

January 26, 2008

To
Dr. Shantha Sinha
Chairperson,
National Commission for Protection of Child Rights,
5th Floor, Chandralok Building,
36, Janpath,
New Delhi 110 001

Sub: Police Harassment of children and subsequent suicide by one minor girl

Dear Madam,

This is to draw your attention to the suicide of a young girl in Rajeev Nagar slum, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh and the role of Police Department in this incident, and to request you to intervene in the situation to ensure justice in this case, and to take action to curb the continuous harassment of children of the Pardhi community.

TINTIBAI's SUICIDE

Sixteen year old Tintibai who belonged to the Pardi community and lived in Pardi Mohalla of Rajeev Nagar Basti, Kotra Sultanabad, Bhopal committed suicide by hanging herself on the 19th January 2008. This extreme step by this young girl stands testimony to the acute helplessness in a situation of continuous humiliation, the inability to respond to abusive language and physical torture with the anger and sense of violation one is feeling, the forcefulness of knowing that there is nothing but to accept what is being given out to you by society at large, and in this case the police personnel of the local thana.

Tintibai and her sister in law Heroin, 17 years have been the prime bread earners of the family through daily rag picking work. The rag-picking routine of any Pardi person is marked with an almost daily harassment and humiliation by the police. Different people including Tintibai have been continuously picked, physically hit, verbally abused and threatened that they will be sent to jail under serious charges if they do not give the police personnel money for being released. The fact that there has become a bias against the tribe referring to everyone born in this community as 'criminal', people also are not able to stand up to police pressures to prove their innocence.

In the last 2 years, the police have held Tintibai thrice, besides threats and snide remarks on the roadside many times. These earlier instances are marked with gross legal irregularities including taking away in the middle of the night, not letting the parents meet her, beating her up, abusing her, forcing her to sign prewritten papers and forcing her and two accompanying children to admitting to a crime they had not committed. Even at that time, her community members, representatives of Muskaan and independent volunteers had brought attention of the then SP and IG to the case¹ and asked for intervention.

¹ Case Study of Tintibai's illegal detention and false implication in case of theft between March 10 – 13, 2007 submitted for urgent attention to the then SP, IG, ADG (CID) is being enclosed here.

On January 19th 2008:

Early morning- Tintibai and Heroin left their homes to rag pick in the Vaishali area of Kotra Sultanabad; a group of residents cornered them, accusing them of having stolen fuel from a nearby vehicle. Not having found the fuel on them, they asked them to name their accomplices. When the girls denied any involvement in the theft, the residents threatened, abused and beat them up. They then called the police from Kamla Nagar Thana. Two police persons on a motorcycle reached the site and interrogated the girls and although they found nothing stolen on them, called the patrol vehicle, picked them up and took them to the Thana. All the Police personnel involved were male.

Morning and day: At the thana, already presuming that these girls were involved in the crime they were interrogated by male personnel, about their accomplices. As the girls denied any knowledge, they were humiliated with, '*Chotte ho, chori karte ho, ab petrol bhi churane lagi ho..... bahut garmi aa gai hai..*' and also beaten up with a baton. In the course of this questioning, one of the policepersons insultingly touched Tintibai on her cheeks and when she protested sexually violated her by passing his hands on her chest. As the girls continued stating that they had no knowledge or participation about the said crime, they threatened to turn them over to the same community so that they could beat them up again. The girls pleaded to let them go home, when one of the policepersons demanded Rs.1000. When the girls said that they did not have money, he said one of them could go and get it while the other would have to remain at the thana. Tintibai said that she would not be able to arrange for such a large amount, he asked how much she could bring and insisted that she give Rs 600/- .

Afternoon: Tintibai hurriedly came home and asked her brother Tinti to give her the money. She was crying then and had a swollen face. Tinti gave her Rs 500, which she took and went to the Thana along with one of her relatives. She gave the Rs.500 to the policeperson, who then let her and Heroin go.

Late afternoon: When the girls arrived in the community, they came to an ongoing community group meeting at the Rajeev Nagar Basti where basti women, girls, two teachers from Muskaan and an independent volunteer were sitting. The girls shared their experience and the group discussed how, this practice of daily 'picking up' and extortion relentlessly continued. Tintibai left the meeting after a short while saying that she wanted to rest as she was feeling very exhausted and her body was hurting. Heroin accompanied her home. They sat and conversed for some time and Tintibai lay down and Heroin went to visit her mother's house. After about an hour, Tintibai was discovered hanging from the bamboo supporting their tin roof. Her brother and her father brought her down by cutting the rope.

Evening: as the basti got together and Muskaan and other group workers reached her house, they urgently took her to the J.P. Hospital where she was declared 'brought dead'. Waiting for the post-mortem, her family members, Muskaan workers and an independent volunteer saw that there were blue marks on her back and also the back of her legs, besides the swelling under her eyes.

Night: As Tintibai's body was taken to the mortuary in Hamidia hospital, the community was both shocked and outraged. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that Tintibai's extreme step resulted from her experience of Police harassment through the day which came in the series of such harassments that she had been facing for over 2 years.

Lack of action by police and stalling of enquiry

When the family members of Tintibai and other supporters reached the Kamla Nagar Thana later on the night of the incident, they demanded that the SP personally respond to them; the SP ordered an independent enquiry into the incident by the DSP Crime, promising that the enquiry is completed within two days and action is initiated. However,

even though the prime witness has volunteered to identify the specific police personnel involved, the enquiry officer has cited lack of time to complete the enquiry. Tremendous pressure has been built through media misrepresentation, mediator discussions in the basti upon the family and community to withdraw the complaint.

POLICE HARASSMENT ON PARDHI CHILDREN

There are about 90 families of the Pardhi community living in Rajiv Nagar who rag pick for a living. The women and the children of the community are the regular earning members of the family. Leaving home early in the morning, they collect garbage which includes discarded paper, glass, plastic and metals from roadsides, garbage dumps and open spaces. They walk an average distance of 20 kms a day with the sack getting heavier, and in the late afternoon sit to sort their collection into various materials.

Muskaan has been working in this community for over 6 years now. Our classes are also run in the slums where the children live, and interactions with elders in the basti are continuous through a health and micro-credit intervention. As the interactions with people have grown over the months and years, we have been witnessing their lives at close quarters and are able to see their daily efforts to meet ends, and to survive in a society that discards the poor.

We have seen how the lives of Pardhis, and their rag-picking routine is entwined with an almost daily harassment and humiliation by the police. We would like to bring to your notice the harassment of specifically children by the police that we have witnessed through the course of our interaction with the children. We have specifically noticed that the police personnel of different police stations pick upon children and use their vulnerability and sense of insecurity to meet their own ends, of extorting money and falsely implicating children on pending or unsolved thefts.

The gross violations of the provisions of the Juvenile Justice Act at each stage go against the purpose of the Act of creating a **“child-friendly approach in the adjudication and disposition of matters in the best interest of children”**.

- the illegal detentions of the children
- the children not being put under the Special Juvenile Police Unit or the designated police officer
- the child not being presented to the Juvenile Board at all or within the stipulated time
- not informing the parents of the arrest
- the use of physical violence on children
- the mental torture of children by threats and use of abusive language
- Absence of any officer in the local thanas of Kamla Nagar and T.T.Nagar with ‘aptitude and appropriate training and orientation who may be designated as the ‘juvenile or the child welfare officer’ or even if someone has been designated as such, then the person’s intentions need to be questioned as no-one from the police thana has intervened when the children are being meted out with violence

We would like to present the following examples towards this point –

- R, 14 year old boy, began his rag-picking routine at 6 in the morning with the first stop at a tea-stall. His sack was empty. He was picked up from there and Rs. 500

were demanded from his parents with the threat that if the money is not given, he will be implicated in some case of theft.

- Three boys, T, R and M, were rag-picking in the morning near Jawahar Chowk. The T.T.Nagar thana police personnel picked up the children from there and beat them with a belt demanding confessions on where all they have done thefts. There was nothing in their sacks that was of a stolen nature. Money was demanded from parents and the children were let off after this was given at night.
- R, 8 year old boy, was picked up from P & T Roundabout at 2 p.m. in the afternoon. He had a sack full of the scrap things he had picked up, none of the things were of a stolen nature. When the Muskaan worker kept questioning on why the child had been picked up, the answer given was that the incidence of thefts happening in the T.T. Nagar are increasing, and therefore this boy has been picked up. He was hit and kept in a lock-up with adult prisoners. On constant questioning, no information was given on when he would be released. On constant demanding, the boy was finally released on the second day.
- Two boys, D and R, 11 years, were playing with empty boxes on the roadside when two police personnel of Kamla Nagar thana, stopped there. One of them slapped D on his face and asked the other to search the boy completely. When nothing was found, they took the boy to the thana, and Rs. 300 was demanded from the parents to let the boy free.
- G, 12 years old girl, was rag-picking with two other friends in the Nehru Nagar area, when a police vehicle picked them up. The local kabadi wala to whom they often sold their stuff paid off the police people an amount of Rs. 1000 to free the girls. The girls now continue to sell their collections to him for repaying this amount.
- R, 8 years, was rag-picking when the police vehicle stopped near him. He started running, and they caught up with him and kept him for 2 days, on the mere accusation of why was he running if he had not stolen.

As young girls who are rag-picking on the streets, the girls are more vulnerable to abuse from the people on the road. The police also do not take a stand that would protect these girls, and resort to sexual abusive language themselves.

- G, J, 14 year old girls and L, 8 year old girl were rag-picking on Kolar Road when some boys started harassing them. They were taken to the T.T. Nagar thana and were beaten with belts. One police man stood on G's folded legs and thrashed her with a belt. Gold chains were put around the girls' necks and then they were photographed with them.
- S, 14 year old girl, was rag-picking around the Tin shed vacated houses, when boys of the nearby locality came in and were harassing the girls. They accused them of having stolen things and to raise their skirt to prove that nothing was hidden inside. When the girls resisted doing that, the boys made further advances and the girls tried to run away. On running, they met a police man to whom they turned to for help, but were told off there also that they must have stolen things.

The names of the children are being withdrawn from this letter as there is always a threat of a backlash from the local police thana and the children do need to continue their rag-picking to meet their household needs.

As an organization, Muskaan has demanded that procedures need to be followed if there is any substantial reason for apprehending a child, and not to cause physical and mental torture on the person. We recognize that many of the children being picked up belong to the Pardhi tribe², and the ease with which the police is able to extort money from the families or get away with the violations of the law with these children is because the parents are fearful of resisting the pressures as the opinion in the larger society (judiciary system, police officers, public opinion) is against them.

As rag-pickers, the children pick up things that are considered waste from all quarters, as broken materials, empty bottles, thrown items of paper, polythene, plastic, rubber, etc. They extract miniscule weights of copper, aluminum, brass from things that the consumer society does not even recognize of any value, as a broken bulb, an empty toothpaste tube, a discarded restaurant take-away box, etc. These children would sometimes take things as empty paint boxes, some pieces of wire mesh, etc. that are lying outside a house and are not involved in any theft of significant value.

Irrespective of the community one belongs to or any other fact, the Act does not allow the police to harass and exploit the children and their families in the ways this has constantly been done. All these incidents speak of being completely out of procedure, high handedness and corruption on the part of the police personnel.

We urge you to urgently intervene upon the situation elaborately and concretely in the interest of human rights of all children and in the spirit of the provisions of the Juvenile Justice Act. These gross violations being committed through the Department have completely eroded the faith of poor and vulnerable communities in the criminal justice system and leave no democratic spaces for pursuit of justice.

We urge that it is ensured that:

- **Immediate action is taken against police personnel of Kamla Nagar Thana for violations of the Juvenile Justice Act by illegally detaining the two minor girls, humiliating them, making a sexual trespass, beating with a baton to coerce them into admit to the crime that they had not committed and thus causing mental stress on the two girls, leading to suicide by one of them.**
- **Action be taken against police personnel of Kamla Nagar Thana for taking a bribe from the girls**
- **Initiate appropriate action taking into cognizance the fact that no female police personnel or Special officers under the provisions of the JJ Act were present through any of the stages of police detainment and interrogation.**
- **Action be taken against the residents who had beaten up Tintibai and Heroine on the morning of 19th January 2008.**
- **Recommend adequate compensation through the Chief Minister's Relief fund to Tintibai's family.**

² Enclosure 2 contains a note on the interface of police and the Pardhi population in Rajiv Nagar.

We further demand a concrete action agenda to arrest such incidents and behavior in the area.

- 1. Enforce strict implementation of the JJ act guide lines to ensure that children's rights are not violated.**
- 2. Curb the illegal detention of children**
- 3. Ensure that children are not threatened and beaten in police stations.**
- 4. Ensure that children are not implicated in false cases.**

If you would feel the need to interact with any of the children or parents, this could be arranged.

Looking forward to a sensitive response,

With regards,

Lalitabai, Khiliansingh (Parents of Tintibai); Kailashibai, Aahilbai (Residents, Rajeev Nagar); Rama, Tara, Pallav, Shivani (Muskaan); Rinchin, Maheen (Madhya Pradesh Mahila Manch); Javed, Argha (Yuva Samvad)

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Enclosure 1

The illegal detention and false implication of three girls in cases of thefts. Details of the case (March 10th – 13th , 2007).

Rohin d/o Prakash bai and Baayasa, a 16 year old girl and resident of the Pardhi mohalla, Rajeev nagar, Kotra Sultanabad, Bhopal was rag-picking in the morning of March 10th, 2007. In a run-down and vacated house, she found a broken tin table. These houses are used as toilets by the passers-by. More than 80% of the houses in the area have been vacated and are in a broken down condition with the original residents of the house having taken everything worthwhile from their houses, and the houses have been vacated for planned demolition.

A resident of the locality saw her pick up the thing and forcibly locked her in a car while he informed the police. He held on to her and took her to the T.T. Nagar thana at 9 in the morning. She was humiliated and interrogated by male police personnel about thefts of valuables in the area. Even as she refused and clarified that she had just picked up the worn out table and rag-picks regularly in the area, she was continuously humiliated as a 'chor' community girl. A second police man beat her with a belt and continued to pressurize her to admit to having stolen from other houses in the T.T. Nagar area.

When in the afternoon, her mother went to enquire of her, the ASI Pradeep Singh Gurjar told her that her daughter had said that her father is dead and her mother runaway, and so she cannot meet her child. (Another girl who was rag-picking with Rohin had informed that her daughter had been picked by the police). After much insistence, she was taken to the back room where Rohin was kept and both mother and child were insulted with derogatory abuses, and Rohin was beaten up in front of her mother. She was not allowed to go back with her mother. She was interrogated till late night and pressurized to tell names of her 'accomplices'.

Continuous physical torture and abusive language and threats of filling petroleum in her vagina 'teri gaand mein petrol bhar dunga' and beating her up with every reply that she had not stolen and there were no accomplices continued over till the night of the next day. She was forced to stay at the thana on this first night. Afraid and helpless, and with no other way out, Rohin gave names of two other children in her basti.

The police along with Rohin went to pick up these children at 11.30 in the night of March 11th. They found that the names Rohin had taken were of two very small girls aging 7 – 8 years (girls whom she more friendly with), and decided to pick up the elder sisters of the two earlier named girls, Sandishna, 11 years d/o Daay Singh and Hanis Bai and **Tinti Bai**, 14 years d/o Lalitabai and Khilan Singh from their homes. The children were sleeping and the police forced them into the jeep paying no heed to the protesting parents. The parents were told off saying if you come to the thana we'll hold you up too. Tinti Bai was slapped in the jeep. When the girls asked where they were being taken, they were answered 'your house', 'our house is here', 'your second house'. They were taken to mahila thana and asked to sleep there.

Muskaan runs an educational centre in the community and Sandishna, Rohin and Tintibai have been associated with our activities among girls. When the Muskaan teacher reached the basti on Monday morning, he got news of the children being forcibly taken away. When the Muskaan team enquired from the T.T. Nagar thana, no

information was given. Information that the children could be in mahila thana was received through a separate source. The children were present at the mahila thana, but the personnel there did not have any information about the reason for their detention. Muskaan team members along with the parents of all three children then went to the TT Nagar Thana when the girls were sent to the thana in the morning (on March 12th) around 10 a.m. When the NGO workers enquired from the T.I. that the children could not be detained thus and why were they picked up in the middle of the night, he said it was routine and we must not aid the culprits.

The children were brought to the thana and locked up in a small room and their cries of pain could be heard till outside where their parents and the Muskaan workers were standing. We protested at their being interrogated without their guardians and their being beaten up.

The girls were being pressurized to confess to crimes they were not part of. They have been rag picking but not been involved in robberies of gold and silver or any form of jewelry. The children later also detailed how they were beaten with a baton, fists and a belt. Sandishna was beaten on her feet and feet knuckles with a baton. When Tinti Bai started crying, she was called 'Ma ki lorhi, tu roti hai'. This abusive language was used repeatedly. After repeated hitting and constant accusations of stealing bangles and chains, the girls signed pre-prepared testimony papers.

Even as all of us were protesting, the children were taken away in a jeep at about 12 pm, and their whereabouts not revealed.

The children later described that one of them, Tinti Bai, was dropped off at some other police station on the way and was made to wait there while two of them, Rohin and Sandishna were taken to old city. They were asked to name the shop where they had sold the stolen materials and because they couldn't produce any name, and then were asked to point out which of the shops they had sold the stuff to. With the police man not stopping hitting at her feet, Rohin asked Sandishna in her own language to point out towards any shop, to be at least freed from the present torture.

At 3 pm ASI Pradeep Singh Gurjar was contacted on his mobile and he said that the children had been taken for identification of the stolen materials and the children had identified a shop and shall be brought to the District Court. We insisted on the phone that the children are under pressure and it is neither fair nor legal to force them into identification etc, but the ASI maintained that we must not side with such criminals and we can meet them at the court.

At the District court, police personnel surrounded the children and deterred them from talking to any of their parents or the Muskaan workers. After much searching in the court, the T.T. Nagar thana personnel were seen obtaining signed orders from the staff of one judge; when enquired, the clerk informed that the children had been sent for judicial custody to the remand home. When the actual conditions of the case were presented by the parents, the clerk in that judge's room informed that the full information of the case was not given to the judge and the impression given in the court was that the parents were not around in the court, and the children had confessed to the thefts in the thana in the presence of the parents. He advised that the Muskaan team and the parents should give the correct information to the judge.

When the Judge was told the matter, and it was pleaded that the children have been illegally detained and the parents should be given custody, the judge was sympathetic. Upon application, the judge gave the parents the custody of the children.

However in this meanwhile, the police hurriedly obtained the earlier order and forcibly took away the children in a running ready jeep from the court premises. As the children had been visibly very scared, the parents and the Muskaan team went straight away to take the custody of the children to Vidisha Kishori Balika Grah but as it was already evening, the formalities could not be carried out, and the children were released only the next day morning (i.e. March 13th).

When we met the children, they shared how the police had forced them to identify a shop in the jewellers market the preceding day and threatened them to accept the crime in court. When they were being forcibly taken to Vidisha they had said '*tumhari didiyon ki gaand se badbu aati hai.Saali. vo hi tumhe chori karne ko bolti hain*'.*tumhare maa baap sale chor hain sa.*'

When we were leaving the court premises on March 12th, a policeman from TT Nagar thana had approached Prakash bai, mother of Rohin and said, '*ab aana tum log P&T ke is paar batate hain tumko. Tumhari inhi didiyon ke ghar chori karvayenge aur tumhara naam rakehnge.*'.

Enclosure 2

Labeling the Pardhi community as ‘criminals’

The Police brands the community ‘a criminal group’ and uses the label to harass, humiliate and profit from them. The British Government, in 1871, had notified more than 150 tribes as criminal tribes; these were considered such because from the British perspective, they were the most difficult to demand subservience from as they were primarily nomadic. Even though this act was repealed in 1952 after independence, the attitude to treat each person born in that community as ‘criminal’ has continued. The first to propagate this stereotype concerning Pardhis and profit from it are the police.

The limited options available to them from any quarter have also forced them on the fringes of society. There are some instances of children and women in the Pardhi community picking up things, but this is in reference to small things of an empty paint boxes or wire mesh lying outside. There would be few isolated incidents of ‘robbery’ as such, but analysis of police and jail records has shown that the proportion of people involved in crime in this community is no more than other communities or castes. But the label has given the police the social sanction to continuously harass anyone born in the Pardhi community. Small children, girls and women are in an undifferentiated manner ‘picked up’, detained for long hours, humiliated, threatened, sometimes beaten up and left in exchange for money. The police many times confiscates their daily collection of garbage, conducts sudden, unexplained ‘talashi’ of their homes, and does not abide by any of the mandatory legal practices related to women and children.

- Children and women are picked up or just threatened and scared off just as they begin their rag-picking routine, even when their sacks are empty, and money is demanded with the threat that they could be registered under section 109 on any theft. Usually, the woman or the child would be taken to the thana for the whole day. The family would be informed to arrange for the money, running between some hundreds to a few thousands by evening. If this is not possible, then a case would be filed against the person. However this happens in very rare circumstances only when the person from the community resists paying the bribe. In most circumstances, the family bargains to some extent, takes loans on heavy rates of interest and pays off the police persons and sometimes this continues as a credit from the thana person also.
- It is a usual practice in the community to sell their collections of each day after a period of 2 – 3 months, when sorting has been done, and also when reasonable weights of each material is collected. For example, the rag-picking is of all kinds of materials. There are all metals, as copper, brass, aluminum, iron, and different plastic, rubber and glass, and these are taken out from the smallest things, as from a broken bulb, thrown off electric switch, thrown off medicine bottles, toothpaste tubes, old shoe soles, empty milk packets, etc. Sometimes if people need the money, then they sell of some things at the kabadi-walas in the area, but they try to sell it in bulk at the kabadis in old city as the rates are better there. So whenever the people are going to sell their periodic collections, then they are stopped and amounts are demanded with similar threats as above. As the slum is on the main road, and the people have to go in a tempo with their full sacks, then it is easy for the police to

know when the people are going to the kabadi and stop them while the stuff is being loaded.

- Whenever people are picked up, there is a constant banter of abusive language, may it be with the woman or the children. The abusive language is very racial and also personally attacking on the person. Children are easily beaten up, girls or boys. There have been instances of girls being beaten by belts also. Women have been slapped and pulled by their blouses.
- Whenever people buy anything of significant value, as a T.V. or a C.D. player, then the police of these thanas often comes and harasses the family. Even on production of a bill (the community is so used to the ways of the police that they consciously pick up a bill when buying anything), the police would threaten to slap a case of a theft unless a bribe is paid.
- If people have managed to save some money and are going to purchase any small asset, they have been interceded in between and the money is taken.
- It is therefore not surprising to note that while the confrontations between the police and the community are on an average 10 in a month with some family or the other, but the times cases have been filed or the people having been sent to a jail even for a day, or being convicted are much less.
- In those circumstances, where the police wants to prove that a specific robbery has been done by people in that community, then there is an extreme physical torture that is done on the person to agree to the robbery. There have been instances of a man being hung upside down with a brick tied to his testicles. Another man has become mentally disturbed after some treatment meted out on him in the police station, to the extent that with the incident even being more than six months old, he hides under the bed whenever approached.
- In the above circumstances, the police officials threaten people by accusing them of any theft. They openly tell the people that 'all this stuff is lying around (the things that have been found in different places, as broken down scooters, computer pieces, etc. and are lying in the thana premises), and we can put you behind bars accusing you behind any of these robberies. In an instance when the woman pleaded on why was she being harassed when she was not involved in any theft, the police personnel said that 'it is not difficult to create a record for you. Pay up otherwise you'll end up sitting here and having a record against you.'
- When people are picked up for specific robberies, and being presented as the accused behind those robberies, then the supposedly stolen material is produced and the people are photographed with that.

The police harassment continues on the pretext of suspicion of theft, which is primarily based on the community identity of the persons rather than the actual establishment of them having indulged in that crime at that particular time. The consistency of this police harassment and the modes used by it has damaged the scope and space of working, living and progressing for the community.

The continuous physical violence upon the people and threat of slapping cases day has created a situation of continuous fear and submissiveness to the police, leaving them with no confidence or negotiation power for a lawful treatment. People succumb to giving huge amounts of money to free themselves and not be prosecuted unnecessarily in crimes they have not been part of. This has led to high indebtedness, restricted livelihood expansion and further impoverished the community.

The approach of the police has further led to the strengthening of a general notion that crime is endemic of that community which results in social sanction in the name of security to harass individuals belonging to this community with or without the presence of any firm basis for their guilt. . In many instances, a child has been beaten up by a resident, however the Police does not take any cognizance of 'that' crime when picking up the child from the site.

While the entire country functions according to justice system which insists on people being innocent till proven guilty, the exact opposite applies for members of the pardhi community. This attitude which is reflected by the society in general and the police in particular has pushed the members of the community into such a precarious existence and a life where there is no control to change anything in it there is little or no scope left for people to move towards a more dignified existence with more choice. With such a reduced value of life, the only choice left is whether to continue with such an existence or not. It then becomes merely a matter of time before circumstances become such that they succumb to the continued harassment and violence against them.