focus group discussions, and secondary data wherever available and literature reviews. Personal interviews were done using a semi-structured schedule. It included multiple response questions with a section to give narrative responses especially those about problems and aspirations. The interview schedule was split into different sections collecting responses on causes of homelessness, Shelter, Food, Health and Hygiene, Education, Identity, Livelihood, abuse and aspirations.

A pilot was done with 12 individuals using the interview schedule. The schedule was reworked based on the experience of the pilot. It was decided to take out questions about issues which are specific to the location and include it as part of the FGDs. The same schedule was designed to be used for both families and individuals.

e. Limitations of study

1. Limitations of any sample study that is applicable to generalizations is also applicable here.
2. The homeless are not a homogenous lot and their issues are defined by a) their status (i.e., individual or family and Male or a female) and b) their location. Thus, there are universal issues which affect homeless uniformly across the city and there are issues which are specific to the location.
3. Though the sample is pan Mumbai but issues seen displayed locational specificities. The diversity of the homeless in the city and the magnitude of the city should be kept in mind while making generalizations.
4. Age also creates its own problem but age specific issues were not collected. Though some issues about elderly have come in the FGDs.
5. Semi-structured discussions with individual homeless during personal interviews were used as a substitute for FGDs with them.
6. It does not reflect the issues of mentally ill and differently abled as they were not covered since it requires different specialized techniques for studying them than the general population.
7. Those critically addicted to substances and not in a position to answer the interview were not covered in the study.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

The analysis of the findings is done first at the universal level for the Total sample and then broken down to analyse the difference between the broad categories of Individual homeless and Homeless families. It is further analysed according to gender covering differences among all male and female respondents across the two categories. Then the analysis is done according to location and analysed.

While reading the analysis of Homeless families it should be remembered that the responses for family are often representative of the entire family situation and not just of the respondent. Especially when analyzing the male- female difference, it was noticed that some of the responses were those of their husband like in substance use. So where the male- female comparisons has been made this should be kept in mind.

A. PROFILE

The sample covers populations across the city but mostly concentrated on the western side.

The sample has greater number of homeless families as compared to individual homeless. The total sample of 300 comprises of 244 homeless families and 56 individual homeless. There were 126 male respondents across these two categories and 174 female respondents.

| | Males | Females | Total |
|---------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| Homeless Family | 82 | 162 | 244 |
| Individual Homeless | 44 | 12 | 56 |
| Total | 126 | 174 | 300 |

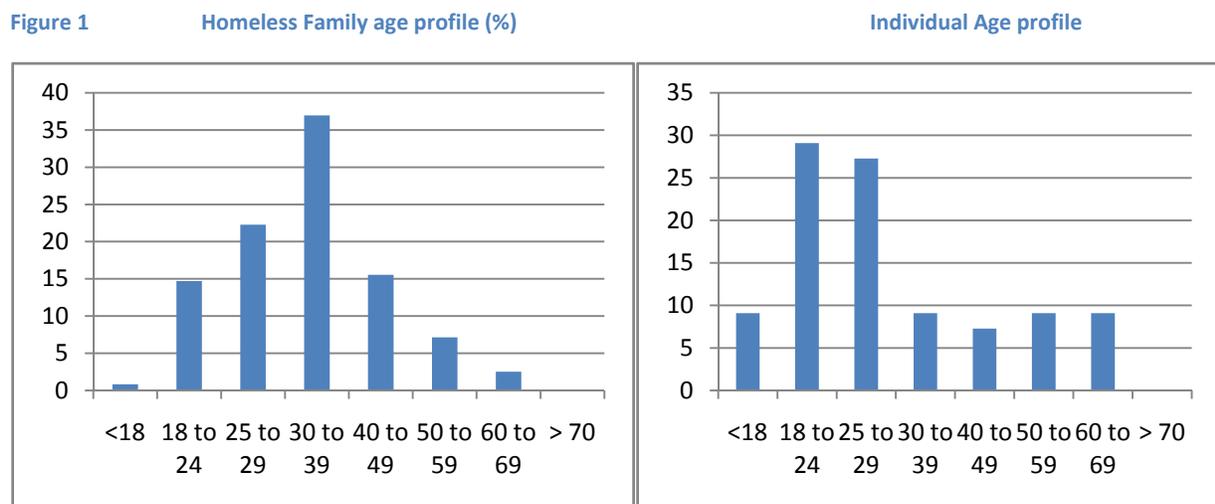
Overall larger number of females (174) was spoken to, as in the homeless families during the day men were away to work and the women were available as respondents. However, more males were interviewed among individual homeless because more males were encountered in the individual category. The reason for so few individual homeless females is that, "...they are either taken into custodial care by Government systems or taken into the fold of pavement families living near the stations or then are picked up by pimps for commercial sex"^{xii}, so only older females are left on the streets in individual homeless category.

Age Profile

55% of the total homeless in the sample are in the economically active age group of 25 to 40 years. 56% individual homeless are in the 18 to 29 age group. The proportion of their population in the 30 to 40 age group drastically falls to 9% and falls further to 7% in the 40 to 49 age group, but rises marginally to 9% in the 50 to 59 years age group.

For the homeless families the proportion of population is at 36% in the 18 to 29 years. It is same at 36% also in the 30 to 40 age groups (see table in appendix). The proportion of population in the 40 to 49 years falls to 15% and further to 7% in 50 to 59 years and to 2% in 60 to 69 years.

The most probable reasons for the steep reduction in individual population in the 30 to 40 age group could be a) the movement of individuals out of homeless, b) males marrying to form families, c) with reduction in the ability to do manual labour, migration back to villages and d) high mortality of individual homeless. The higher percent among individual homeless as compared to homeless families and in the overall sample in the age group 50 to 59 year and 60 to 69 years appears to be due to addition to Individual homeless of abandoned elderly people. This seems more likely in 60 to 69 years as the difference is higher. This should be researched separately.



Caste

The response to this question was on expected lines. 84 respondents did not give any response to caste question. 60 did not answer from Homeless families and 24 from Individual homeless. It was difficult to categorise the innumerable castes in to the standard Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled tribe (ST), Other Backward Castes (OBC) category. A number of respondents only mentioned the scheduled category (whether SC or ST) but refused to give the actual caste.

De-Notified^{xiii} communities and Nomadic tribes form majority among families.^{xiv} Waghri and Pardhi families form the largest number in the tribes and are also the largest numbers in the homeless families in the areas studied. These are migrant tribes but are now quite stable and have been living at the same location for a very long time. This is analysed more in next section. See Appendix table 3.

Class distribution among those who responded to the question

| | Homeless Families | Individuals Homeless | % families | % individuals |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------|---------------|
| Notified Tribes and Nomadic community | 105 | 10 | 57.06 | 31.2 |
| SC | 70 | 10 | 38.0 | 31.2 |
| OBC | 4 | 7 | 2.1 | 21.8 |
| Others | 5 | 5 | 2.7 | 15.6 |
| Total | 184 | 32 | 100 | 100 |

Almost 97% respondents among Homeless families belong to SC, ST or OBC. 83% of Individual homeless belong to SC, ST or OBC. 37% homeless families belong to scheduled castes and 33% individual homeless respondents belonged to SC.

Majority of homeless families (i.e. 57%) are de-notified Tribes, whereas, tribes form only 30% among individual homeless. The difference between Families and Individuals is a reflection of the fact that 1) Nomadic tribes move as families, 2) general category families despite poverty would not migrate due to stigma attached to ending up as homeless in the city, and 3) Also possibly because even though general category family may be poor but they may have land for which the family stays back.

82% of all homeless belong to SC, ST or OBC classes.

Thus, the homeless are primarily from the SC, ST and OBC classes- All the more reason for the government to create a separate scheme for the homeless because of their double marginalization from caste and being the poorest in the city.

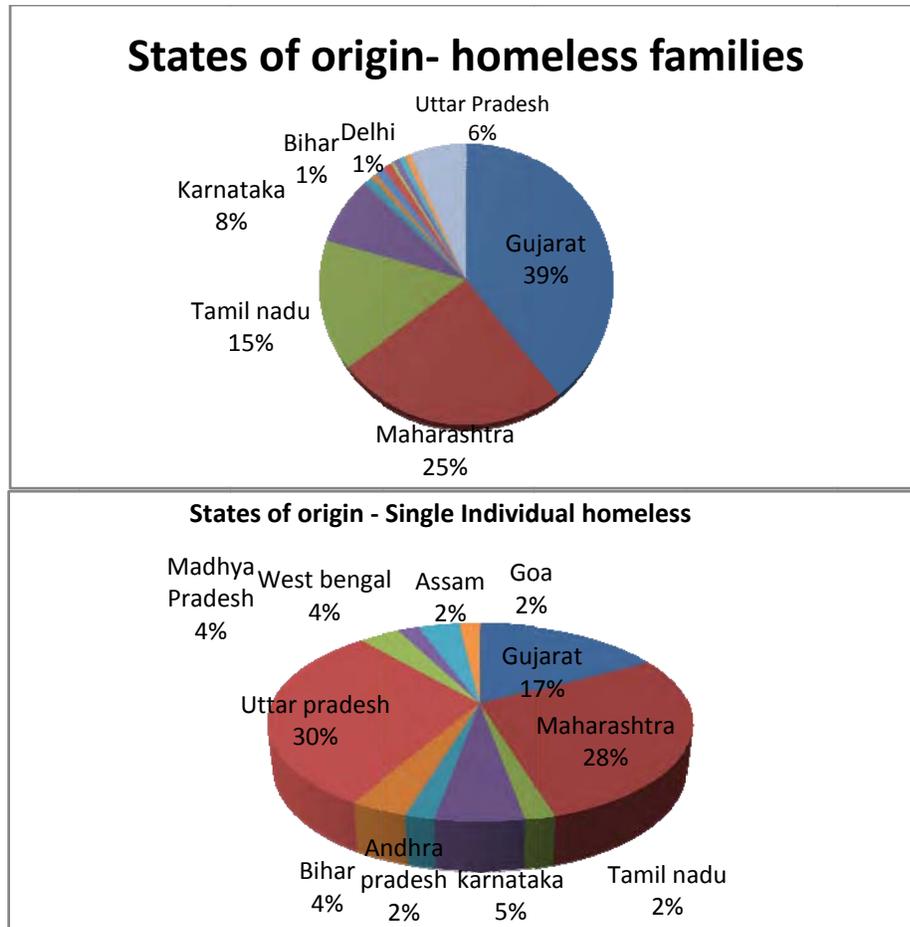
Religion

In religion, the largest proportions of respondents are Hindus followed by Buddhists and Muslims.

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| Hindu | 252 |
| Buddhist | 20 |
| Christian | 3 |
| Muslim | 12 |
| Others | 13 |

States of Origin

The origin of the homeless range from within Mumbai to as far as Assam and Delhi. However, there is a distinct trend visible between homeless families and individual homeless. Most homeless families are from close by Mumbai or nearby States. Nearly 39% homeless families in the sample are from Gujarat followed by Maharashtra.



With regard to Single individual homeless 30% are from Uttar Pradesh followed by Maharashtra at 28% and Gujarat at 17%.

B. HOMELESSNESS PROFILE

Duration on the streets

92% of homeless in the total sample have lived in the streets of the city for more than five years. 96% of homeless families and 87% of individual homeless have lived for more than 5 years on the streets. 58% homeless families have been living in the streets for more than 20 years. 26% of individual homeless have lived on the streets of Mumbai for more than 20 years. (Table 3) Therefore, while understanding the State of origin of the homeless, it should not be interpreted that the respondents are first generation migrants from these areas.

58% of the homeless families have been living on the streets of Mumbai for more than 20 years!

As seen in para above majority of the homeless families are no longer migrants but residents of the city having lived for more than 5 years. During the interview it came out that most homeless families are now second generation homeless with their parents having migrated to the city from the village some as long as 40 years back. Though, this data was not collected separately 58% homeless families have lived for more than 20 years and 95% among them are also married which is a good enough time for second generation to be born. Thus, it can be inferred that most homeless families are second generation migrants. 67% individual homeless are single thus it does point out that the majority in the individual category are first generation migrant to the city.

Contacts with Native place

48% (146 of 300) of the total homeless have maintained linkages with their native places and villages from where they/ their parents migrated. 9% did not maintain any contact. 26% were born in the city and 17% did not give a response.

53% of those maintaining contacts said they visit native place once a year and 36% said they visit during festivals. Most of the respondents, who said they visit once a year, do so during monsoons when Mumbai is not livable due to rains. Thus, it is a myth that homeless are seasonal migrants and do not have a permanence in the city. The behaviour they depict is typical of any resident of the city having links with their native places. Plus, they have permanence of location in the city.

However, even movement during monsoons is a choice available only to some. During monsoons work is not available and the footpaths and other places where they live become unlivable due to rains. So it is advantageous to those who can to design their lives around the monsoons when they finish their business and go back to the villages and then return to the city after the rains. During the FGDs the homeless families in Borivali moved to other cities in monsoons to sell, the broom making community went back home in Rajasthan, and at Bandra went home. All of these groups said it was due to problems from rain and not due to availability of work at their native villages. All others stayed back in the same locations. (See section on shelter below where this is analysed in more detail.)

Among the individual homeless only 23 out of 54 respondents i.e. 44% maintain contact with families and 38% do not have any contact with families. 18% did not give a response. One person responded saying he does not maintain contact with the families out of shame of letting the family know that he is living on the streets and that he is not able to save money to take home. This is a significant departure from families where most maintain contacts with their families.

Assets at Native Place

61% homeless in the sample do not own a house or land in their villages. Only 37% said they have a house or land in their hometown. Thus, the ones who are poor and without a house or land in their village have a higher possibility of ending up being homeless in the city on migration.

Nationally 55% of SC rural households, 67% STs and 57% of OBCs do not have land as per the Rural Labour enquiry report of the Government of India^{xv}. A much greater percentage of scheduled caste households do not have land in Gujarat and Maharashtra as compared to national figures. 68% SC rural households in Gujarat and 63% in Maharashtra do not have land. And these are the two states to which the maximum homeless families and individuals belong to.

The Scheduled tribes nationally have the largest percentage of families possessing land with 67% rural ST households having land. But they form the largest category of homeless families in the study. The reason being that it is the nomadic and denotified tribes within them that settled in the city and ended up as homeless. These nomadic tribes never had any land. The other Scheduled tribes are negligible in the homeless.

The homeless families at most locations belong to nomadic and de-notified communities in the study. Thus, it can be concluded that Nomadic tribes and Scheduled castes and other backward castes without land have the highest possibility of ending up as homeless in the city.

A family at Vakola bridge said, "my father had migrated to this location even before the road and the flyover existed here. There was this drain which is covered now. The flyover came up before his eyes. We have lived in pipes, then below the flyover and now on the footpath. Now my children have been born here."

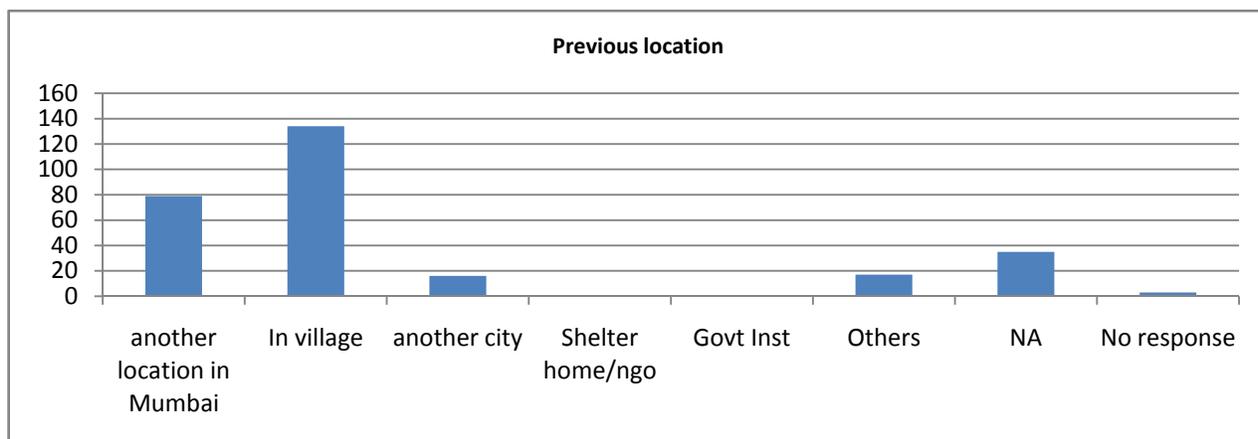
Previous location of residence

47% homeless of the total sample migrated directly to the current location from their village and have been living at their current location of residence for more than five years. 27% of the total sample lived in a different location in Mumbai prior to the present location. 5% migrated from another city. Among the sample 18% of homeless were born and have grown up at the same location.

This clearly points to the fact that there is also internal displacement (intra migration) within the city itself. In the FGD at Bandra Terminus participants mentioned that they used to live in Mahim but after the Mumbai floods in 2005 they shifted to Bandra.

The same trend is seen even when the data is analysed by disaggregating according to homeless families and Individual homeless. The largest number 47% have come directly from village, then internal migration -30%, being born at the same location -18% and only 2% coming from another city. For Individual homeless the trend is of 44% migrating directly from village, 19% from different location in city and 17% migrated from another city. See table 5.

Figure 2 Location of previous residence for Overall sample



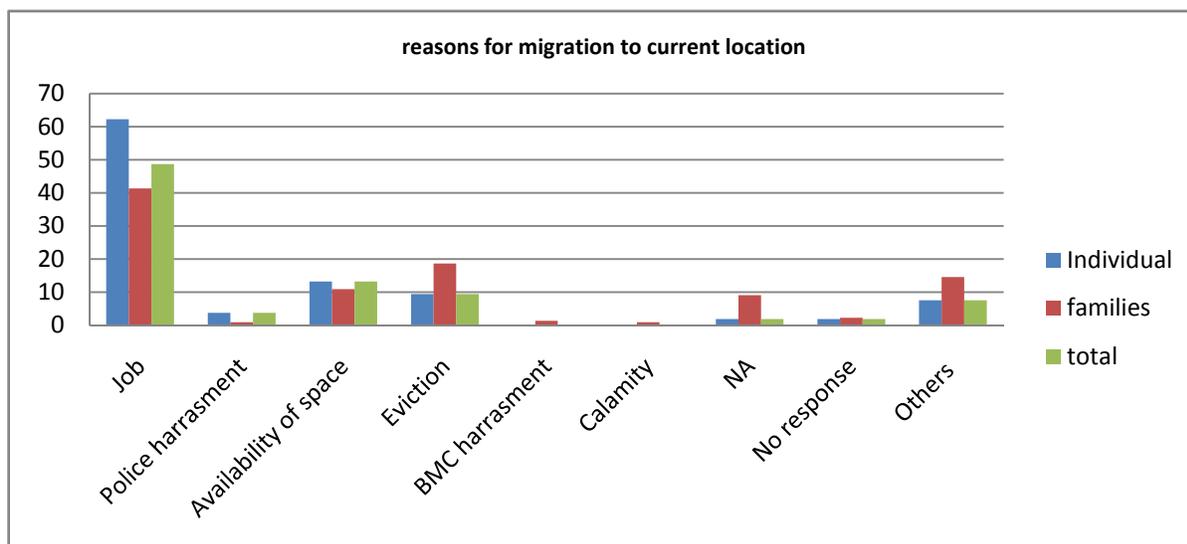
Reason for coming to the current location

Jobs and economic opportunities have been sighted as the prime reason for migration/movement to the current location with 48% of total homeless citing it as the reason. 41% homeless families mentioned jobs and economic opportunities as the reason for migration. It is much higher at 62% for individual homeless who have mentioned jobs as the reason for coming to the location.

62% individual homeless came to the city looking for better economic opportunities.

Availability of space is the second most important reason for coming to the current location of residence by all homeless in the sample. Evictions from a previous location are third most important reason for coming to the current location. Eviction is a comparatively more important reason for homeless families to come to this location as compared to individual homeless as seen below in the graph below.

Figure 3



Among females marriage is a reason for migration. Usually females migrate to husband location after marriage so the migration due to marriage is very high among females in the general population^{xvi}. Given the small numbers of migration due to marriage (only 18 reported to have migrated due to marriage), it seems plausible that most marriages are happening between homeless families at the location itself or partners are being formed amongst single individual homeless.

Thus, it is established that those who are homeless in the city came here due to the same reasons as migrants in other socio-economic classes the city - that of economic opportunity and livelihood. The locations where they live provide them livelihood. So pockets where homeless now stay are in places that offer them work options.

This fact was also shared by all participants in the Focus Group Discussions at each of the locations. Like the homeless families at Kandivili said the location provided them space to keep their products and materials which they could sell in the local markets. Those at Vakola Bridge said that work is easily available there. If daily work is not available they are able to do rag picking. The women at Kumbharwada in South Mumbai lived there because they could do the business of selling utensils for old clothes. The shops from whom they bought the wares are located there and also provided them other kinds of support like keeping their wares, food, money etc. Each location thus, while primarily giving livelihood also is a combination of safety and space plus other services creating an environment where homeless agglomerate and live.

Reason for living on the streets

Livelihood is the most important reason due to which most homeless migrated to the city but they have to live on the streets. And this is a choice they have to make in the absence of affordable housing. Thus, living on the streets for homeless is a forced choice. 212 of the 300 homeless gave unaffordable housing as the reason for living on the streets. Associated with it is the inability to save money due to low incomes.

Figure 4 Reason for living on the streets (total sample)

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| No affordable housing | 212 |
| No shelter/hostels | 24 |
| Have to send money back home | 2 |
| Freedom/independence | 2 |
| No one gives us a place to live | 7 |
| No jobs | 53 |
| Can't save money for housing | 103 |
| Others | 10 |

Multiple responses so total will not add up

C. ACCESS AND AVAILABILITY OF BASIC SERVICES

The section on shelters in the questionnaire tried assessing the safety and security of the locations where they live, what they do to survive and maintain their belongings. The findings are discussed in the section below.

1. SHELTER/ SPACE

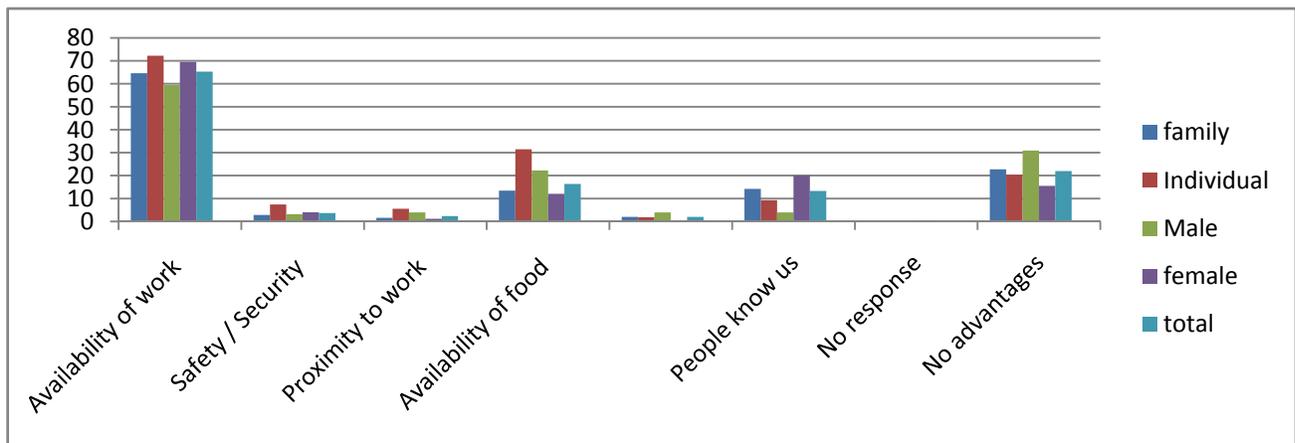
The Street is the Home for homeless. A home provides safety, security and privacy to people. However, privacy while remaining on the streets is not a choice before the homeless, safety is far from existent. In fact during the process of data collection at Borivali we noticed that a small child sleeping on the footpath rolled over and fell on the road with speeding traffic going past. In the FGDs at Vakola Bridge, and Borivali, the participants mentioned that there have been many accidents with speeding vehicles.

Housing or any form of shelters for the homeless was not found at any of the locations covered. In fact there is no shelters existent in the city for the homeless as mandated by the Supreme Court order covered earlier.

a. Advantages of staying at the current location

As seen in the section of reasons for choosing the current location livelihood/availability of work has been sighted by the largest number of homeless as an advantage of the place, and then availability of food and then that, “people know us” is the third most voted advantage by the respondents.

“People knowing us” was sighted as advantage more by homeless families and females as compared to individual homeless. People knowing them probably add to a sense of belongingness and safety. Availability of food was mentioned as an advantage by more individual homeless because individual homeless are dependent on other sources for food since they do not cook whereas homeless families often cook at least one meal.



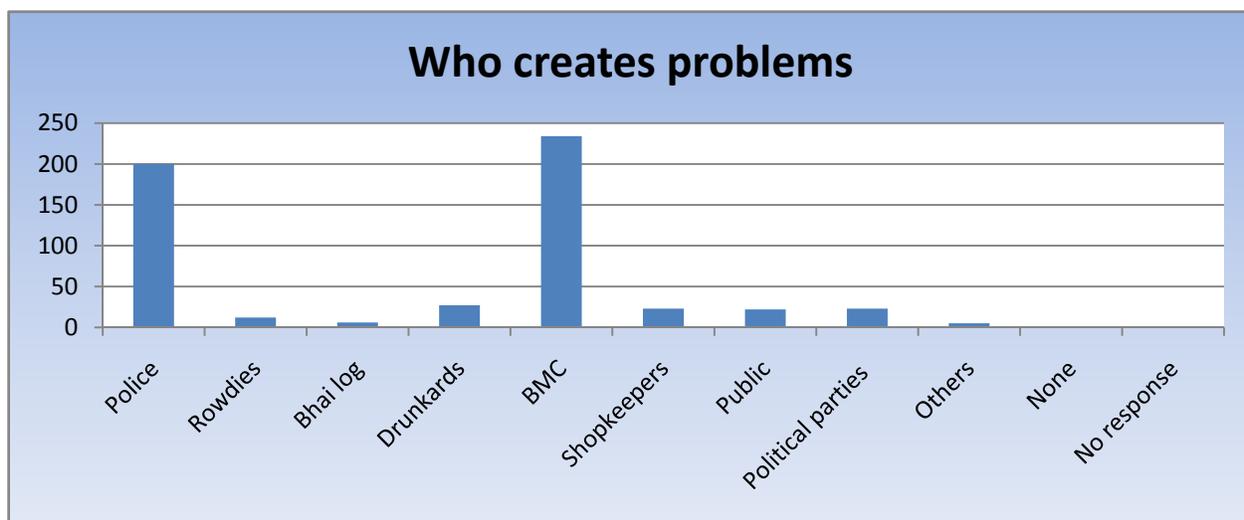
78% of total respondents said they have not thought of shifting to another place despite the problems of the location like those from police, BMC or lack of drinking water or others.

However, we do find that in the total sample greater number of respondents among females (28%) and homeless families (23%) have thought of shifting to another location due to problems as compared to males (12%) and individual homeless (11%). This is natural given the safety and security concerns of women and homeless families.

b. Main problem creators for homeless

The homeless were asked “who or what creates the most problems for them”. More than two thirds of the total sample pointed to BrihanMumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) (78%) and Police (66%) as the main problem. Drunkards and Shopkeepers are the next set of problem creators and all other groups are insignificant. Drunkards were almost exclusively pointed out by female homeless as a problem to them.

Figure 5



The homeless are choosing their location which is relatively safe from rowdies, anti social elements, and common public but are troubled by those that are supposed to protect them i.e. the government. The Constitution of India guarantees to all its citizens the fundamental Right to Life and Liberty with Dignity and the government is obligated with protecting their life and liberty. The irony is that they are unsafe from the government itself.

Government: Welfare State or Terror State?

More than two thirds of the total sample pointed to Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) (78%) and Police (66%) as the main problem. The Constitution of India guarantees to all its citizens the fundamental Right to Life and Liberty with Dignity and the government is obligated with protecting their life and liberty. The irony is that they are unsafe from the government itself.

The problems from BMC and Police were discussed in the FGDs. The problems caused by the BMC are the confiscation of their belongings and business materials, thus, forcing them to rebuild their lives every time this happens. This never allows them to build any savings and create any assets which they can use to move out of homelessness.

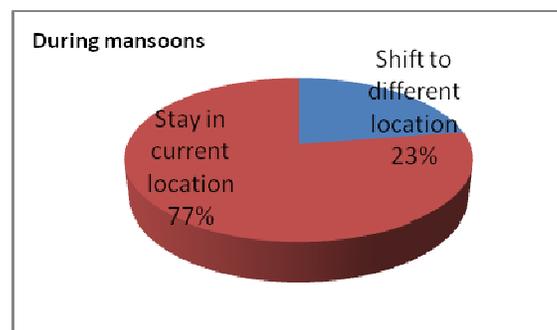
The police arrest the homeless often under false charges to show arrests in other cases. Homeless are arrested and sent to Beggar's Home using the Bombay Prevention of Beggary act, 1959. The police often drive them away from the locations. The arrests and "cleaning" drives happen very often whenever there is an important event in the city or a major festival or someone from the public complaints about them. The police also force the homeless to work for free for them.

These actions by the BMC and Police completely disrupt the lives of the homeless and force them to start all over again thus, keeping them in homelessness. The greatest affect is by disrupting their livelihoods. Every time a person is arrested or driven away he is unable to report to work and loses livelihood.

So BMC and Police are taking away the two most important things from homeless and of human life- Livelihood and shelter (even if under the sky) - Things for which they came to the city.

c. Protection during monsoons

Monsoons are the most difficult period for the homeless in Mumbai as their livelihood opportunity decreases and they cannot reside in the open space. The sharing in the FGD pointed to Malaria and other diseases becoming rampant, skin infections and wounds deteriorate often getting infected with worms during monsoons.



Contrary to popular perception 77% of the total homeless sample said they stay at the same location during monsoons. This is true even for individual homeless who are considered very mobile; 68% of them stay at the same locations even in monsoons. A much higher proportion (87%) of homeless families stays at the same location even during monsoons.

Only 23% shift to other places. As seen earlier those who have contacts with their villages some of them go to their villages, some to other cities. Some to places within the city offering shade from the rain.

The most common protection from the rains is to tie a plastic sheet from a wall or pole to protect from the rains. 73% of the total sample said they used plastic sheets as protection from rains. 19% said they shift to the shade of nearby shops or under flyovers at night to protect from the rain. Many of them used both plastic sheets and shade of shops as needed to protect from the rain.

d. Aspiration for House

To the question, “if they ever thought of living in their own house whether rental or bought?” 42% said they have aspired to live in their own house. However, the reason for not being able to do so was either un-affordability or no savings. This corroborates the fact that it is un-affordability of current housing that a lot of the homeless are forced to live on the streets.

Among those who said they did not aspire for living in a house, many have not given any reason for it. Some mentioned that, “no one would let them a place”. A few also said that they are now “used to this life”. It seems that those who did not aspire have been so disempowered and lack self belief that they do not aspire, accept the current fate and have poor self view as a result of long term socialization on the streets as seen from their responses. This would need processes to restore their confidence and empower them and without a house it will be a vicious cycle to break.

e. Affordability and aspirations of services in shelters

In the FGDs on the question, “If they were asked to pay rent on a daily or a monthly basis what is it that they are willing to pay for shelters?” only 31 respondents gave any specific value to this question. Most said they cannot afford the housing available today. When asked to say for a hypothetical situation on Shelters and housing that they can afford these 31 responded with some values. The response was that they can manage to pay a rent ranging from Rupees 500 to 1500 per month. The lower range was mostly for shelter usage and higher for rental housing. It was also made clear by the homeless families that if any night shelter is being designed it must have facilities to allow the homeless families to stay together and cook.

2. FOOD SECURITY

Food insecurity occurs “when there is uncertainty about future food availability and access, insufficiency in the amount and kind of food required for a healthy lifestyle, or the need to use socially unacceptable ways to acquire food” because of resource or physical constraint^{xvii}. Food security for homeless is dependent on a) the affordability and availability of grains as well as cooked food b) its quantity and c) regularity and level of income. The combination of these three defines food security.

To the question on food intake 85% of total sample reported that they were able to have three meals a day. 13% also reported having four meals a day. In these three meals maximum numbers have rice and dal followed by roti and dal. Though rice, roti and dal are all part of the menu for all homeless. 87% homeless families reported having three meals per day and 82% among individual homeless had three meals per day. The homeless include the morning breakfast and evening tea as meals. The morning breakfast is mostly only tea, sometimes a

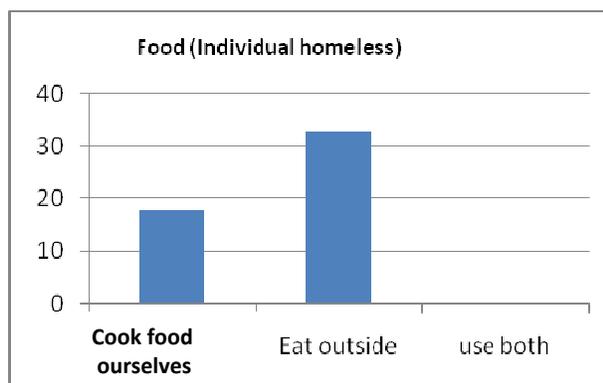
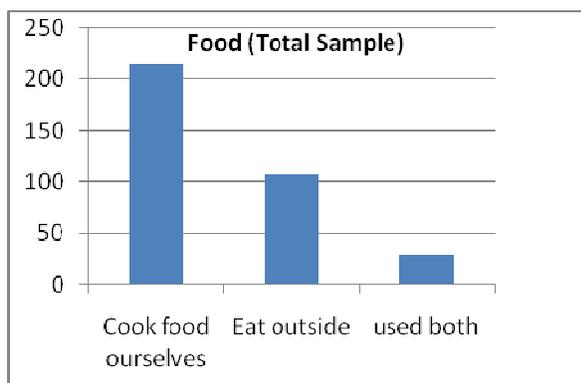
snack of Vada pav or “Parle-G” biscuits (it is the cheapest food available at Rs. 5 a packet) along with tea.

Though at first look it seems that homeless have adequate food security, the question needs to be probed in a bit more detail to understand the quality, regularity and sources of their meals. We must look at the food habits and access to food location-wise to get a picture of the food situation to the homeless.

The FGDs revealed that homeless’ ability to have regular meals is dependent on their ability to earn daily and is by no means complete. So the responses above about the number of meals they have are for days when they find work and have income. As is seen in the livelihood section later 75% of all homeless are in daily wage work.

Majority of homeless earn Rs. 100 per day through daily wage work. This money has to take care of expenses on at least cleaning, drinking water, cooking fuel costs, travel costs to work and food. 67% of total homeless spent between Rs 50 to 100 on food. 66% homeless families and 75% individual homeless are able to afford spending only this amount range on food. 20% of total sample spend Rs 100 to 150 per day on food. 21% homeless families are able to spend on food in Rs 100 to 150 brackets as against only 15% individual homeless spending this amount.

A rice plate (comprising Rice Daal (pulses), roti and vegetables) at the cheapest location in the city comes for not less than Rs. 35 to 50. For a family of five with one person earning there would be acute food insecurity with this income. If a family cooks, the cheapest rice available is for Rs. 18 per Kg. Add to this cost of Daal and fuel costs. This will provide only a very basic meal and not of good quality which is what was found during the interviews. As shared during the FGDs the rice they are able to afford is the coarsest variety. The daal is more a watery concoction.



a. Access to Food

186 of the 300 homeless said they always cook food themselves. 78 homeless only ate outside. 29 both cooked and ate outside. 11 gave no response. In all 71% of total sample (215 of 300) cooked food and 35% (107 of 300) ate outside. 10% (29 of 300) who both cooked food and ate outside used it as a strategy to save rations and avail maximum amount of food as was shared in the FGDs.

The percentage of eating out among individual homeless is opposite that of the total sample. 65% of them ate out and only 35% of individual homeless cooked. This is because individual homeless do not cook as are not in a position to keep material and implements for cooking because in their absence there is no one for its safekeeping. Since individual homeless are predominantly dependent on outside sources for food, sources of cooked food availability and their affordability is important for their food security.

The individual homeless who said they cook are females and individual homeless males living amongst family communities. 80% (197 of 246) homeless families cook their food. 29% (72 of 246) eat outside. 11% (29 of 246) both cooked and ate outside.

Access to food when work is available

For those using "eating out"-availability of food

64% (68 of 107) of all homeless eating out used **hotels** for food followed by **religious places** (like temples and mosques) at 21% (22 of 107). 18% (19 of 107) of those eating out **begged** for food. This 18% in the total sample of 300 is only 6% of total homeless. For individual homeless where nearly 65% (36 of 56) eats out, hotels form the base which provides availability of food to them. 75% (27 of 36) of individual homeless eating out depend on hotels for food. Only 57% (41 of 72) homeless families eating out used hotels for food.

24% (8 of 36) individual homeless and 20% (14 of 72) homeless families use religious places for food. Among the individual homeless eating out 11% beg (4 of 36) whereas 21% (15 of 72) of homeless families eating out beg for food. Thus, use of religious places is an important source of food for the homeless. Overall approximately 40% of total sample who eat out either get their food either from religious places or beg- both socially unacceptable means to access food. Thus, pointing to high food insecurity among those eating out.

Location wise, all homeless pockets in the Suburbs from Borivali to Vakola bridge were availing food from nearby temples. Borivali and Kandivili use Sai Dham, Vakola bridge population from Ganesh temple and those in Kumbharwada from Ram temple nearby.

For those cooking food themselves- access and availability of provisions for food

Provisions for cooking can be had from the Public Distribution System (PDS) at subsidized prices on the ration cards meant for poor and homeless OR has to be bought from the shops at market price. 60% of total homeless sample **do not have** ration cards. Only 40% (117) of sample has ration cards. Among the sample of 215 who cooked food by themselves only 81 availed provisions from the ration shops and 128 buy provisions from regular shops at market price. 1 person mentioned buying from the black market. Those who cooked said they cooked mostly only during the night and used the leftover for the next morning.

Of the total sample of 300, 117 have ration cards. Only 42% of them have "Homeless Ration Cards", where the subsidy is higher and rice is available at Rs.3/-per kg. Most of the "Homeless Ration cards" (also called Antodaya cards) were made after the Supreme Court's order and the Maharashtra government passing an order where residence proof was not required for homeless. Nearly 70% of the homeless got the card after this order in the last three years.

When enquired “whether they receive provisions easily on cards” invariably everyone replied negatively. In certain locations like Tardeo and Opera House they receive kerosene but no cereals or sugar; but the homeless at Kamathipura did not receive anything from the PDS. However in locations such as Vakola Bridge and Women’s College-Andheri, the homeless got all the FOUR items entitled to them in the PDS i.e. rice, wheat, sugar, kerosene. Irregular supply along with the poor quality was cited as the main problem faced in acquiring provisions from the PDS. The reasons that the homeless said they were told by the PDS shop was that their quota of supplies had not yet come to the shop.

24% homeless are dependent on religious places for food during financial difficulties.

Absence of an effective Public distribution system thus is also hampering food security as in its absence homeless have to pay higher prices from market and thus are able to access lesser quantities of grains and other provisions. Improving access and availability of subsidized rations through PDS will strengthen food security for homeless.

Access to food during financial difficulties

When the homeless do not have money 52% of the total sample borrow from friends to have food, about 24% of them prefer using religious places (like temples, churches and mosques) for having food and 15% of them ask for food from friends and 6% beg. Broadly the same proportions are seen among homeless families, females and males.

Among individual homeless the proportion of borrowing money for food during financial crisis is the same (51%) but the number of individual homeless using religious places for food during financial crisis jumps to 40% and is higher than the sample average of 24% (See table 7). This could be because the individual homeless hardly have any support structures as homeless families. It was shared in discussions with individual homeless that in times of no income, if no one lent them, they often go without food rather than beg. This could also be the reason for their greater use of religious places for food.

Only 21% Homeless families use religious places during financial difficulty as compared to 20% using them when work is available. Homeless families help each other by loaning food grains and food as repayment. Thus, have comparatively lower levels of stress forcing them to ask for food or go to religious places as compared to individual homeless.

Thus, food security for homeless is crucially dependent on their friends supporting them during difficult times and availability of food at religious places. Religious places are also used by homeless during festivals and special occasions as the food provided during this time is better than the normal days as was shared in the FGDs. Hence religious places also act as sources of getting good quality food for the homeless on special occasions.

Thus, there are clear indicators of acute food insecurity among homeless during times of financial difficulties. Such times may be quite often during off season of work when work is not available.

It can thus, be safely inferred that all homeless face acute food insecurity as they do not have regular daily work and do not have savings to take care of emergencies. As was shared by the homeless in the FGDs, while work is available it is not regular thus regularly giving rise to financial difficulties. The quality of food that is had with the low levels of income is also not good. Given these indicators a more intensive study of levels of food insecurity needs to be studied separately.

3. HEALTH, HYGIENE AND SANITATION

It is often observed that homeless people appear disproportionately affected by health problems compared with the general population. This situation must be addressed, but we should avoid pathologising or psychologising homelessness. Neither should we typify homeless experiences. The relationship between health and homelessness is multifaceted. The issue of health hygiene and sanitation needs to be looked at by locational disaggregation rather than status as it depends a lot on existence of facilities in those areas. There are also male-female differences but very little difference between homeless families and individual homeless.

a. Access to sanitation and hygiene

Public Toilets

The homeless make use of the Public toilets wherever they exist. However, those in the pockets of Borivali, Kandivili, Sai Baba Mandir and Sai Dham use the streets and open drains for relieving as there are no public toilets nearby. It was surprising to find that despite Borivali flyover being close to Sanjay Gandhi National Park and a major Bus stop of private bus operators for long distance services, there are no public toilets. People at Bandra Terminus use the toilet at the railway terminus.

The same trend of usage is seen for bathing as well. Where public toilets exist they are used for bathing. Else water is brought to the place where they live to take bath on the streets itself. At many of the locations water is taken from nearby housing societies mostly by bribing the watchmen.

| Place where Relieve yourself | Total |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Near railway tracks | 0 |
| Public toilets | 254 |
| Near sea beach | 1 |
| On the streets | 46 |
| Others | 7 |
| No response | 0 |

Payments

The average payment made by maximum number of people for urination is Rs. 2 per person. Majority of women pay for use of urinals whereas for men it is free. The payment for defecation is Rs. 3 per person and Rs.10 for a bucket of water for Bathing.

| Total Payments (Rs) | No. of people paying for Urinating | No. paying for Defecating | No. paying for Bath |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| <1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1- 2 | 45 | 60 | 0 |
| 3 | 18 | 113 | 0 |
| 5 | 1 | 12 | 16 |
| 7 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| 10 | 0 | 0 | 125 |

Sanitation and Hygiene behaviour

The lack of public toilets and high cost of water for bathing leads to homeless choosing not to bath everyday and wash their clothes only when necessary. In places where there are no public toilets, due to lack of privacy and availability of water women do

not take a bath till absolutely necessary. The clothes are cleaned on the streets by getting water from public taps or get from nearby housing societies after bribing or paying their watchmen.

In Kumbharwada where women sell utensils for old clothes, they discard the clothes when they get dirty and use the old clothes they have collected by selling utensils as it is a cheaper and better alternative to washing clothes.

In an interesting anecdote shared by a man from family at Vakola Bridge, on asking about clothes he said he gets them from “Chun-Chun” company (clothes picked up from rag-picking). The individual homeless give their dirty clothes to laundry for washing and use the fresh ones from them.

For a homeless women earning Rs. 100 per day, sanitation costs in a day will come to Rs. 20 to 25- nearly a fourth of the earning. Thus it is better to reduce this expense through alternatives. If a woman uses the toilet for urinal 3times a day and 2 times for defecation the costs will be Rs. 12. Add to this Rs. 10 for bathing. The total is Rs. 22/day. This is a very high cost of hygiene and sanitation. The costs are only marginally less for males with only urinals being free.

Here again we see that the homeless are making the best possible choices given the options available before them. It is non-availability and affordability of services that is forcing them to skip taking a bath and cleaning clothes on a daily basis.

b. Access to drinking water

All locations have at least one source of drinking water. Public taps form the source for 53% of the total sample to avail drinking water. However, this again is determined by the location. Around 18% of the homeless buy water for drinking. The proportion of those paying for drinking water is higher at 22% for females and homeless families and much lower at 3% and 8% for individual homeless and males respectively. Most of individual homeless who eat in hotels also get drinking water there so very few of them buy drinking water.

The daily water bill for a family of five living in a housing society in Mumbai consuming about 1,000 litres of water is Rs3.50 only. The homeless are paying Rs 1,000 for 1,000 litres of water nearly 300 times more for water than other citizens.

In Kandivili there are no public taps available for drinking water. Their source of drinking water is a leaking water pipeline inside a drain. They consider it to be “clean and drinkable” and so use it. In Tardeo and Borivili people buy water from watchman of nearby housing societies. People in Vakola Bridge get water from the Police station and from nearby chawls. The payments are on the basis of Buckets, pots or cans.

The daily water bill for a family of five living in a housing society in Mumbai consuming about 1,000 litres of water is Rs3.50 only^{xviii}. Compared to this the homeless will have to pay Rs 1000 for 1000 litres of water. Since the cost of water is Rs.10 for 10 litres (a bucket) of water that he/she has to pay from a public toilet. Thus, the homeless are paying nearly 300 times more cost for water than ordinary citizens.

Water borne diseases like jaundice and diarrhea are rampant as shared during the FGDs in the pockets due to lack of potable drinking water.

It is of utmost importance to create public conveniences and provide public taps in areas where there are none, in the sub-urban pockets of Kandivili and Borivili. The reduction in costs on these basic amenities after provisioning will release money for improving food security and also can contribute to savings.

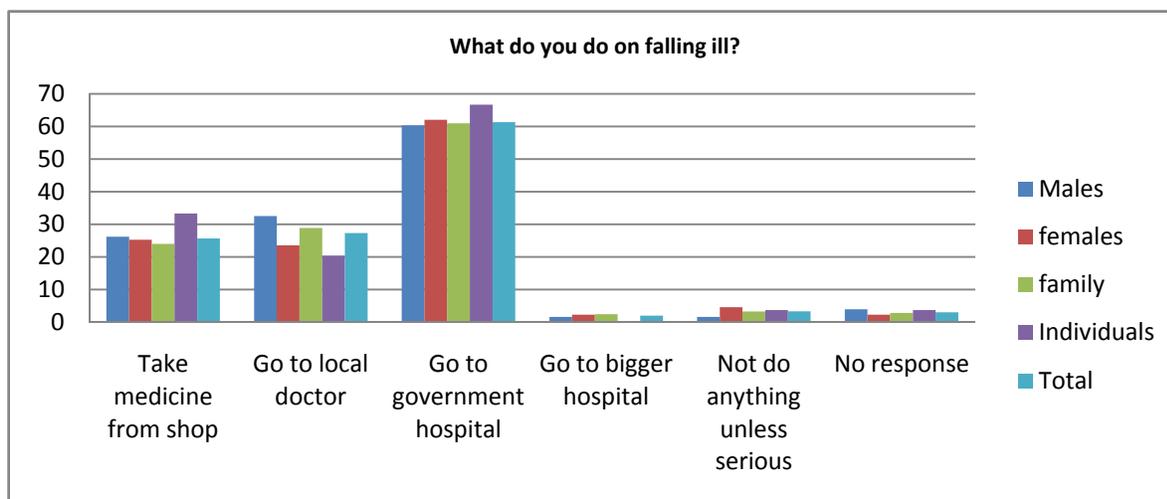
c. Access to Hospitals

On falling ill 61% (184 of 300) homeless in the total sample prefer going to a government hospital, 25% of them take medicine from local chemists, and 27% go to local doctor. 134 of 184 using government hospitals go directly to the hospital and use only them during illness. Rest 50 either take medicines from shops or get treated from a local doctor before going to the government hospital. See graph below.

The same trend of greater use of hospitals is also seen for individual homeless. In fact, they use government hospitals in greater proportions (66%) than males (60%), females (62%) or homeless families (61%) as can be seen in graph below. This is contrary to popular perception that most homeless use private doctors for treatment.

The number of individual homeless are taking over the counter medication is greater than other categories. While 33% of individual homeless took medicines from shops only 23% among homeless families took self medication, which possibly explains their greater numbers going to hospitals. This can also be inferred from lesser number getting treated at local doctors. 20% of individual homeless as compared to 28% of families get treatment at local doctors. This difference of not getting treatment from a proper practitioner probably translates in to greater numbers going to government hospital (67% for individual homeless and 61% for families). The difference is nearly the same as the difference in percentages for going to local doctor.

Figure 6



Availability of Hospitals and medical facilities

The following government hospitals are used by the Homeless in their respective locations

| Hospitals | Homeless Locations |
|--|--|
| Bhagwati Hospital | Kandivali and Borivali |
| V.N.Desai Hospital & Government General Hospital | Vakola |
| Bhaba Hospital | Bandra Terminus |
| Cooper Hospital | Andheri |
| J.J. Hospital & Nair Hospital | Kamathipura, Kumbharwada, Durgadevi Garden, Bombay Central, Tardeo |
| Tarabai Hospital | Opera House, Charni Road |
| Cama Hospital | Bhuleshwar |

To the question on rating the services of the hospital 65% of those who responded to this question rated it as good. 16% rated as bad and 19% as average.

The FGDs and responses from the interviews point out to the non-availability of medicines from hospitals. This becomes costly for them as they have to then buy from outside. Also the tests are also not affordable for them despite being subsidized. Some tests have to be done from outside as well.

The respondent homeless families mentioned that getting treated at the OPDs (Out Patient Departments) in the government run hospitals is not a problem. However, the individual homeless said that due to their appearance the behaviour of hospital staff is not good. This discourages them from going to hospitals.

In India it is a general practice that all the patients (homeless or otherwise) who require hospitalization, need to be accompanied by someone as an attendant during hospitalisation. In case of the homeless, especially the individual homeless this becomes difficult as they do not have and the hospitals refuse to admit them. This leads to a direct denial of their right to life.

With regard to individual homeless, it is often when the health is severely affected that they go to any doctor as was shared by discussions with individual homeless. By that time situation is often chronic and critical.

However, the greatest problem with individual homeless is that when ill and not in a position to move around there is no one who can take them to a doctor or a hospital. Thus, emergency medical support is an important service that is needed to be made available in pockets of individual homeless concentration.

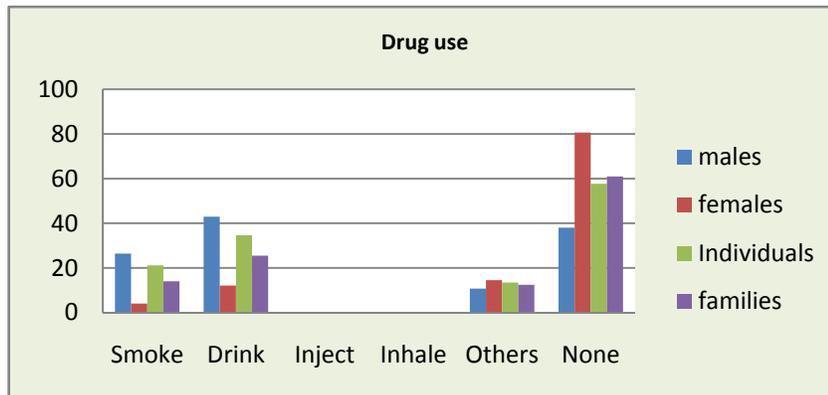
In India it is a general practice that all the patients (homeless or otherwise) who require hospitalization, need to be accompanied by someone as an attendant during hospitalisation. In case of the homeless, especially the individual homeless this becomes difficult as they do not have anyone who can stay with them and so the hospitals refuse to admit them.

D. USE OF INTOXICANTS/ SUBSTANCES

Around 60% of total sample across homeless categories do not take any drugs. Among homeless females across categories 80% do not use any substances, whereas only 38% males across categories are free from any substance use. 57% among individual homeless and 60% in homeless families did not take any drugs.

The proportion of non users is higher than users in all groups except homeless males where it is 72%. Proportion of homeless women across categories not taking anything (80%) is double the proportion of males (38%) not taking anything.

Figure 7



Thus it is seen that contrary to the general perception of homeless being drunkards and drug users approximately 60% do not use any substances. Those who are addicted to use of substances would in all probability be an even smaller proportion within homeless (the scope of this study did not permit to establish this) who remain separate from other homeless groups, but unfortunately are more visible. No such group has been studied in this as they may not have been in a position to answer all our questions.

Among the users, it is mostly alcohol among men and Guthka^{xix} among women as seen in the graph above. The category others included 90% gutkhka users and some hash, paaan and weeds.

Reasons for taking drugs

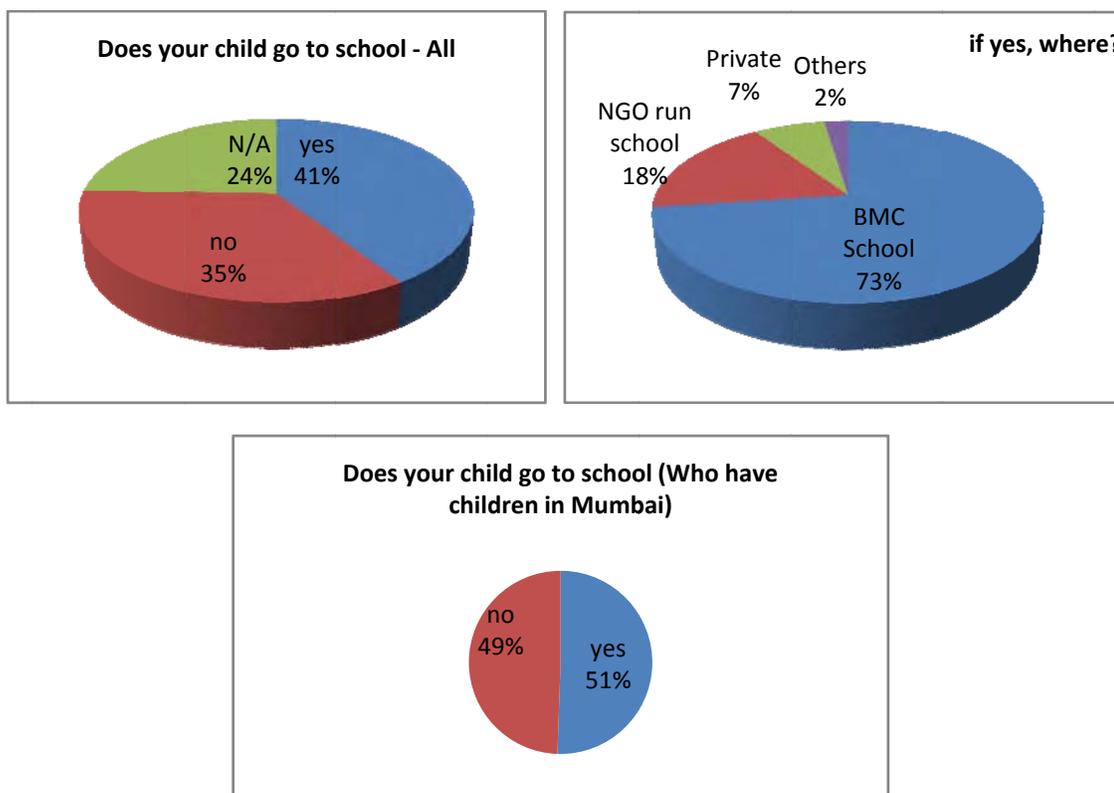
Individual homeless were asked if they started taking drugs after coming on to the streets. Nearly 50% percent of respondents said they started taking drugs after coming on the streets and rest 50% said they did not.

The modal reason for starting to take drugs was peer pressure followed by release of tension. The same reason is the modal reason for each category of homeless i.e. homeless family, individual homeless, males and females.

Having dealt with food security and basic services in previous section we look at education of children of homeless in the following section.

60% of homeless are not involved in any kind of substance abuse

E. EDUCATION



Children of 41% homeless families go to school. Children of 35% families are still out of school. For the rest 24% families, either their children are too small to go to school, or do not have children. Not applicable includes these. When the data is analysed taking out the NA responses, the out of school children rises to 49%.

Amongst those whose children go to school the largest numbers go to BMC run schools followed by NGO run schools. Education of children is supported by assistance from the school and some got help from NGOs. The children going to NGO run schools are in Opera House, Vakola Bridge and Borivali. In fact what has been mentioned as NGO run school in Opera House is a private charitable school. Availability and access of schools is not a problem in Mumbai as shared by respondents in The FGDs at all the locations.

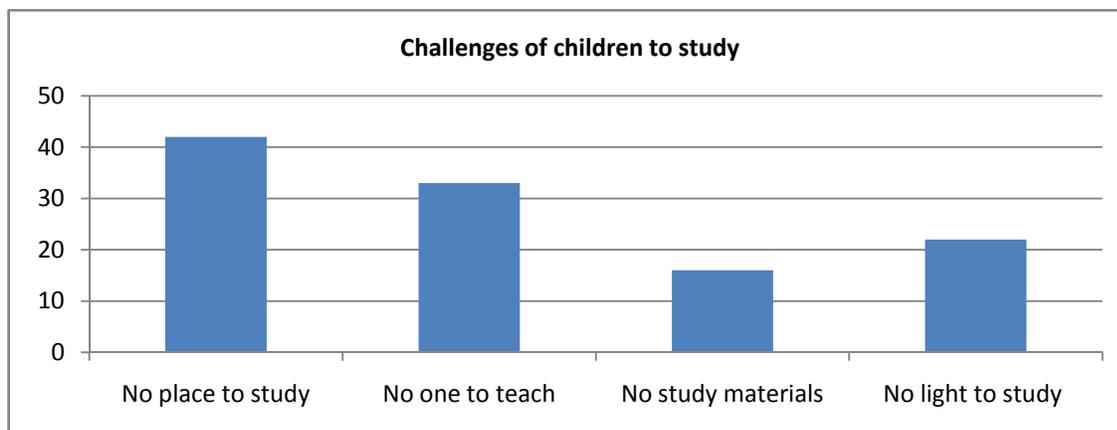
49% children of homeless families are out of school.

However, there is no Day care or drop-in centres for children at any of the locations. There was no balwadi anywhere in the locations studied.

Challenges in studies

The greatest challenge faced by the children who go to study is the lack of space, secondly there is no help available to them in studies thirdly they do not have electricity and fourthly non availability of study materials.

Figure 8



F. IDENTITY

Majority of homeless in the total sample (54%) have not managed to get any Mumbai based proof of identity despite most of them living in the city for more than 5 years. The proportion increases to 65% in case of individual homeless who do not have identification documents.

Among the documents, ration card is the document which maximum number of people have followed by bank pass books PAN cards and Voter Id cards.

Of the 300, only 31 have some proof of identification back home, 179 do not have any proof even of their village, 42 did not know and 48 was not applicable as were born in Mumbai. Among these 31 it is the Voter Id card that maximum numbers of people have.

| Number of documents as proof | overall | Individual |
|------------------------------|---------|------------|
| No docs | 54% | 65% |
| only 1 document | 25% | 19% |
| 2 docs | 14% | 7% |
| 3 docs | 5% | 5% |
| 4 docs | 0.3% | 1.9% |
| More than 4 docs | 0 (0) | 0 (0) |

Problems due to lack of identity

It is surprising to find 60% total sample responding that they do not have any problems in the absence of identity proof. It seems this response has been influenced by thoughts of their safety. This is contrary to response in earlier section and the experience of social workers where they have mentioned police troubling them due to lack of identity. Even the BMC carries out evictions and demolitions because they do not have residence proof of the city. The homeless have also mentioned difficulty in getting regular jobs in the absence of identity.

According to experience those who do not have an identity they prefer keeping low so that they are not identified. This appears to be a response to ensure their safety believing that their response could go to authorities. Since the surveyors did say that we will share the study with government so that their problems are heard by the government. This appears to have prevented them from giving the correct answer.

It is very positive to note that nearly 85% of those studied in the survey were counted on the night of the census for houseless people.

Only one person in the entire sample has heard about Universal Identification Number (UID) or Adhar which is being issued by the Government recently.

54% homeless have no identity documents!

Only 38 out of 300 homeless in the sample had bank accounts.

The study shows that it is the need of the hour to make some relevant interventions in supporting the homeless to procure some kind of identity proof to ensure and enjoy basic services provided by the city for its citizens. In the absence and inability to do so the homeless are subject to be illegalized, denied their citizenship rights and their liberty is at stake

G. LIVELIHOOD AND EMPLOYMENT

A. Types of Work

The study shows there are 30 different types of work, the homeless does as a source of income/livelihood (refer appendix table 8 and 9). Of these 30 different types of work selling of utensils in exchange for old clothes is carried out by maximum number of homeless, followed by rag-picking, loading-unloading and construction work.

The earlier findings in this study show that the prime reason for the homeless to choose a location is availability of livelihood. For e.g. in Bhuleshwar women sell flowers and do Chindi (small pieces of left over clothes from the tailor shop) business. In Kumbharwada (which is populated by women), and the families in Sane Guruji Marg in Tardeo sell utensils in exchange for old clothes. Kandivili in North West suburban Mumbai has families making brooms from Khajur (date) leaves. The male population at Borivali sells gemstones (ordinary



colored stones) and women work as domestic help. The homeless at Sai Dham sell balloons. Individual homeless at CP Tank do wadi work (as helpers with caterers). At Opera House, women work as domestic help. The male homeless at Vakola Bridge are hired by Contractors to carry out the cleaning work of drains for BMC while at Women’s College Andheri they are engaged in construction site, while the female populations at both these pockets go for rag-picking. The individual male population at Durgadevi Garden near Kamathipura, Central Mumbai is engaged in unloading of goods.

Rag-picking is used as a buffer employment in times when other work is not available.

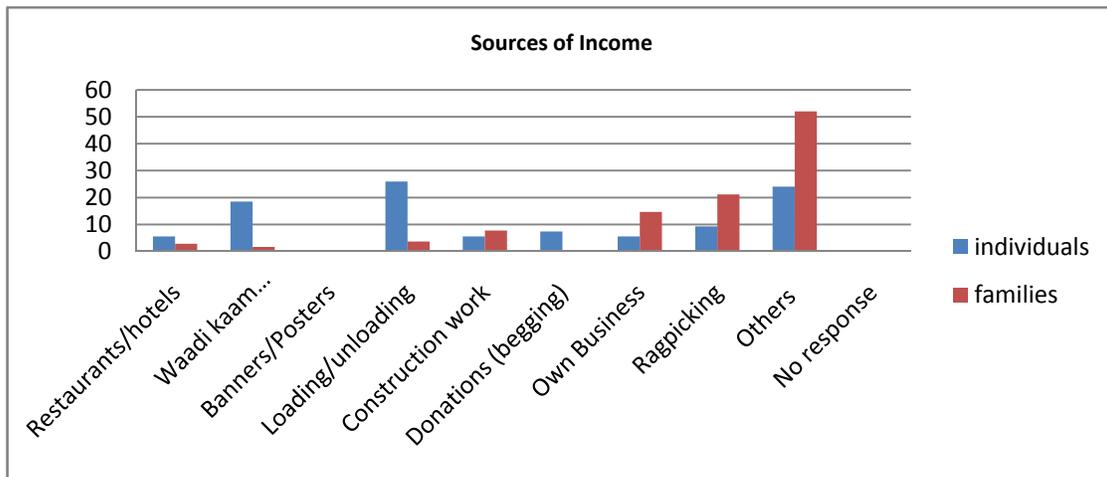
loading-

The most interesting fact that emerged from the discussions on sources of livelihood is that Rag Picking acts as a source of income in difficult times when other work is not available. Thus it is kind of a buffer work for the homeless, depending on it when other work is not available.

It was also interesting to note that homeless men said when they were young most of them have done rag picking but after growing up they do not do it usually. At the same time their women are engaged in rag picking.

Difference between Individual homeless and homeless families in terms of source of income is very marked. Wadi kaam (employment in contract catering) and loading unloading is done by maximum individual homeless in the sample. Some other options as putting up banners and posters are not reflected however it was shared by individual homeless that there are locations where this work is popular as Mahim Retibunder.

Figure 9



The fact that the others category (see appendix table 8 and 9) is the highest, points to the sheer diversity of work that the homeless do and points to their innovativeness and resilience to find work and survive in the city. It includes selling flowers, balloons, and voodooos at traffic signal to working as house maids to security guards. Street performances and selling gajaras (flower garlands) are also an important employment of the homeless. Though, construction work, contract catering (waadi kaam) and rag picking still form the main employers of homeless.

As is seen the work done by homeless are unskilled. More individual homeless do manual labour work than families. In the families many of them do small street businesses as seen earlier in this section.

B. Season of Maximum earning

The modal response for the maximum earnings was between the months of September to March. This is the festival and marriage season and also the monsoons end by September. With the end of monsoons, construction activity intensifies leading to increase job opportunities. However, for some who do petty business seasons are not a matter of great concern.

C. Average earnings

The average earning of total sample on the day they get work comes to Rs.129 . Disaggregation of this shows that the average daily earnings of individual homeless is higher at Rs. 140 per day whereas of homeless families is lower at Rs. 126 per day. For females it is even lower at Rs 121 per day. However, it is very important to remember that the work they do is not available to them daily, thus these average earnings do not happen daily. So the actual real average earnings would be even lower than these. In fact 25% of the respondents said they do not get work regularly.

The amount of daily earning ranged from a minimum of Rs. 30 per day to maximum of Rs 450 per day. However, the amount of Rs.450/- was reported by just one person and Rs. 300 has been reported as maximum earnings per day by 6 people only. The maximum was reported by broom seller at Kandivili and minimum by gajra seller in Tardeo. In general as shared during the FGDs construction and loading unloading pays higher than the average ranging from 150 per day to 250 per day.

H. SAVINGS

Of the respondents, only 40 said they manage to do savings. Rest 260(86%) could not manage to do any savings. Given the high cost of living for a homeless where he/she has to pay much higher for water and other basic services as seen in earlier sections plus the fact that they have to keep rebuilding their lives from scratch after every eviction by BMC, there's hardly any scope for the homeless to save.

13 individual homeless who manage to save, their average monthly saving is Rs.1,166. while among the 27 homeless families who save it is Rs.2,111 per month. The average of families is higher simply because of the Kandivili group of broom makers who earn and save greater amounts than other groups. The Kandivili group in the FGD said they save up to Rs.30,000 in a season (September to march). Removing them from calculation reduces the average monthly savings of homeless families to Rs.1,142. Average monthly savings among females is only Rs. 500. While for males it is Rs.1,923. This could be a reflection of the lower average incomes of females seen earlier.

*25% homeless do not get work regularly.
Majority of them earn just Rs. 100/day.*

The average amount of saving is lower for individual homeless as their expenses are higher as most of them eat out, clean their clothes in laundry and have higher substance use as seen in earlier sections.

Though the numbers respondents doing saving is insignificant statistically, more individual homeless save (28%) as compared to homeless families (13%). For the total sample who managed to save 18% said they saved for sending home, 41% for personal needs and 37.5% for

86% homeless are not able to save anything.

emergencies. Maximum number of individual homeless said savings was for personal needs (54%) whereas among families the savings was mainly to take care of emergencies (51%). The personal need of individual homeless in all probability also includes money for saving home. 23% of individual homeless

who saved said they saved for sending home as against only 14% among homeless families saving for sending home. Those who send money home used multiple means for it. However, the most preferred means is through friends (6 of 7). Money order or carrying on self is the next preferred means.

Place of saving

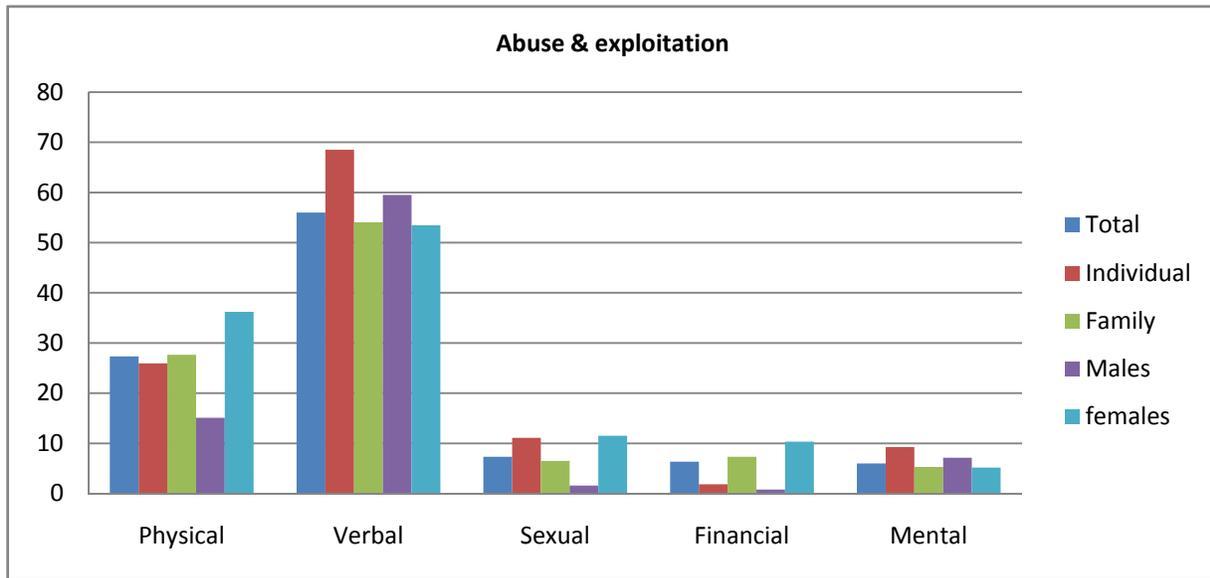
Most homeless individuals keep their savings with themselves (24 of 40). The next preferred place is the Mukaddam (contractor). However, few at Vakola Bridge (7) do have bank accounts where they keep their savings.

A CASE: A homeless person earning Rs. 100 per day has to spend Rs. 15 to 25 on sanitation, Rs 10 to 15 on drinking water and Rs. 50 to 100 on food, 10 to 20 on travel and 5 on gutkhka or cigarettes will be able to save only about Rs. 10 if the expenses are on the lower side. Nothing will be saved if the expenses are on the higher side. In-fact the person will need to borrow. If the same money has to take care of an entire family, it is not practically possible to do so. If there is any saving done while working, it will be immediately drained off when work is not available. Thus, there will be no savings to accumulate and build assets. Therefore, we find no savings happening for 86% of the homeless.

I. ABUSE

All forms of abuse are experienced by homeless on the streets. While physical and verbal abuse trends are same for all categories. The vulnerability to sexual abuse is distinctly high among Individual homeless (both male and females) and homeless females (within families or individuals). As seen in the graph greater percentage (11% as against average of 7% for the total population) in this group have experienced sexual abuse as compared to other groups. The greatest percentage of financial exploitation is of women; whereas mental trauma is highest among Individual homeless. It is interesting to note that mental trauma is greater among males as compared to females. This is a finding which needs to be studied in the field to find out the reasons for greater mental trauma among men. (See Graph below)

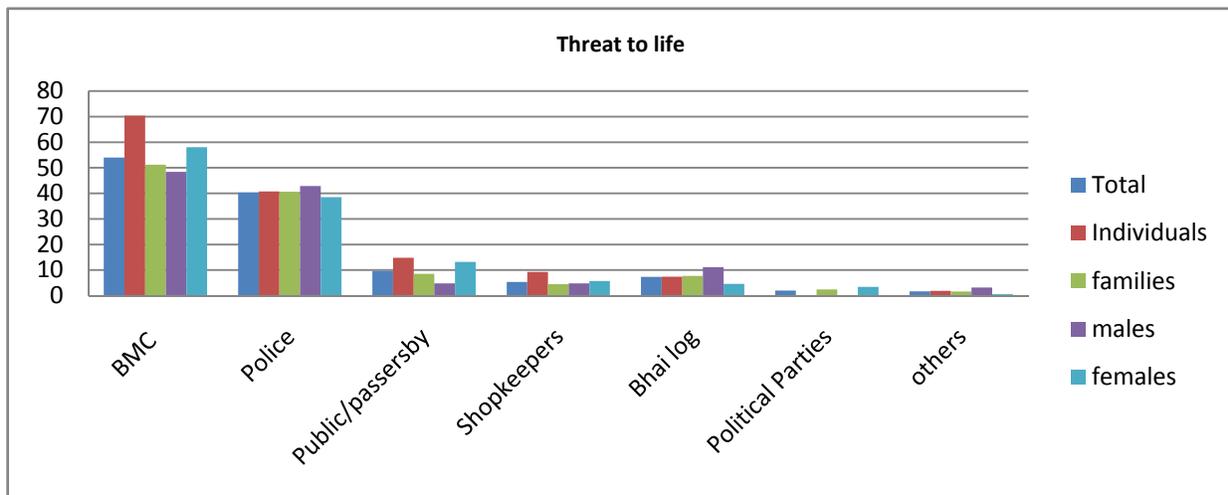
Figure 10



67% of the total sample said they have faced one or more of these abuses. More than 60% respondents both among the homeless families (68%) and individual homeless(64%) said they have experienced some kind of abuses. About 77% females (across categories)said they have experienced some of these abuses while 46% males(across categories) said they have experienced some or all of these abuses. Financial exploitation question addressed all forms including non-payment to lower payment to defraud but was not separated.

Threat to life

When the respondents were asked from whom they face a threat to their life, 54% said BMC, 40% said police and 9% said the public.



This was also brought out through an incident shared during the FGD. At Tardeo during an eviction a person died because he was handicapped and could not run away. This also brings out the complete callousness and insensitivity with which the homeless are viewed and treated by the government. The protector itself is the predator for the homeless. A serious rethink is needed on the part of society to see how the “mainstream society” and governments are thinking and their approach. The most marginalized are being completely pushed to the brink.

Homeless said, “BMC and Police are the biggest threat to their lives”.

J. ASPIRATIONS

At Bandra Terminus an old man reprimanded a woman for talking to us. He's the chief there. He said "I've been living here since a child I've grown so old now (over 60). No one has given me a house. You people break our slums and make buildings and we have no place to stay. You people fill forms and go, nothing ever happens. Just go away."

This was an indicator of things in store for the researchers. This brought out the Hope and skepticism with which the homeless respondents viewed this process – hope that with our presence something could happen, skepticism of failures of such things happening in the past.

The overwhelming aspiration that nearly all of them had was they wanted house or shelter that they can afford and not necessarily free housing. They wanted the government to “let them live in peace” and not keep chasing them away and keep “taking away their livelihoods” and beating them.

K. LOCATION-WISE DESCRIPTIONS

A number of the nuances can be understood by looking at the characteristics of the localities and the homeless living there.

Bandra Terminus (20 respondents)

- Most of the homeless here are families from Bidar district in Karnataka. They earn their livelihood by whipping themselves and seeking alms on the streets of the city. During Monsoons, in their villages they earn by fishing.
- They seasonally move to their villages in monsoons.
- They earlier used to stay in Mahim.
- Most of them have Voter’s card and ration cards of their villages.
- They have never gone to a government hospital and mostly use private doctors.
- They use the bathroom at the Bandra Terminus railway station.
- They get drinking water from the station but are harassed by the Railway Protection Force who often ask them to do odd chores before letting them take water.
- Around 25 to 30 children were observed and many of them do not go to school.
- There are also widows in the community who are taken care of by others.
- No NGOs have approached them till now though they have been living here for more than 5 years. They have not heard of any NGOs.

Vakola Bridge (18 respondents)

- All families here are Pardhis from Jalna in Maharashtra they have been here for more than 30 years and are engaged mostly in manual labour.
- For medical purpose they visit the General government hospital nearby.
- The space below the bridge which was earlier used by them for sleeping, has now being converted into a parking lot and fenced hence, they are forced to sleep on the footpath in the open.
- The children here go to school run by the organization Bal Jivan Trust. The school has been functioning here for a very long time (no one could give how long) as many respondents had also gone to the same school where their children are now going. Bal Jivan Trust (NGO) also runs hostels where the homeless admit their girls.
- It is very difficult during daytime as it gets very hot and cannot cook or rest. It is especially difficult for elderly and children.
- During the day they do not cook due to the heat also passing vehicles often give them food but most of the time they manage to get their lunch from the nearby temple.
- There have been many road accidents here. One person's child died in an accident on the road. Though the driver of the vehicle was caught by the police but they have not received any compensation as of now despite a police case being registered.
- In the FGD, they shared that they do not face much problem from the Police here but the public from the nearby chawls and the parking lot watchman often complaint about them and the Police have to take action. The police told them that only if there is a complaint do they act.
- This being a second and third generation homeless pocket, it has old people who face difficulty. They need support to cross the road. The heat during the day affects them adversely and weakens them.
- During the course of discussion the participants, expressed their disconcert and said that they won't hesitate to break the fencing below the bridge during the monsoon, if they don't find an alternate place.

Borivali Highway Bridge, National Park Gate No. 1 (14 respondents)

- The homeless families here are from Maharashtra and Gujarat.
- This group includes Pardhis, and Salaat communities. The Salaats are from Gujarat. They earlier used to stay in Borivali West on the footpath, but were evicted from there and have been living here for the past 6 to 7 years.
- They sell gem stones (a kind of coloured stones) on the streets across the city. They bring these stones from their village near Anand in Gujarat.
- Salaat have Voter Card and Ration Card of Gujarat.
- They shift to other cities like Pune during monsoons as rain is not a problem there.
- Their ancestral profession was to shape stones for wheat grinding.
- They take drinking water from a leaking pipeline along a drain. The water collected in a shallow space near the drain is used for bathing as they consider it clean for bathing.
- They use Bhagwati Government Hospital when needed. However, the women go back to the village for child-birth.
- None of the children go to school except only one child who lives with a relative in Borivali West.

SaiDham, Borivali (12 respondents)

- There are two types of families here, one working in construction sites and other selling balloons.
- Most respondents have both meals in the Sai temple.
- Those selling balloons belong to Pardhis and are denotified tribe in Maharashtra. Some also sell Lemon-Chillies with a black stone as voodoo to ward off evils to nearby shops.
- Those selling balloons get more income on Saturday and Sunday.
- The Pardhis have ration cards of Solapur, their native place.
- There are no public toilets here so they use the footpath to relieve themselves.
- Those in construction work have problems of alcoholism.
- There are two families here from Uttar Pradesh who go back to their villages during sowing and harvesting season. They work in the construction sites and have Bank Accounts in Bank of Maharashtra. They opened their accounts themselves as they transfer money to their bank accounts in the village.
- The families here used to live in Dambe Nagar slums and were evicted for construction work. They have been living here on the streets for the past 10 to 15 years.
- Most of them do manual labour in construction sites. Doorstep NGO has classes here for children. But people said it is not beneficial.
- They tried staying in rented accommodation but could not sustain as the work sites were far off, income not regular so they came back to the streets.
- Drinking water is a major problem here. They request for water from the nearby housing societies or the police station.



Kandivili Flyover (15 respondents)

- The families here are Harijans from Nathdwara in Rajasthan.
- They come here to make and sell brooms. They bring khajur (palm tree) leaves in a truck from Rajasthan, divide the consignment amongst themselves and make brooms and sell it.
- They earn about Rupees Eight to Nine thousand a month.
- They have land and house back home.
- They go back to their villages in the monsoons.
- They save around 30000 in a season.
- They use the drains for relieving themselves and get drinking water from nearby societies.
- Bhagwati hospital used for health services. Delivery of children happens in villages.

SaiBaba Mandir, Malad (7 respondents)

- Here grandparents stay with their grandchildren. The family stays in Appapada slums. They live there to beg.
- All other linkages are in Appapada.

CP tank (10 respondents)

- Here there are only single individuals from Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and other places.
- A number of them ran away from their homes when young and have grown up on the streets.
- They have little contact with their families now.
- Most of them work in waadi kaam (contract catering)
- They sleep in the open on footpaths or under shades of shops.
- They use public toilets for hygiene and use hotels for food and drinking water.
- JJ hospital is mostly used in case of health problems.

Kumbharwada and Bhuleshwar (26 respondents)

- This is a very crowded business area in Central South Mumbai.
- This is probably the single biggest location of homeless women but are not visible. According to the women we spoke there are about 300 to 500 women there.
- The husbands are also in the same business. Some times the husbands also do other odd jobs.
- A lot of them are 2nd and 3rd generation homeless. They are a native of Gujarat.
- They sell utensils in exchange for old clothes.
- They do not cook mostly eat in hotels, temples or beg.
- They sleep outside the shops in the open.
- They stay at the same place even during monsoons. Sometime they tie plastic sheets to protect from rains.
- None of the children go to school.
- They carry their belongings (mostly clothes they get from selling utensils) with them.
- Women have used hospital for child birth
- In substance use all of them eat Guthka.
- Family size is big with average of 5 children.
- Use public toilets for relieving.
- They do not take bath unless necessary.
- Since the charge for washing clothes is Rs. 25 per bucket of water, they wear the clothes for a few weeks and then use from the old clothes they have from selling the utensils

Opera House (31 respondents)

- They live besides the boundary of the railway track and driving and working as domestic maids are the main livelihood source.
- Most of them here have Bombay based documents.
- They are 2nd and 3rd generation homeless in Mumbai.
- They are a mixed group with different places of origin. Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat are the main ones.
- They use public toilets. Get drinking water from public taps, housing Societies and shops.
- In case of health needs use JJ and Nair hospitals.

The other smaller locations and individuals take care of the rest of the numbers.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and analysis the following main conclusions are drawn:

- Homeless are forced to live on the streets in the absence of affordable housing options.
- Homeless have not been acknowledged in any government schemes and policy.
- No NGOs in the city work on them with a holistic comprehensive approach.
- The current policies and laws illegalize and criminalise homeless.
- About 82% homeless belong to SC, ST or OBC categories.
- Largest number of homeless has origins from Maharashtra, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh.
- Majority of homeless have been living on the streets in the city for more than 20 years.
- Majority for homeless chose the current location in the city to live, due to availability of economic opportunities.
- BMC and Police are the main problems for homeless.
- Around 77% homeless stay at the same location even during monsoons.
- Food insecurity is acute among homeless especially during times of financial difficulties.
- Basic services of drinking water and hygiene are inadequate and cost exorbitantly high for homeless to access them.
- Individual homeless face acute problem in accessing hospitals and health services especially when requiring hospitalization.
- Around 49% children of homeless do not go to school.
- Majority do not have any identity documents.
- Majority earn Rs. 100/- per day when work is available.
- About 86% homeless are not able to do any Savings.
- Approximately 70% have faced abuse of some form.
- More homeless males and individual homeless are facing mental trauma than females and families.

The category to which a homeless belongs, i.e. Homeless family or Individual, the Locational and gender play an important role in determining levels and intensity of the problems among homeless. Homeless are taking logical and rational decisions of movement as anyone would, given the choices available to them.

The homeless have come to the city looking for better opportunities as everyone else does. But they are living on the streets because they are forced to do so due to lack of choices; the option available to them is of housing that they cannot afford. Thus, it is a forced choice in the absence of real options. 78% of them have not thought of shifting to a different location as the choices before them hardly exist.

It is a myth that homeless are unstable, seasonal migrants. Majority of them are now permanent residents of the city with 93% of them have lived in the city for more than 5 years. The homeless are displaying the same behavior that any other resident of the city with links to native place does. Contrary to popular perceptions 77% of the homeless stay at the same locations even during the monsoons and do not go to their native places. The other 23% do display characteristics similar to seasonal migrants with them moving to other cities or back to their villages during monsoons. However even for them movement during monsoons is a forced choice as work is not available and the footpaths and other places where they live become unlivable due to rains.

The migrants who end up being homeless are also the ones who are poor and landless and without a house even in their native places and villages. A landless poor migrating to the city has greater probability to ending up as a homeless in the city.

Study needs to be done to explore the reason for sudden decline in proportion of individual homeless population in the 30plus age group. This could provide important understanding in working with individual homeless and their issues.

Given the small numbers of migration due to marriage, it seems a plausible indicator that most marriages are happening between homeless families at the location itself or partners are being formed amongst single individual homeless. It will be a good exercise to explore this through a separate study to understand family formation among homeless and its dynamics.

Availability and Access of basic services

Almost all pockets of homeless studied from Bandra to Borivali do not have access to public toilets and potable drinking water. It is required that civil society put pressure on local governments for providing Public toilets and drinking water close to these areas. Homeless pockets at Borivali, Kandivali, Malad do not have public toilets close by. Whereas all respondents in south Mumbai said they use public toilets for hygiene. Comparatively services are marginally better in Mumbai city as compared to Suburbs.

Homeless face acute food insecurity both when they work and gets more accentuated when work is not available. Hotels provide the provide security to individual homeless when they earn. Religious places are an important social support providing food security to homeless as 24% homeless use them in case of financial difficulties. Friends and family also form an important support to homeless during times of financial crunch and support them with food.

Despite food insecurity and irregular work overwhelming majority of Homeless are not beggars. Only 6% beg for food. Only 4.3% depended exclusively on begging for food.

It is more unsafe in South Mumbai than Suburban Mumbai mainly due to pro-activeness of police and BMC to keep evicting them from their place. The use of Beggary Act is also mostly in the city.^{xx}

The homeless have been so disempowered and lack self belief that they do not even aspire and accept their current fate. They have poor self view as a result of long term socialization on the streets as seen from their responses on housing where a lot of them no longer even aspire to have a house. This needs processes to restore their confidence and empower them and without a house it will be a vicious cycle to break.

Other inferences

Women are at greater disadvantage in all aspects from safety issues to earnings. 77% females across categories have faced abuses as compared to 46% men having faced abuse. Average earning of female is lower at Rs. 121 as compared to Rs 140 for males.

BMC and Police are taking away the two most important things from homeless and of human life- Livelihood and shelter (even if under the sky) - Things for which they came to the city by disrupting their lives with evictions and arrests. The protector has become the predator. The government is not a welfare state for the homeless but a terror state.

CHAPTER 7

RECOMMENDATIONS

A homeless is homeless because he/she does not have a roof. The characterization of Mumbai as a place that can provide you food but not shelter is not just a stereotype but a reality for the homeless. In fact, the study does indicate that the most important support to homeless in Mumbai will be to provide shelters. As was seen in the shelter section 70% said their reason for being on the streets was due to unaffordable housing. Nearly all the respondents spoken to asked for shelters or houses to be provided to them that they can afford.

Therefore, there is an urgent need to create housing according to the capacity of the homeless only then will it be an affordable option for them. Creation of shelters with all basic facilities of hygiene would substantially reduce their costs of living by reducing the exorbitant prices they have to pay for water. It will provide stability in their lives as will not have to restart lives after every eviction. It will help them have continuity in their work and also increase the possibilities of regular work as they will be able to have some residence proof. The continuity and stability along with reduced costs will improve their food security and provide them the dignity of life that they deserve. It will also facilitate asset building among homeless and will be able to increase their savings.

The current so called affordable housing schemes as seen in the review of government programmes are way beyond the means of the homeless. The rental housing or shelter for the homeless should be designed keeping in mind the needs of families and females which was expressed as an aspiration in the FGDS and the Supreme court has also directed the same. The Supreme Court guidelines provide very detailed standards for it and should form the norms for setting up shelters.

78% respondents mentioned BMC and 66% also mentioned Police as main threat to life by homeless. This points to two types of issues- One- that the authorities are insensitive to them and consider them illegal as was also seen in the FGDS. Second, that there is no provision, policy, programme or guideline for the homeless so these authorities do not know what to do with them except considering them illegal occupants of public land. Add to this criminalizing laws like Beggary Prevention Act which makes them criminal for earning livelihood on the streets.

Non existence and non-acknowledgement of homeless in the government policies and the response of the BMC and Police towards the homeless point to the non-importance of this group in the government thinking as was seen in the review of government programmes. Therefore, Advocacy for a policy on homeless and stop illegalizing them; for implementation of Supreme Court guidelines for creating shelters, amendment in Beggary law and awareness generation to break myths about homeless are the main recommendations emerging from the needs assessment of homeless in the pockets studied.

It can be safely inferred that all homeless face food insecurity as they do not have regular daily work and do not have savings to take care of emergencies. As was shared in the FGDS while work is available it is not regular thus regularly giving rise to financial difficulties. In case of

financial difficulties 52% borrow money for food. 24% use religious places for food and 6% beg. The quality of food that is had with the low levels of income is also not good. Thus, homeless face acute food insecurity and appropriate interventions need to be thought of.

To strengthen food security for homeless families it is important that they get ration cards to access subsidized food grains and also those they actually receive their entitlement. Only 40% of the homeless have ration cards.

Drinking water facilities needs to be created in the Borivali, Kandivili, Vakola, Bandra, and Tardeo especially as here people are completely dependent on buying water from nearby societies as there exist none close to the pockets studied. Drinking water is taken from a broken pipeline running along a drain in Borivali.

Public toilets are needed in Borivili, Kandivili as there are none close to the pockets. Taking a bath is unaffordable as price of water is high, taking away a tenth of their daily savings. A monthly membership of some kind can be considered by Public toilets to enable the homeless to have a more affordable option for bathing especially women.

49% children of homeless do not go to school. Support to education of children and enrollment in schools is thus another service needed to be directly provided.

55% homeless have no identity proofs. 86% don't save. Only 26 people have a bank account. Thus interventions for Identity documents is an important support required for the homeless. Ration cards, identity proofs and linkages to banking system emerge as areas that need direct services support to homeless. Assistance in getting Mumbai based identity and UID could be another service to the homeless without which the homeless are being illegalized and criminalized and their citizenship rights and right to life with dignity is being taken away.

82% homeless belong to SC, ST or OBC categories. All the more reason to ask for special schemes for the homeless as they are hit doubly- First by their traditional marginalization from castes and then being marginalized in the city.

There are many NGOs working with street populations but mostly children and youth, but no one is working looking at the issues of homeless holistically. Though NGOs have helped get ration cards and provide education support to children of NGOs, apart from South Mumbai where one NGO has a regular programme with street Homeless youth, no other organization works on a regular basis on homeless issues in a comprehensive manner in any of the other pockets studied.

Thus, it is now an urgent need for civil society to start interventions with this group which has been left completely marginalized and disempowered and dignity taken away from their lives. It is an urgent need to create Shelter and affordable housing along with associated basic services support and to help them fight their rights and dignity.

Appendix

Wardi

Wardi is a free food hotel associated with Muslim religious shrines and mosques. The Muslim believers pay the hotels to feed poor people. It has developed an elaborate system of coupons and is often used by homeless in Mumbai. However, since the pockets studied were hindu dominated areas and did not have Muslim shrines use and information of wardi's could not be collected directly from respondents. The support it provides is same as any other religious place would but mostly the food quality is not good there so even homeless go there only in extreme distress. Most of the times one finds drug addicts use wardi more regularly. 1.9% of individual homeless and 0.42% of homeless families in the sample have used the wardi.

Table Appendix

Table 1

| Age Group | Total Sample (%) | Homeless Family (%) | Individual Homeless (%) |
|-----------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <18 | 2.4 | 0.8 | 9.1 |
| 18 to 24 | 17.5 | 14.7 | 29.1 |
| 25 to 29 | 23.3 | 22.2 | 27.3 |
| 30 to 39 | 31.9 | 36.9 | 9.1 |
| 40 to 49 | 13.4 | 15.5 | 7.2 |
| 50 to 59 | 7.5 | 7.1 | 9.1 |
| 60 to 69 | 3.7 | 2.5 | 9.1 |
| > 70 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table 2 Many of the respondents did not know their castes or were unwilling to tell but told the category i.e. SC or ST so that was included in castes.

| Caste | Homeless Family | Caste | Individual Homeless |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| SC | 40 | SC | 5 |
| OBC | 1 | OBC | 0 |
| Waghri | 56 | Waghri | 3 |
| Harijan | 11 | Harijan | 2 |
| Pardhi | 29 | Pardhi | 5 |
| Dalit | 2 | Dalit | 1 |
| Kamble | 1 | Kamble | 0 |
| Gini | 1 | Gini | 0 |
| Jogi | 1 | Jogi | 0 |
| Koli | 19 | Koli | 2 |
| Bagariya | 1 | Bagariya | 0 |
| Salat | 3 | Salat | 1 |
| Yadav | 2 | Yadav | 6 |
| Patel | 1 | Patel | 1 |
| Bhangi | 3 | Bhangi | 0 |
| jai bhim | 1 | Jai bhim | 0 |
| Patil | 1 | Patil | 0 |
| Jamble | 0 | Jamble | 0 |
| Maratha | 4 | Maratha | 0 |
| Kaushal | 1 | Kaushal | 0 |
| Mali | 1 | Mali | 0 |
| Paswan | 1 | Paswan | 0 |
| Thakur | 1 | Thakur | 2 |
| No response | 60 | Brahamin | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 | Khelar | 1 |
| | | Korku | 1 |
| | | Shaikh | 1 |
| | | No response | 24 |
| Total | 244 | Total | 56 |

Table 3

| | Homeless Families | Individuals Homeless | % Homeless family | % Individual homeless |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| ST, Notified Tribes and Nomadic community | 105 | 10 | 43.03 | 17.8 |
| SC | 70 | 10 | 28.6 | 17.8 |
| OBC | 4 | 7 | 1.6 | 12.2 |
| Others | 5 | 5 | 2.0 | 8.9 |
| No response | 60 | 24 | 24.5 | 42.8 |
| Total | 244 | 56 | 100 | 100 |

Table 4

| Duration of stay in Mumbai (years) | Total Sample | Percent | Individual Homeless | Percent | Homeless Family | Percent |
|------------------------------------|--------------|---------|---------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|
| <1 | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 1.7 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 - 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3.5 | 1 | 0.4 |
| 2- 5 | 13 | 4.3 | 4 | 7.1 | 9 | 3.6 |
| 6 - 10 | 43 | 14.3 | 18 | 32.1 | 25 | 10.2 |
| 10 -15 | 42 | 14 | 7 | 12.5 | 35 | 14.3 |
| 15 -20 | 41 | 13.6 | 9 | 16.0 | 32 | 13.1 |
| >20 | 157 | 52.3 | 15 | 26.7 | 142 | 58.1 |
| Total | 300 | 100 | 56 | 100 | 244 | 100 |

Table 5

| Previous location of residence | Total Sample | Percent | Individual Homeless | Percent | Homeless family | Percent |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| In another location in Mumbai | 79 | 27.7 | 11 | 19.6 | 68 | 29.6 |
| In village | 134 | 47.0 | 25 | 44.6 | 109 | 47.5 |
| Another City | 16 | 5.6 | 10 | 17.8 | 6 | 2.6 |
| Shelter Home/Ngo | 1 | 0.35 | 1 | 1.7 | 0 | 0 |
| Government Institution | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Others | 17 | 5.9 | 3 | 5.3 | 14 | 6.1 |
| NA | 35 | 12.2 | 6 | 10.7 | 29 | 12.6 |
| No Response | 3 | 1.05 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1.3 |
| Total | 285 | 100 | 56 | 100 | 229 | 100 |

In "Others" some surveyors marked "born here". NA was for those "born here". Thus born here is a sum of others and NA. 15 missing data in families.

Table 6

| Reasons for movement to current location | Total % | Individual % | Family % | Females % | Males % |
|---|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| Job | 48.7 | 62.2 | 41.3 | 46.8 | 42.9 |
| Police harassment | 1.4 | 3.7 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 2.3 |
| Availability of space | 11.4 | 13.2 | 10.9 | 14.6 | 7.8 |
| Eviction | 16.9 | 9.4 | 18.6 | 7.6 | 27.3 |
| BMC harassment | 1.1 | 0 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 1.5 |
| Calamity | 0.7 | 0 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| NA | 7.7 | 1.8 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 2.3 |
| No response | 2.2 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.7 | 1.5 |
| Others | 13.2 | 7.5 | 14.5 | 13.2 | 13.2 |

Others include Marriage, runaway. Total will not add up due to multiple responses

Table 7

| Managing food when not having money | Individual Homeless (%) | Homeless Family (%) | Total Sample (%) |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Ask for food (from friends and relatives) | 23.1 | 14.8 | 15.9 |
| Borrow money | 51.9 | 54.8 | 52.2 |
| Eat in a Wardi | 1.9 | 0.42 | 0.67 |
| Eat in Religious Places | 40.3 | 21.2 | 24 |
| Donations (Begging) | 1.9 | 6.3 | 5.4 |
| Others | 0 | 2.1 | 1.6 |

Total will not add due to multiple responses to the options.

Table 8.**Sources of Income**

| | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----|
| 1 | Restaurants/hotels | 10 |
| 2 | Waadi kaam (catering) | 14 |
| 3 | Banners/Posters | 0 |
| 4 | Loading/unloading | 22 |
| 5 | Construction work | 22 |
| 6 | Donations (begging) | 5 |
| 7 | Own Business | 39 |
| 8 | Rag picking | 57 |
| 9 | Others | 139 |
| 10 | No response | 1 |

Total will not add due to multiple responses to the options

Table 9. Break up of Other work and Self business

| | | |
|----|---|----|
| 11 | Selling Broom | 2 |
| 12 | Driver | 2 |
| 13 | Selling Ballon | 5 |
| 14 | Working in Golf Course | 2 |
| 15 | Performing on Streets | 20 |
| 16 | Selling Gemstones | 6 |
| 17 | Making Gajra (flower Garlands) | 14 |
| 18 | Coolie | 1 |
| 19 | Contract work in BMC | 1 |
| 20 | Cleaning | 10 |
| 21 | Selling Bamboo Basket | 1 |
| 22 | Selling Flower | 4 |
| 23 | Chindi Business | 18 |
| 24 | Selling Utensils for Old Clothes | 52 |
| 25 | Street Vendor | 7 |
| 27 | Domestic Help | 16 |
| 28 | Selling Lemons and Chillies to ward off evils at traffic signals (nazarbatto) | 1 |
| 29 | Tailoring | 1 |
| 30 | Working in Mahanagar Gas Pipeline | 4 |
| 31 | Security | 1 |
| 32 | Scrap Collector | 1 |
| 26 | Not Working | 1 |

Data Collection Tool

(Please circle the appropriate response/ responses)

Form Code:

| INTERVIEW SUMMARY | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| Name of Interviewer | | | | | | | | |
| Date of Interview: | | | | | Location / Area : | | | |
| Type of Interview: 1. Individual 2. Family | | | | | | | | |
| A. PERSONAL INFORMATION | | | | | | | | |
| Age: | 1. <18 | 2. 18-24 | 3. 25-29 | 4. 30-39 | 5. 40-49 | 6. 50-59 | 7. 60-69 | 8. >70 |
| Gender: | <input type="checkbox"/> Male | | | <input type="checkbox"/> Female | | | <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender | |
| Educational background (primary respondent): | | | | | | | | |
| 0. No school | | | 4. Post Secondary 11-12 | | | | | |
| 1. Preschool | | | 5. Diploma | | | | | |
| 2. Primary (1-6) | | | 6. Vocational Training | | | | | |
| 3. Secondary (8-10) | | | 7. Degree | | | | | |
| Marital Status: | <input type="checkbox"/> Single | | <input type="checkbox"/> Married | | <input type="checkbox"/> Separated/Divorced | | <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed | |
| Children / Family: (no. of members, size of family if responded is a family) | | | | | Ages | | | |
| No of children | | | | | | | | |
| Adults | | | | | | | | |
| Old | | | | | | | | |
| Place of origin: | Town/Village/City: | | | | State: | | | |
| Caste: | | | | Religion: | | | | |
| B. CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Since when have you been living without a house (in current location)? | | | | | | [duration of homelessness] | | |
| 1. < 1 year | 2. 1- 2 yrs | 3. 2 - 5 yrs | 4. 6- 10 yrs | 5. 10-15 yrs | 6. 15- 20 yrs | 7. > 20 yrs | | |
| 2. Where did you stay before you started living here (current location)? | | | | | | [history of homelessness] | | |
| 1. In another location in Mumbai | | | 5. Govt Institution | | | | | |
| 2. In the village | | | 6. Others (specify: _____) | | | | | |
| 3. In another city | | | 7. N/A | | | | | |
| 4. Shelter home/NGO | | | 8. No Response | | | | | |

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 3. In Q2, If you have moved from another location (options 1, 2, 3) what are the reasons for doing so? | |
| 1. Job | 6. Calamity |
| 2. Police harassment | 7. N/A |
| 3. Availability of space | 8. No Response |
| 4. Eviction | 9. Others (specify: _____) |
| 5. BMC harassment | |
| 4. Do you or your family own a house / land in hometown? | |
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
| | 3. Don't Know |
| (IN CASE OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS) | |
| 5. What are the reasons that brought you to the streets? | |
| 1. Eviction | 5. Lack of options post-institution |
| 2. Domestic violence | 6. Abandonment |
| 3. In search of livelihood/employment | 7. Others (specify: _____) |
| 4. Mental trauma / stress | 8. No Response |
| 6. Why do you live here on the streets? | |
| 1. No affordable housing | 6. No jobs (insufficient income) |
| 2. No shelter / hostels | 7. Can't save money for housing |
| 3. Have to send money back home (remittances to family in hometown) | |
| 4. Freedom / Independence | 8. Others (specify: _____) |
| 5. No one gives us a place to live | |
| 7. How frequently do you visit your village or hometown? | |
| 1. Every month | 2. Every season |
| 3. During festivals | 4. Once every yr |
| 5. Others (specify: _____) | 6. N/A |
| | 7. No Response |

| | |
|---|--|
| SHELTER | |
| 8. Who are the ones who create problems (may tick more than one)? | |
| 1. Police | 2. Rowdies |
| 3. Bhai Log | 4. Drunkards |
| 5. BMC | 6. Shopkeepers |
| 7. Public | 8. Political parties/Politicians |
| 9. Others _____ | |
| 9. What do you do during monsoons? | |
| 1. Shift to different location | 2. Stay in current location |
| a. What do you do? | |
| 1. Tie blue sheet | 2. Stay in the shelter of shops at night |
| 3. Others (specify: _____) | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------|----------|
| 10. What are the advantages of staying this place? | | | | | |
| 1. Availability of Work | 2. Safety / Security | 3. Proximity to Work | | | |
| 4. Availability of Food | 5. Less harassment from people | | | | |
| 6. People know us (identity) | 7. No response | | | | |
| 8. No advantages | 9. Others (specify): _____ | | | | |
| 11. Have you ever thought of shifting to a different place because of the problems? 1. YES 2. NO | | | | | |
| 12. Have you ever thought of living in your own house (rental or buying)? 1. YES 2. NO | | | | | |
| a. IF is YES: Why haven't you been able to do that? | | | | | |
| _____ | | | | | |
| b. IF is NO: Why not? _____ | | | | | |
| 13. How Much are you willing to pay to buy or rent a house? | | | | | |
| 14. In the absence of a shelter where do you keep your belongings? | | | | | |
| 1. With relative / friend | 2. Carry with self | 3. Keep at employer | | | |
| 4. Keep at shop | 5. Keep in laundry | 6. Taxi Driver | | | |
| 7. No where to keep | 8. Anywhere outside | | | | |
| 9. Others (specify): _____ | | | | | |
| FOOD | | | | | |
| 15. How many meals do you eat per day? | | | | | |
| 1. 0 | 2. 1 | 3. 2 | 4. 3 | 5. more than 3 | |
| 16. What do you eat mostly? | | | | | |
| 1. Roti + Daal | 2. Rice + Daal | 3. Non-Veg + Rice | 4. Others _____ | | |
| 17. Where do you have your food every day? 1. COOK ourselves 2. Eat OUTSIDE | | | | | |
| a. IF OUTSIDE: Where? | | | | | |
| 1. Hotel | 4. Mandir/gurudwara/masjid | | | | |
| 2. Provided at workplace | 5. Begging | | | | |
| 3. NGOs | 6. Others (specify): _____ | | | | |
| 7. No Response | | | | | |
| b. IF COOK: Where do you get your supplies? | | | | | |
| 1. Ration shop | 2. Other shops | 3. Donations | 4. Others _____ | | |
| 18. Do you have a ration card? | | | | | |
| 1. YES | 2. NO | | | | |
| 19. IF Q18 is YES, How long have you had a ration card? | | | | | |
| a) < 1 yr | b) 1 - 3 yr | c) 3-5 yr | d) 5-10 yr | e) 10-15 yrs | f) >15yr |
| a. How much time did you take to get the ration card? | | | | | |
| a) 6 months | b) 1 yr | c) 2 yrs | d) More than 2 years | | |

| |
|---|
| <p>b. What kind of ration card do you have? _____</p> <p>c. What do you get in your ration card? a). Only rice and wheat b. Rice wheat and Sugar c. Rice, wheat, sugar and kerosene d. Only kerosene e. Only sugar f. nothing</p> <p>d. Did anyone help you get the ration card? 1. YES 2. NO</p> <p>e. If Q19d is YES, Who helped you? (else skip to g) _____</p> <p>f. Do you get the supplies easily? 1. YES 2. NO</p> <p>g. If Q19d is NO, what are the difficulties you face? _____ _____</p> |
| <p>20. How much you spend on your food daily?</p> <p>1. Rs 50-100 2. Rs 100-150 3. Rs150-200 4. Others _____</p> |
| <p>21. How do you manage food when you do not have money?</p> <p>1. Ask for food 2. Borrow money 3. Eat in a wardi 4. Eat in religious places</p> <p>5. Donations 6. Others (specify: _____)</p> |
| <p>22. When do you use religious places for food?</p> <p>1. When no work and money 2. On special occasions</p> <p>3. N/A 4. No Response</p> <p>5. Others (specify): _____</p> |
| <p>23. Do you know of wardi around here? 1. Yes 2. NO</p> <p>a. Have you ever used a wardi? 2. YES 2. NO</p> <p>b. How much does a coupon come for? 1. YES 2. NO</p> <p>c. Why did you use the wardi? _____</p> <p>d. What is good about wardi? _____</p> <p>e. Do you know of people who use the wardi? 1. YES 2. NO</p> <p>f. If Q23e is YES, when do they use it?</p> |
| <p>HEALTH, HYGIENE AND SANITATION</p> |
| <p>Toilets</p> <p>24. Where do you go to relieve yourself?</p> <p>1. Near railway tracks 2. Public toilets 3. Near sea beach 4. On the streets</p> <p>5. Others (specify: _____)</p> <p>25. (If answer to Q24. is other than "Public toilets") Why do you not use public toilets?</p> <p>1. Long queue 2. Expensive 3. Not allowed to</p> <p>4. Not open during certain hours (FILL THE TIME)</p> <p>5. It's very dirty 6. No water in them 7. Others (specify: _____)</p> <p>26. How much do you pay for using public toilets (for following activities)?</p> <p>1. Urinating 2. Defecating</p> <p>3. Bath 4. Others (specify _____)</p> |

33. If they use any drug or alcohol: How frequently do you take it?
 1. Daily 2. Twice or Thrice a week 3. Once a week 4. Once in a fortnight
 5. Once a month 6. Others (specify: _____)
34. How much you spend on it?
 1. Rs 50 – 100 per day 2. less than 50/day 3. more than 100/day
35. Did you start taking these substances after coming to the streets? 1. YES 2. NO
 a. IF YES, Why?
 1. Peer pressure 2. Release tension 3. To Forget something 4. To help in sleeping
 5. N/A 6. Others _____ 7. No Response

(IF RESPONDENT OR FAMILY MEMBER HAS ANY TYPE OF DISABILITY)

(Type: Physical, mental, developmental)

36. What are the Challenges faced by people living on the streets and with disability?

EDUCATION (of children)

Presence and Access to schools

37. Does your child (or you) go to school? 1. YES 2. NO 3 N/A
 a. If Q46 is YES Where?
 1. BMC School 2. NGO run school 3. Private 4 Others _____
- b. How do you pay for it?
 1. Donations 2. Assistance from school 3. NGOs 4. _____ Others
- c. How far is the school from here?
- d. Are there drop-in centres / day care centres for children? 1. YES 2. NO
- e. What are the challenges of children to study?
 1. No place to study 2. No one to teach 3. No study materials
 4. No light to study 5. Others _____
38. Do you feel the need to go to school or training (to be addresses to young homeless only)? In case of families: Do you feel the need to send your children to school or training?
 1. YES 2. NO 3. Don't know 4. N/A 5. No response

- b. Where do you save your money?
1. Co-op Bank 2. Mukadam (employer) 3. Shopkeeper
4. Friend/Relative 5. NGO 6. Ourselves
7. Others (specify: _____)
- c. How much do you save in a month? _____
- d. How much do you save in a season? _____

50. Do you plan / think of renting a house after saving? 1. YES 2. NO
- a. If Q50 is NO, why not? _____
- _____
- b. If Q50 is YES, how much do you need to save for a house and where?

51. IF Q49a (Saving Money) is Sending Home
- a. How do you send money home?
1. Money Order 2. Friends 3. Bank
4. Others _____
- b. How much do you usually send? _____ (Frequency per month)

52. Do you take loan in case of emergency
- a. Yes b. No
- b. If yes then from whom
1. Co-op bank 2. Mukaddam (employer) 3. Shopkeepers
4. Friend/ Relative 5. NGO 6. Ourselves

ABUSE EXPERIENCES

53. What kind of abuse one has to face being on the streets?
1. Physical 2. Verbal 3. Sexual 4. Financial
5. Mental 6. Others _____
54. Have you experienced any of these? 1. YES 2. NO
55. Who are the people who are a threat to your life here?
1. BMC 2. Police 3. Public/passersby 4. Shopkeepers
5. Bhai log 6. Political parties/ Politicians 7.Others _____

NEEDS / REQUESTS / SUPPORT

56. Do you have any requests / needs or aspirations? (Regarding food, health, shelter, Livelihood, Identity etc)
- _____
- _____

HOMELESS COLLECTIVE



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- ⁱ Amster, Randall (2008). *Lost in Space: The Criminalization, Globalization, and Urban Ecology of Homelessness*. New York: LFB Scholarly. ISBN 1-59332-297-6.
- ⁱⁱ Census of India
- ⁱⁱⁱ Report of counting of homeless on night of 28th February, 2011. Prepared by Collective for Homeless Citizens, Mumbai
- ^{iv} Vicious Cycle of Homelessness- Shwetank Mishra, 2007, From Paper presented at Seminar on Homeless in India at Tata Institute of Social Sciences.
- ^v 2. Definitions.- (1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,-
- (i) "Begging" means-
- (a) Soliciting or receiving alms, in a public place whether or not under any pretence such as singing, dancing, fortune telling, performing or offering any article for sale;
- (b) Entering on any private premises for the purpose of soliciting or receiving alms;
- (c) Exposing or exhibiting, with the object of obtaining or extorting alms, any sore, wound injury, deformity of diseases whether of a human being or animal;
- (d) Having no visible means of subsistence and wandering, about or remaining in any public place in such condition or manner, as makes it likely that the person doing so exist soliciting or receiving alms;
- ^{vi} SJSRY asks for documentary evidence such as Ration Card, Income Certificate of anyone who opts for such a scheme. In this case the Homeless will not be counted at all
- ^{vii} <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/pavement-dwellers-hit-by-footpath-makeover/588856/>
- ^{viii} <http://www.scribd.com/doc/47002488/Tenements-Handed-Over>
- ^{ix} <http://mhupa.gov.in/programs/housing/NSUSARC.htm>;
<http://mhupa.gov.in/pdf/guidelines-scheme/urbanemp-povallev/Shelter%20and%20sanitation/shelterandsanitation.pdf>
- ^x <http://missionconvergence.org/homeless.html>
- ^{xi} Temporary Shelter set up by Revenue department, Government of Delhi.
- ^{xii} Quoted from "Girls on the Run - Repatriation of runaways", Saathi- 2004, pg 6
- ^{xiii} http://www.firstfoundation.in/socio_casteslist_Maha.htm
- ^{xiv} <https://indianfolklore.org/journals/index.php/Mukt/article/viewFile/123/134>
- ^{xv} <http://labourbureau.nic.in/RLE992k%20GenChar%20Chap%203.htm>
- ^{xvi} Rural-to-rural migration, which accounts for more than 70 per cent of the total migration inside the country, is dominated by women, has been explained in terms of 'marriage' and 'associational' migrations. But female migration might also be the result of broken marriages, widowhood, desertion and destitution. Mahendra K premi, EPW
- ^{xvii} United nations FOOD and AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION. From Food Insecurity Among Homeless and Marginally Housed Individuals Living with HIV/AIDS in San Francisco, Sheri D. Weiser, David R. Bangsberg, Susan Kegeles, Kathleen Ragland, Margot B. Kushel, and Edward A. Frongillo
- ^{xviii} Water Supply and use in Mumbai, BCPT
- ^{xix} Guthka is ready to eat processed flavoured beetelnut with tobacco sold in sachets.
- ^{xx} Administration of beggary laws in India; Tarique qureshi, Seminar paper presented at All India criminology conference, Madurai. 2006.

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