

THE SPATIAL (and SOCIAL) CONTEXT OF SCHOOLS

In Cheeta Camp
Mumbai - 400088

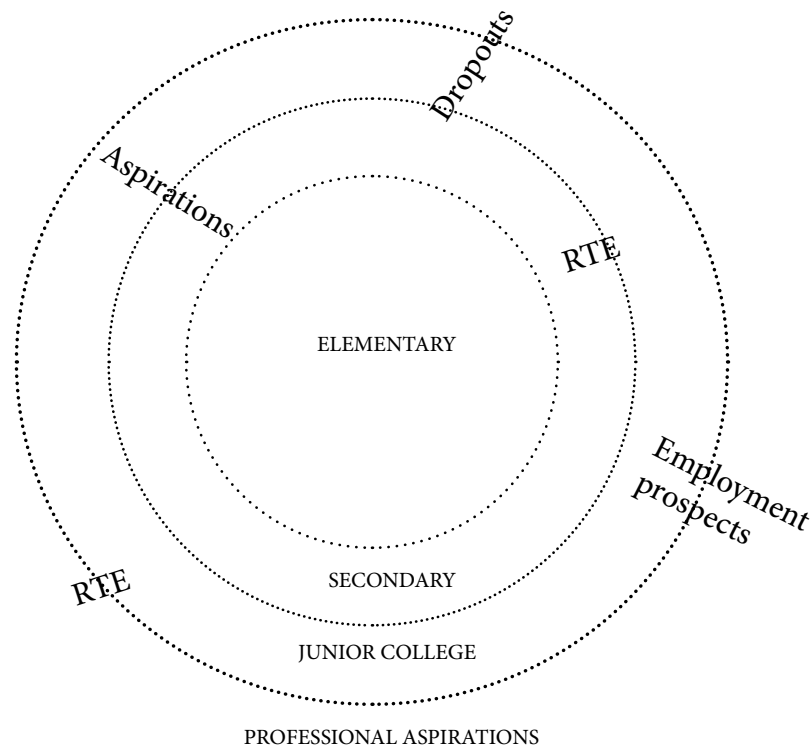


Planning Studio 2013
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Larger Framework:

Condensation of different levels of education around the cores and how these are permeated.



If the various cores around which the education system in India is organised can be considered as The Elementary Level, Secondary Level, Higher Secondary Level, and moving onto other specialisations, the condensation circles around each are understood as comprised by those students who do not make it to the next level owing to choice or compulsion, as well as all those factors in education that tend to operate below their potential under various influences. Permeating these condensation cycles is understood as efforts of agency that help graduate (or completely evaporate) these circles and their comprising elements.

RESEARCH QUESTION

How have the combination of/dynamics between the components of the education system (students, teachers, educationists, policy-makers) and external factors (identified through the course of the study) permeated through the condensation circles around the educational cores. How have they shaped and realised the aspirations of the people and vice-versa?

- Understood through the exploration of the socio-spatial setting of schools within their institutional and physical context in Cheeta camp.

METHODOLOGY

- Considering the ‘geographic uniqueness’ of Chita Camp, exploring the manner in which it has featured in discussions around the city as a whole? (*the zoomed out view through the lens of historical and contemporary events*)
- Understanding the uniqueness of the area as internally constructed and perceived, as well as shaped by larger factors
- Siting the various schools within this setting - understanding their positioning as individual units, as part of the education system, and also in relation to each other, and thereby in the community/neighbourhood
- Understanding the present situation by accessing key informants (and sources of data from them). These include -
 - Teachers
 - Community members
 - Parents
 - Students
 - School Administrators
 - Educationists
 - Academia/Researchers
 - Welfare Organisations/Civil Society
 - RTE (strategic actions to counter the problem)
- Through all of the above, identifying the various external factors referred to in the research question and if/how the schools are responding to them through agency – nature of convergence/ action/collaboration
- Reassembling the potential of the area through the insights and arriving at suggested interventions

The map created by people like you

Cheeta Camp

India / Maharashtra / Navi Mumbai /



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Cheeta Camp, Trombay. - 8 replies

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Anonymous - Jun 1, 2007

Cheeta Camp, Trombay.

We made a 3 day survey in the Cheeta camp in Trombay and found many people supporting our initiative and also very desperate for the conversion of Tamil Medium Schools to English Medium keeping Tamil as second Language...

The Survey was done by Satya, Jui and Me (Last day only)

Here are our experience reports...

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Anonymous - Jun 1, 2007

Experience Report From Satya..(1)

While conducting survey in cheetah camp slum area, we con



Cheetah Camp - Bridge the Gap

Mumbai (Suburban) District
MAHARASHTRA

Project Description

Supports education of slum children in Mumbai with an emphasis on literacy and continuing education of girls. The emphasis is on spreading awareness and upliftment of the living condition of the slum population through spread of education.

Organization Description

Star English High School is located in Cheetah camp at Trombay, on the outskirts of Mumbai. It is run by the Markaz Islamiyah Saqawat Sunnia (MISS) trust and provides schooling to the local slum children from class I to X. The school gives instruction in English medium for classes I to IX. Class X is being added on this year. In addition the school also gives instruction in Tamil medium for classes VIII - X. The local slum children get schooling upto class VII from the nearby Municipality schools in Tamil medium, Tamil being the mother tongue of most people in Cheetah camp. After class VII, the children need to travel a long distance each day to Chembur or Wadala if they need to attend school giving instruction in Tamil for class VIII or beyond. This is a hassle, especially for girls, since the people are orthodox and do not want their children to travel to distant places just to go to school. Hence the Star English High School is significant as it is located in the heart of Cheetah camp.

Girls are given higher priority: current distribution of girls to boys is 60%:40%. The rent for the place, the salary for the teachers and the other expenses incurred for the students are handled through donations and contributions. Presently, the school has about 700 students and 29 teachers. There are 32 rooms in all in the school building - 28 classrooms, 2 computer rooms with A/C, 1 science lab and 1 staff room.

Project Type: Formal Schools (description)

Primary Focus: children from slums (description)

Area: Urban

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY

BOMBAY

Janata Colony to Cheetah Camp: Redeeming the Wrong

Shirish B Patel

MANY injustices were committed during the Emergency, and too many of these cannot now be remedied. But some can. And a considerable wrong that is now set right would not only serve the ends of justice but would restore the already flagging faith in what the new Janata government is willing to do, or able to do, for poor people.

In May 1976, the 72,000 residents of the Janata Colony at Trombay were evicted from lands from which they had been officially assured they would not be removed. They had been brought to the Trombay site from various other sites in Bombay — from Sion, Koliwada, Worli and elsewhere — where the hutments had been cleared for removal to the Trombay site on assurances officially given to them that at the Janata Colony they could settle permanently. Many of them had in good faith spent considerable amounts of money on their individual huts, in some cases as much as Rs 5,000 or more on a single unit of 15 feet X 20 feet. The entire colony had an air of permanency about it, with a number of temples and mosques and churches, innumerable shops and several flourish-

entire country are very inadequate, there is no concerted plan to rectify the situation, let alone to modify the content of education to make it more relevant to Indian conditions. Again, the IMG does not seem to envisage any role for itself in this respect. Were it not for the fact that the government is faced with a state-wide agitation by thousands of students, there is no doubt the government would not have bestirred itself even to the extent it is now trying to do. It is quite obvious that even now there is no awareness of any long-term problems in this respect, let alone of any will to tackle them.

dual plot-holders, that was intended to be permanent.

At about the time the Chief Minister of S K Patil the Mayor of was ever the intention Colony be anything but settlement, it would be ter for the Prime Min also the Head of the Atomic Energy (DAE), gically say so.

Construction of the h plex for the DAE started after the Janata Colony established. It was not 1960s that the housing DAE at Trombay was and in the early 1970s circled the Janata Colo after the Colony was es DAE then wanted the removed to another local because it needed the own, further residential in fact because the Janata an 'eyesore' to the DA. This is clear from the DAE had other lands could just as well build commodation, and in a can be no 'need' for lan ing that 72,000 people evicted to make way for DAE officers.

The report of the En appointed by the Bombay Corporation to investiga is a marvellous essay in tify the unjustifiable. Th have already been qu pages but they bear rep Admittedly the land was acquired for the establishing squatters c it was acquired about fore when the urgent rehabilitate the squat years is certainly a lo newly independent c India and rapid chang lopments are bound to such a country in all v lic life. New concepts develop ... New spher ment come up ... It is to the public authoritie the priorities of spher ment and a private citi have any legal right



INVESTIGATION

The Mumbai connection

Was young Mohammed Arafat from Trambay part of the terrorist's plan for September 11?

PRAVEEN SWAMI

MUHAMMAD ARAFAT was watching television in an airport lounge in London on September 11 when news of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York began to come in. Soon afterwards, he was told that his afternoon flight to Manchester had been cancelled and that the airport had been shut down. If the 22-year-old Mumbai resident's confusion before the Mumbai police and the Intelligence Bureau (IB) interrogators is true, this development was not just a minor inconvenience. Along with four other accomplices, Arafat had planned to hijack the Manchester-bound flight and then crash it into the Westminster Palace that houses the British Parliament, in London.

Mohammed Arafat, a picture from the files of the Mumbai Police.



A month after his arrest from a Mumbai hotel, Arafat's story continues to perplex the Indian intelligence community. If the account - that has led to Arafat being charged on December 3 with waging war against the state - is correct, it would suggest that there were multiple aircraft bombing cells in place on September 11, each with separate targets and each ignorant of the existence of the other. Although on December 3 Union Home Minister L.K. Advani announced that he had been "able to confirm" Arafat's professional statements, key facts remain ambiguous. Informed sources told Praveen that Arafat faced his questioning with focus, giving just enough information to mislead the appetites of his interrogators, and then pulling himself back, using guile and artifice with the practiced ease of an intelligence professional.

Weeks of sustained interrogation produced only the barest contours of Arafat's activities. In 1997, sponsored by his London-based maternal uncle Michael Marfatian, Arafat joined Mistry Aviation, a training institute based in Mumbai's Margosa area and run by a retired Air-Force pilot. That summer, he left for training at an institute working out of the Moorabbin Airport in Victoria, Australia. In an e-mail to Praveen, the manager of the Royal Victorian Aero Club, Joseph Perlatto, confirmed that a photograph sent to him by the correspondent by e-mail was "that of Arafat, who was training at the Australian College of Aviation Flying School in Melbourne, 1997-1998". Perlatto's e-mail said Arafat received his restricted license, a basic permit, on a second attempt and described the student as "spit-shine and well-presented". The nearest cost for a commercial pilot's course at the institution, according to its web site, is approximately Australian \$17,470.

It was in Victoria, Arafat told his interrogators, that he was first recruited for the plot. A group of 31 South and West Asian flying students used to meet regularly at the al-Taqwa mosque, part of the local Wemblee Islamic Centre. Arafat says two of the hijackers of Indian Airlines Flight IC-114 from Kathmandu in 1999, Shafiq Akbar and Zubair Ahmad Misry, whom he knew as "Buddy" and "Zid", were in this group. At the center, a West Asian preacher, Masleme Mansoor Dym, detailed out the contours of the plot to a select group of committed cadre. Three targets were selected. The first was the Rajahmundry towers in Melbourne, a 55-store, 211-metre structure claimed to be the tallest in the southern hemisphere. The other targets were the Westminster Palace, and Parliament House in New Delhi.

THE story becomes more opaque from this point onward. According to Arafat, four groups of five pilots selected by Dym were told to acquire higher levels of flight training, of the kind that would allow them to fly commercial jets. Dym himself seemed to know not a little about aviation, guiding the young students through detailed pilot's charts of their proposed targets. Arafat spent some time back at Mumbai. Arafat left India again in 1999, this time for a month-long course at the Tyler International School of Aviation in Texas, United States. The Tyler School is a premier institution, with fees for commercial pilot training running from \$24,000 to \$27,000. By some intelligence accounts, Misry and Akbar also attended the Tyler School shortly before the hijacking of IC-114.

At the end of his time at the Tyler School, Arafat again returned to India, spending several months with his family, evidently making an effort to look for a job. In May 2000, his passport expires there, he made a brief visit to Hong Kong - to meet Dym. They met at the Palawan Hotel, a development establishment frequented by hedge-traders from South Asia. In July that year, Arafat was again sent for a training course, this time at the top-flight Cobar College of Air Training at the Cranfield Airport near Bedford in the United Kingdom. The Cobar College, which trains pilots for several commercial airlines, charges a hefty \$47,250 for its Integrated Professional Airline Pilot course, which enables candidates to fly large passenger jets. In an e-mail to Praveen, Cobar chief executive Graham Austin confirmed that Arafat had indeed studied at the institution.

Intelligence officials say that the real problem with Arafat's narrative is its lack of detail. For one, while his fees were paid directly to the aviation school, Arafat offered no clear picture of just who met his day-to-day expenses. He claimed he used a credit card in Australia, but furnished when asked (just how he made his card payments. Nor could he remember the names of his landlords at his lodgings in Clarendon Avenue in Victoria. Again, Arafat recalled one meeting with a group of seven other cadre at the Mariner Palace Hotel in Bedford, but has given contradictory accounts of their names, and the details of his discussions. And if Arafat is to be believed, Dym ran the operation in a loose and superficial manner. For the single meeting in Hong Kong, he maintained telephonic contact, oblivious to the need to brief and motivate his recruit call constantly. Of Tyler's possible links with Saudi terrorist Osama bin Laden, Arafat claims to know nothing.

By the time first orders were given for the hijacking of the London-Manchester flight on September 11, Arafat and his colleagues were, however, ready for the operation. First orders had been issued by Dym on September 9. Arafat says, and others have purchased the same afternoon. But the groups that hijacked the four planes in the U.S. jumped the gun by just minutes. Now without clear instructions on the route to take, Arafat returned to India. He did not inform his family of his arrival, and chose instead to stay at cheap hotels in suburban Mumbai. By some accounts, the event that led to his arrest was an affair with a bar attendant in North Mumbai which led to a drunken altercation. New Mumbai Police Inspector Anwar Pechwani promptly arrested the young man, little realising just whom he had picked up. It took the Mumbai Police's Crime Branch-III almost a month to find out who Arafat is in fact.

Arafat home at Cherra camp in Trambay, near Mumbai. The illegally built frass portion of the building was demolished recently by the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation.



PERHAPS unsurprisingly, Arafat's family members dispute almost all elements of the police's claims. They are also furious that the Mumbai police have pinned Arafat with secondary charges of burglary, an evident ploy to secure his custody for a longer period of time. But their pleas of Arafat's innocence raise several questions unanswered. For one, his father and brother deny he had trained as a pilot anywhere other than in Mumbai, a claim that flies in the face of facts. Nor are they able to say who paid for Arafat's pilot training abroad, and why he never sought a job in India. Other questions also remain. Why did his family never seek to ascertain just what he was doing abroad? And, why did he conceal his family of his return to India in September?

Arafat's background, however, gives some insight into his possible motivation. The son of a poor tailor, Abdul Rauf, he studied upto the 10th standard. While his brother, Muhammad Farooq, worked hard and built up a profitable business as a custom clothing store, Arafat joined the militant anti-Muslim elite of 1990-1992, Arafat joined with the Indian Islamic Movement of India, then a perfectly legal organization.

As for his involvement in Australia, it is worth noting that plans for the use of aircraft as bombs have been around since at least 1990. Documents recovered from Taliban group had been planning to crash a chemical-laden jet into the Pentagon the following year, as well as to hijack commercial airliners.

What is less easy to explain is the conduct of Arafat's operation. The fact that he was arrested in Mumbai, and not in London, is a clear indication that the operation was not as well-planned as it is often portrayed.

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Calendar for October 2013. Days: Mo, Tu, We, Th, Fr, Sa, Su. Dates: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Praveen Swami

The militant outfit's commander started life in a Mumbai slum

NEW DELHI: Ever since Mumbai police investigators arrested Sadiq Israr Sheikh on September 11, Indians have followed the unfolding story of the man charged with co-fofing the Mumbai attacks - the authors of a terror campaign that claimed hundreds of lives since it began in 1992.

But one part of his story has gone untold: in a grim variation on Oscar-winning movie Millionaire's rags-to-riches story, Sheikh's journey to become a top jihad commander in Mumbai slum.

Born in 1978, Sheikh's life began at a time when his family's fortunes had started to decline. Working-class migrants in Mumbai, Sheikh's Azamgarh-origin parents had been cornered in a suburban Mumbai slum their home. But two years before Sheikh was born, the slum had been bulldozed to make way for the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre and its inhabitants moved to a slum known as Cheeta Camp.

Over the next few years, many families in Cheeta Camp fought their way into the middle class.

Blog post: Frost World. Thursday, June 23, 2011. An Underground College. Afternoon Vlogs. Images of a school building and a sign for 'Mumbai Public High School'.

Taskbar: Windows Start button, Internet Explorer, Firefox, VLC media player, Microsoft Word, Adobe Photoshop, Adobe Acrobat Reader, Microsoft PowerPoint, Adobe Photoshop.

1 LOCATING CHEETA CAMP

Cheeta camp is an area of about 30 acres located in the eastern suburbs of Mumbai, Maharashtra, India. It falls in the jurisdiction of M East ward of Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai. It is the most densely populated part of Trombay.

Trombay was earlier an island nearly 5 km east of Mumbai, which later got connected to the main landmass through land reclamation¹. It was a marshy terrain inhabited originally by fishing communities owing to its proximity to the Thane creek and the Arabian Sea. There existed a couple of goathans, namely Turbhe (from which Trombay got its present name), Paylipada (and Koliwada (fishermen's settlement)).

1.1 Genesis of Cheeta Camp

It is widely accepted by the community members that Cheeta Camp gets its name from the word 'Cheeta', which in vernacular terms means 'dead body', the context of which are the cemeteries and burning grounds that have long existed alongside the swampy mangroves. Another version suggests that since it was largely a Tamil speaking population that got relocated here, 'Cheeta' might have been derived from the Tamil language.

In 1976, about 72,000 residents of Janata Colony² in Mankhurd were evicted from lands (in a coordinated police operation, and from lands which they had been assured they would not be evicted further) to a swampy area about two kms east, which in earlier assessments, had been deemed unsuitable for relocation of residential quarters. This was done for the expansion of housing facilities for the staff of Department of Atomic Energy (DAE).

Even in the face of strong resistance by the residents, the DAE continued with its plan of relocation. It bought 30 acres of land adjacent to the sea (and prone to tidal flooding), carried about some land filling, constructed sanitary blocks and laid out water connections. The agreement with the BMC was that once the BMC had evacuated the residents of the Janata Colony, it would exchange these 30 acres for the 56 acres over which the squatter settlement was spread. The 30 acres were divided into sectors, and a housing scheme offered to the residents by the Bombay Pradesh Congress Community, by the name of 'Janta Colony Co-operative Housing'

¹ It is interesting to note here that in 1928, the Great Indian Peninsular Railway opened the Trombay-Andheri line called the Salsette Trombay Railway or Central Salsette Tramway. The line was constructed under the Bombay Improvement Trust which called for *the opening up of a Railway line running West to South-east and linking up the Andheri and Kurla stations to render available for building purposes vast tracts of land sufficiently close to the city.* Hence the line linked Andheri in the north with the village of Trombay in the east. The standard gauge heavy rail line was about 13 km long. During weekends, the line was frequented by picnickers who used to travel to Trombay to buy toddy or palm liquor. In 1934 the line was shut to make way for the Santacruz Airport. Had the line continued, and integrated into the transport system of Mumbai, Trombay would have been the last stop. (*Primary Source: Wikipedia*)

² These were people who had been already been relocated once from their settlements in central Mumbai, namely Kurla, Sion, Kings circle.

that included loan facilities and security against eviction under its umbrella. A model house was created in one of the sectors along a 100ft axis road, and was put up for grabs for INR 5,000 (this is what comprises sector F³ of present day Cheeta Camp) A majority of the people of Janata Colony refused the scheme and preferred to construct their own houses on the 15ft x 10ft plots that were allotted to them.⁴

1.2 Morphology

Cheeta camp has a sectoral layout with about 10 sectors linking up through a network of interior roads to a major arterial road (MGR Road) which in turn connects to the outer road leading up to Mankhurd. At the junction of the main road and the primary arterial road, which forms the entrance to the colony, are located the key institutions and social amenities, namely the BMC school, the Trombay Police station, hospital, and maidan (*lal maidan- that gets its name from its red soil*). The main commercial market extends from this junction into the settlement, and then branches into the Sree Ganesh Marg between sectors G and C. This accords a high level of pedestrianisation to Cheeta camp.

The low lying areas to the east/south east are prone to encroachment, reclamation and setting up of newer hutments. The difference in rents between the hutments and the residential quarters in the formal sectors ranges from about INR 1000 to up to INR 5000.

The settlement is served by BEST services, which is supplemented by the system of shared autos⁵ that ply up to the nearest suburban rail station- Mankhurd, on the Harbour Line.

1.3 Demographics

The population of Cheeta camp is about 70,245⁶ (*arrived at by assuming an average family size of 5 in about 14,049 households. Source: M Ward project - TISS*). A majority of the population consists of people who have migrated from different parts of India, mainly from Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. Most of the men are self- employed (various kinds of trades) and the working women comprise of household help or vegetable/snack vendors. Small scale industries such as zari work, bag making, mat weaving, carpentry, tailoring etc. thrive here. The younger generation has graduated into different levels of formal employment, with a rising trend in number of IT professionals from the area.

³ It is said that the people who ended up occupying houses that were part of the housing scheme were those who had supported eviction, and were in urgent need of protection from their fellow community members.

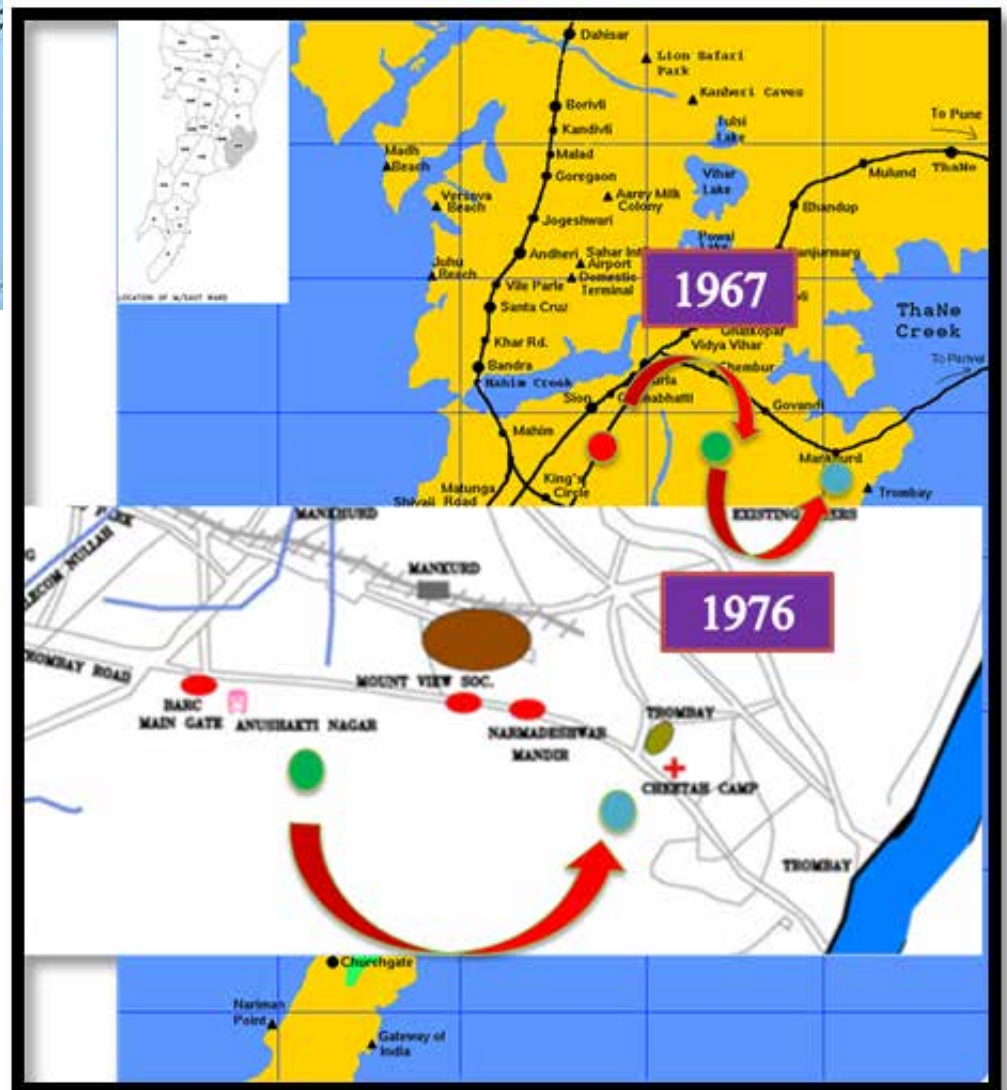
⁴ These plots were half the size of what they had been offered in Mankhurd, and on which a significant number of them had spent money to create physical structures.

⁵ None of the community members identified transport linkages as an overarching limiting factor. In fact, the only reference to this was in mentioning the problem of cap on number of passengers allowed in shared autos as a maximum of five (from an earlier accommodation of 8 per auto!)

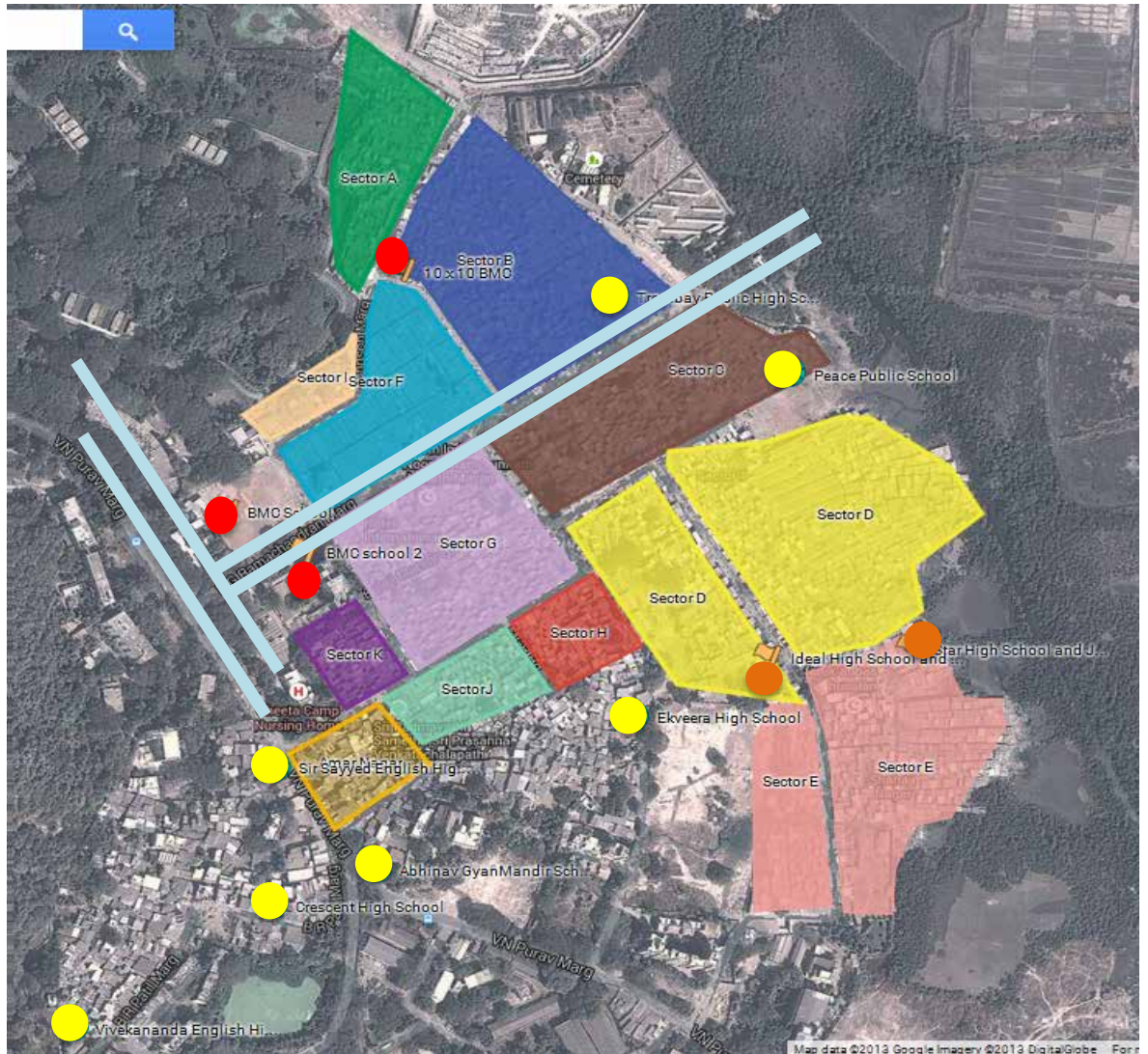
⁶ This is largely comparable to the original population of about 72,000 that was relocated to the area from Janata Colony in 1976, indicating a fair amount of movement of people from and into Cheeta Camp.



Trombay as one of the five original islands of Mumbai



Relocation Janata Colony to Cheeta Camp over two phases



Sectoral division of Cheeta Camp, and location of schools. Red: BMC, Orange: Case Studies, Yellow: Others

consciousness can be seen in the way people here now view the housing problem and their perceptions of various 'housing attempts' — governmental, municipal, and private.

When they moved to Cheeta Camp, there stood amidst that awful swamp, a single isolated tiled-roof dwelling unit made of lightweight concrete blocks. This 'model house' with a Congress flag flying atop was built by the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee and was a part of a plan to popularise a certain housing scheme — 'the Janata Colony Co-operative Housing Society' (proposed under BPCC) at Cheeta Camp for the entire population. On the same side of the 100 feet wide main road were to be similar houses built along five rows (the material was to change to bricks from lightweight concrete) numbering about a hundred units. The cost of each unit was to be Rs 5,000. A house could be bought on instalments, and loans would be made available; 'security' too was ensured under the BPCC umbrella.

It is with this understanding arising out of a sense of being victimised, that a majority of people in Janata Colony have opted to live in little shacks on the other side of the road, without any tenure of land ;— with only an eleven-month lease which may or may not be extended - such that even those few who could have afforded and would have liked to move into the housing schemes have not done so, as the pressure on them from the general public has been too strong.

Today, the children at Cheeta Camp look at the municipal school building which has a six-foot high compound wall (with slivers of glass embedded on top) and ask: "Who are they protecting it from? We never had a school building with a compound wall at Mankhurd. We could move in any time and use it all the while". Others look at the hundred-foot wide road and wonder what justification there could be for such a road, except to facilitate movement of heavy-duty army and police vehicles in a place

scene), MPs, and ministers. The play tried to explain the interrelationships and alignments among all these. The remarkable part of the performance was when the 'police' came on stage for the 'eviction'. Children from the audience stood up and started throwing stones at the 'policemen' on stage!

Among the invitees were municipal corporators of the Janata party. One after another, they went on making promises. These promises included: construction of a new suburban railway track from Mankhurd to Trombay; more municipal utility services and sanitation; reduction in rent; etc. To the audience the promises had a ring of familiarity — and they could not take them seriously. The main demand continued to be unconditional tenure on the small plots of land allotted to them. But, on this point, all the guests were silent.

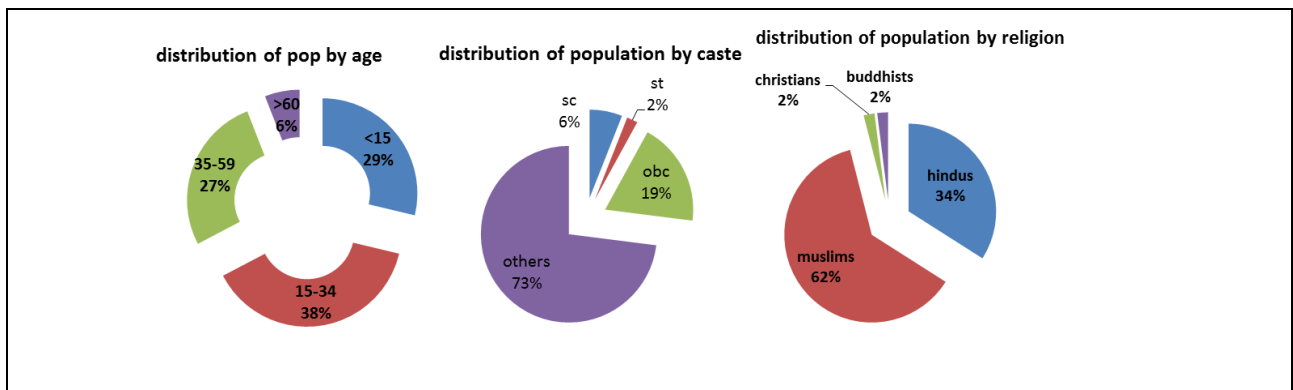
Meanwhile, the few families who have moved into the BPCC houses have announced their decision to celebrate a 'Golden Day'; they have

Excerpt from EPW article titled, " Cheeta camp, a year after eviction" dated June 18, 1977

A majority of the population belongs to the age group 15-34. About 62% of the population is Muslim. The settlement is culturally highly cohesive, and the community members identify it as socially as well as economically homogenous⁷. In fact, Cheeta camp rose to recognition as one of the few areas that remained unaffected by the communal riots of 1992-93.⁸ It is this incident that increased the perception of Cheeta camp as a safe haven, and led to larger migration of people into Cheeta Camp from adjoining areas such as Shivaji nagar, Lotus colony and Kurla, and which continues to draw people coming into the city. Added to these are benefits of having uninterrupted supply of water and electricity owing to the large formal establishments around, more importantly the navy and military, lower house rents as well as an un-crowded geographic locale.

An aspect of significant influence is that as much as 40% of the working population is employed in the Middle East. Foreign remittances make up a significant part of the local economy. In this context, the new ‘nitaqat’ policy by the Saudi Arabian government is perceived as a matter of concern by the community.

Cheeta camp has a bustling market, and the streets are lined with an array of commercial enterprises – electronic goods, telecommunication, eateries, embroidery shops, consumer goods and a noticeably high number of (large sized) jewellery shops. It is perceived to be the only market serving the larger area around Cheeta camp. The markets open by 10.30 am and stay alive till around 12.30-1.00 a.m.



⁷ None of the community members interviewed identified any particular sector or neighbourhood within the settlement as dominated by any particular community/religion.

⁸ The area had witnessed communal tensions in 1984 (when there was an incidence of attacking a police van), and since then, there have been efforts of constituting peace committees, building a rapport with the police and distributing responsibilities of night patrolling in times of threat. It is said that at the peak of communal violence in 1992, it was the members of the neighbouring Koliwada who had alerted the residents of Cheeta camp of imminent attack. The residents had reached out to the police and the threat was averted owing to the presence and accessibility to the military who had cordoned off the area.

2 SCHOOLS IN CHEETA CAMP

There are about 13 private schools along with three madrassas located in the study area. About 9 schools have come up in the past decade to cater to the increasing demands of the population in the area. Most children from the area go to these schools for their education, with a small but still significant number going out to schools such as Padua, Kendriya Vidyalaya and Sarawati.

List of schools in and in close vicinity of Cheeta Camp:

Shahajinagar BMC School no. 1,2 and 3

Sir Sayeed English High School

Ideal High School And Junior College

Crescent High School

Vivekanand English High School

Abhinav Dhyam Mandir School

Ekveera Vidyalaya

Peace Public School

Azad School

Trombay Public School

Nutan

Matoshree

Star English School

2.1 Criteria for selection of schools

The three schools identified as case studies have been selected for their representation of some aspect of a process within the condensation circles...either in creating them or permeating them.

2.11 Ideal High School and Junior College

The school was established in 1983 by the Ideal Academy Trust.

Board:

Maharashtra Board

Finance

Govt. Aided - Salary grants, Non salary grants such as equipments, academic tools and games, sports tools not given (Primary, Secondary only). Jr college driven by trust money.

Land –

The School is spread out over approx. 3000 sq m with an internal playground area of about 750 sq m. The land was donated by people for promotion of education in their areas.

Medium –

Urdu , maths taught in english 8th onwards in certain section .

Operation - 2 shifts , morning dedicated for girls which has around 1200 students, afternoon shift for boys - around 1200 students.

Catchment area - (Junior college - 40% girls - 10% boys from Shivaji nagar and Baiganwadi) as well from Mankhurd, Kurla, Belapur, Panvel, Cheeta camp, Mumbra

5-10th students mostly from Cheeta camp.

Fees structure –

Extremely nominal - 5 - 10 rs,

Junior college (depending on course taken) – INR 6000 to 12000.

Number of students:

In High School (as in academic year 2012-13) : 1564 (B 620 and G 1564). The enrollment of girls has been consistently higher than the boys over the past five years, save for the particular year 2010-11, when the number of girls fell to 696, versus that of boys at 997

In Junior college (as in academic year 2012-13) : 500

Religion of students - Muslim (extrapolated from a representative survey of students)

Prayer - Islamic

SSC & HSc passing % -

Around 85-90% and ~80% respectively taken weighted average of last 5 years.

Meal programme –

Sponsored by Rashtriya Chemical Fertiliser.

Teachers:

Hours of teaching - 36 hours/week.

Supporting Aid:

- Scholarship program by Kotak group - in kind such as direct payment of fees, tuition fees - not in cash.
- Meal programme sponsored by Rashtriya Chemical Fertiliser.
- Conversational English classes by AAA foundation

Facilities:

Science Lab, Computer Lab, Reading room (dedicated to Hemant Karkare, and supported by his wife)

About the building and surroundings:

Ideal High school lies in a residential area of Cheeta camp in sector D. The children from the adjoining areas largely arrive on foot, with the younger ones accompanied by their mothers. The school is accessible from two opposite sides opening up on to two different roads. The spatial composition is that of a set of double storied buildings arranged around a central open area. The central area is used for conducting group and sporting activities. At other times, the administration says that it take the children to the khadi area to play. Incidentally there are large open spaces that lie to the west of the school, which were earlier used as military slaughter houses, but now lie vacant. These open grounds are highly littered, but nevertheless used by the boys for sporting activity.

The enclosure is created by an entire set of educational activities that have gradually been added to the management of the trust. These include a small mosque for prayers. There is a fair amount of hygiene maintained. There exist separate toilets for boys and girls, though the number of toilet seats seem inadequate.

The school is gated at both ends. The vendors immediately outside the gates were largely those selling snacks for the children. The school also has a small snack outlet within its premise. Though when the gates are open, the school does serve as a thoroughfare, the premise seems fairly watched over (*we were identified as outsiders and immediately called into the administrative block*)

Key Observations:

Although not a minority school, Ideal High School and Junior college is comprised almost entirely by students, staff and teachers from the minority community. The school has gone on to accommodate a whole range of educational and associated amenities within its educational

complex. These include a computer training centre, ITI, and Junior college in arts, commerce and college. This particular framework of providing education has found students making their way, (especially girls) from areas as far out as Belapur, Panvel, Mumbra for availing education in the junior colleges.

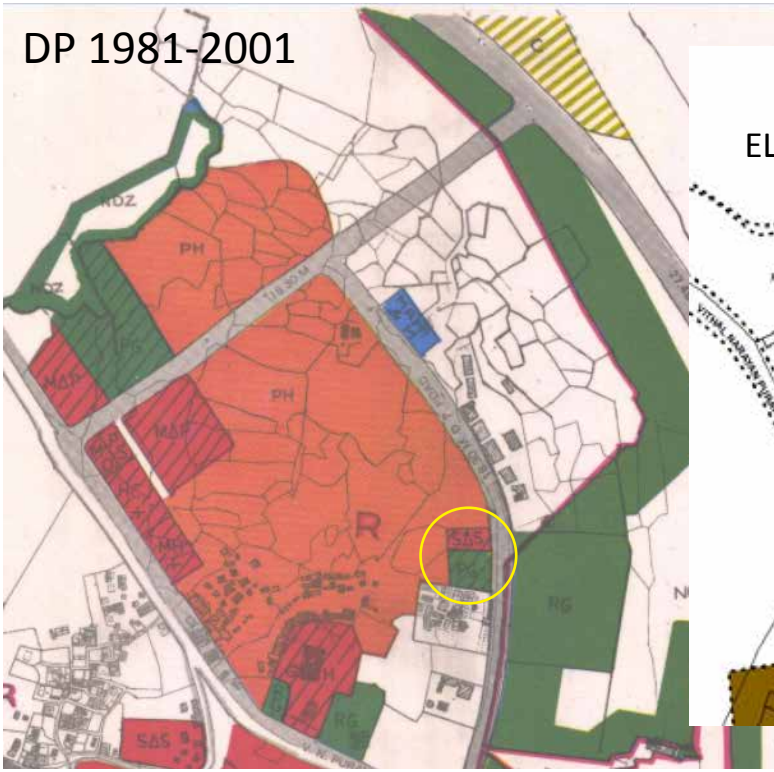
The remittances by parents results in additional savings. But the 'nitaqat' policy by Saudi Arabia and similar countries in the Middle East is posing issues (*although this needs to be researched*). Else most of the parents are employed in Zari and Bag making work in the area.

The availability of Urdu medium to pursue education provides a way for followers of Islamic faith within a familial environment. All the teachers and supporting staff are muslims. The intermixing of people of different religion is missing. Additionally, religious teaching is apparent in the structuring of the yearbook of the school which reflects its support to maintain its ethos.

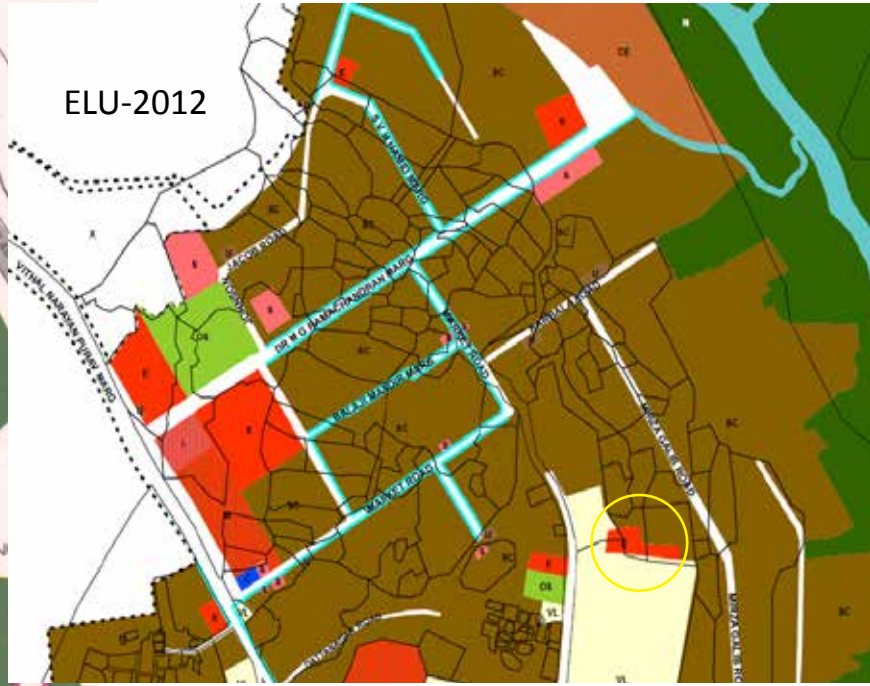
Sources:

Discussion with headmaster and the Annual magazine.

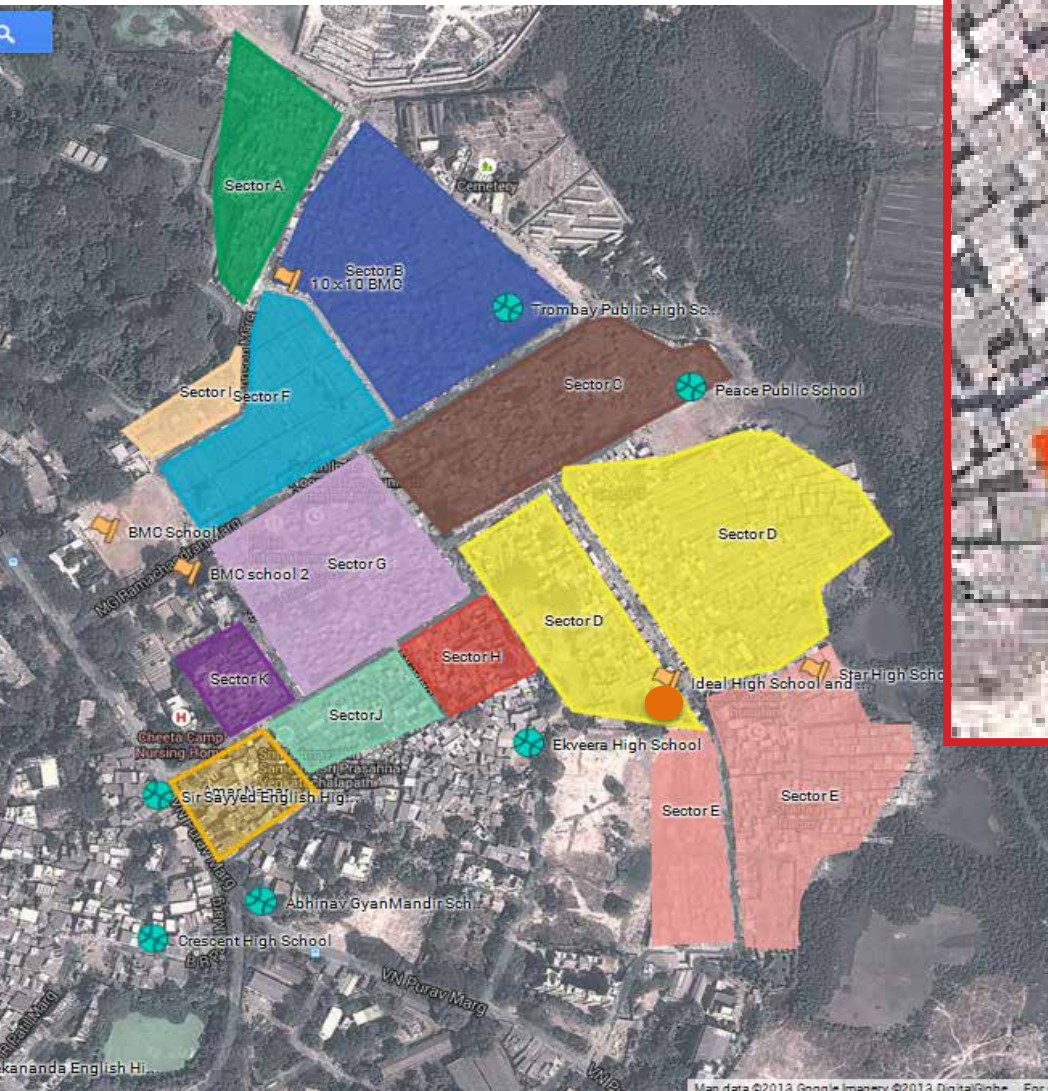
DP 1981-2001



ELU-2012



Ideal High School is indicated both on the DP and the ELU but there is a discrepancy in the land boundaries as well as the adjoining open areas around it

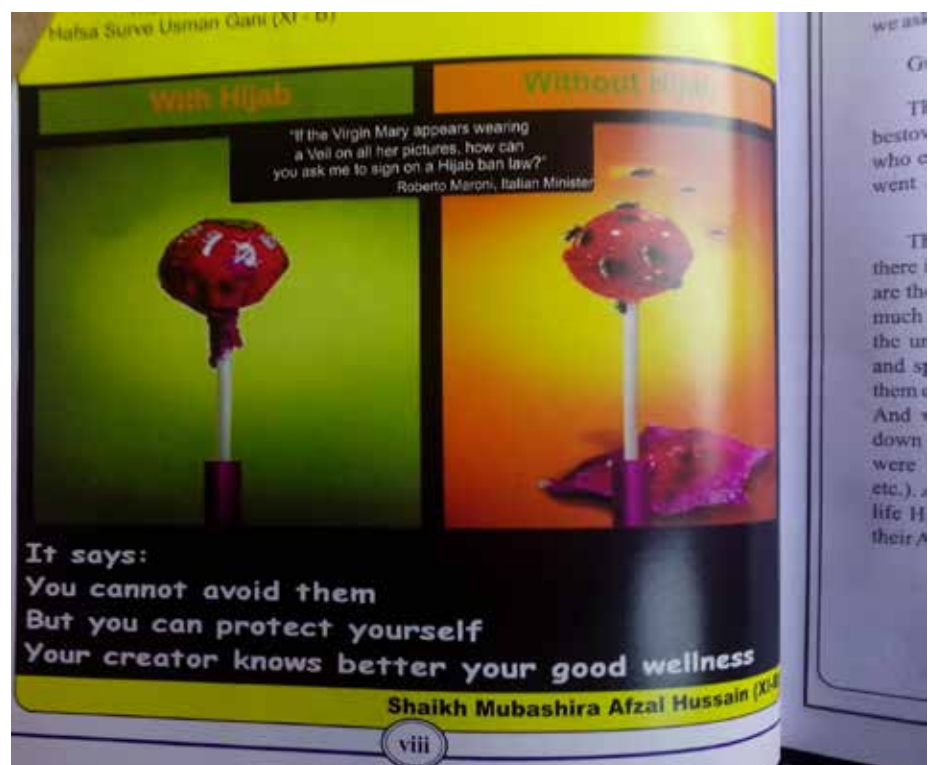
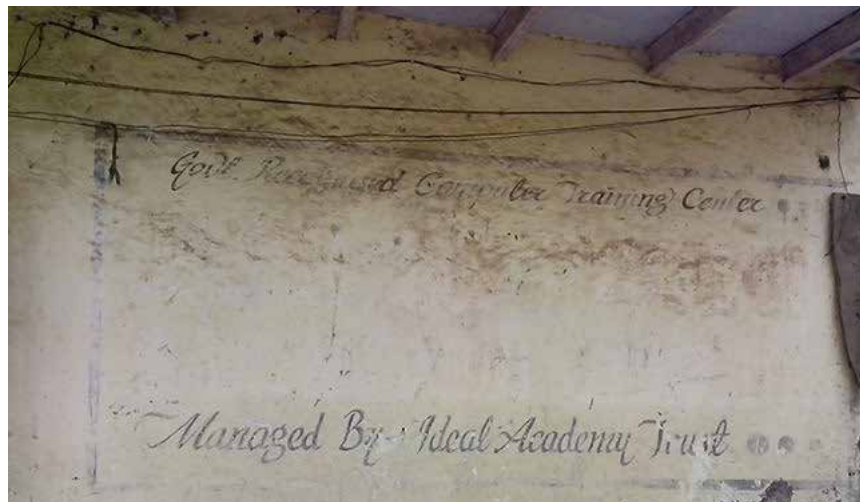


Ideal high school and junior college

Pictures showing its interior premises,(viewed from eastern access, looking towards west side access). The other pictures indicate the nature of educational functions that the Trust has created over time.

The last picture shows a particular graphic and its accompanying ideology in the Annual magazine of Ideal School

Image source: Self Survey



2.22 Star English School:

The school was founded by Markaz Islamiah Sagawat Sunnia Trust (MISS) in 1991. It was set up with an objective to provide schooling to the local slum children from class I to X. It has recently set up a Junior College for arts, science and commerce.

Land:

The school was originally spread over about 1500 sq. m of Collector's land lying adjacent to the swampy mangroves in the low lying area to the east of the settlement. Also, some of the land has been reclaimed from the ocean by use of sandbag embankments. The school has, in recent time, further added a temporary structure made of tin sheets of about 250 sq m towards these swamps in the east. This structure houses about five additional classrooms.

Medium of Teaching:

The school gives instruction in English medium for classes I to X. When it started out, the school also gave instruction in Tamil medium for classes VIII - X. This was to address the issue whereby local slum children who availed schooling up to class VII from the nearby Municipality school in Tamil medium, then needed to travel a long distance each day to Chembur or Wadala for continuing their schooling in Tamil for class VIII or beyond. This posed a particular challenge to the girls, most of who ended up discontinuing their education.

Girls are given higher priority, and till about 2009 (till they ran the secondary Tamil medium schooling), the distribution of girls to boys was 60:40 (now the sex ratio of girls to boys has dropped to about 40:60). The English medium students follow the syllabus of the Maharashtra Board of Secondary Education and the Tamil medium students that of the Tamil Nadu board. The school discontinued their Tamil medium schooling when the Municipal School initiated secondary education in Tamil medium. The school still operates as the Tamil examination center for Tamil Nadu State Board Exams as one of 3-5 centres operating in the Mumbai.

Catchment area

Mostly from Cheeta Camp, and adjoining khadi areas

Fees structure:

INR 250-350 / month

Religion of students

Mixed

Funding:

The trustees fundraise from their own sources in the community to supplement the money collected in school fees. Although the school receives donations, it functions primarily by collecting fees from its students. The school utilizes scholarship funding to waive either 25%,

50% or 75% of the fees of the children depending on their need. The criteria used by the school while deciding the need of a child include number of parents alive, disability of student or father, and parental income.

Supporting Aid:

- Scholarship program by Asha group - in kind such as direct payment of fees, tuition fees - not in cash.
- Meal programme sponsored by Rashtriya Chemical Fertiliser.
- Some issue based camps held by Lions Club and Rotatry Club from time to time.

SSC & HSC passing % -

Around 85-90% and ~80% respectively taken weighted average of last 5 years.

Operation - 2 shifts , morning dedicated for girls ,afternoon shift for boys - around 1200 students in both

Facilities:

Library, Functional Computer Lab and Science lab

Teaching Staff:

Teachers are recruited by the Trust. The school management point out that unlike some of the maintenance expenses, teachers' salaries were one expense that could not be cut or compromised. Salary of teachers is poor in comparison to the government teacher's salary, and thus it is difficult to retain teachers. At a given time, there are about 4-5 teachers who have been there for more than 2 years.

Student teacher ratio: around 1:40

Hours of teaching - 36 hours/week.

However, the school teaching staff is also seen in their after-hours tutoring of the weak students at no cost to them (*something also observed during our personal visit on Ganesh Visarjan day, which was an official holiday for the school*).

About the building and surroundings:

The school initially started out as amidst temporary structures of tin sheets, which were later converted to brick and mortar buildings with tin roofing. The school sits right amidst residential slums, and these are largely where its students come from. In terms of accessibility, students walk down from their homes, with no real danger from moving vehicular traffic.

The school has been set out in the classical plan of rooms around a central courtyard, and this does help create a strong internalization of the schooling environment. Moreover,

Entry to the school is through a large gate, with another smaller entry across the other side for official administrative staff. Both entries are manually guarded (*we were immediately called out to upon entering*).

There exists a maintained toilet facility as separate units for boys and girls, though the number of toilet seats may be deficient in catering to the number of students. Since the school sits right next to the Arabian Sea amongst swampy lands, it is prone to flooding and water stagnation owing to high and low tides, something especially problematic during the rainy season. Moreover, the adjoining swamps are used by the adjoining communities for open defecation. This compounds issues of sanitation and hygiene.

Other Key Aspects

The school administration points out to rather frequent medical problems and illnesses which the school children suffer from. The school maintains a list of the students' health problems and the dates on which they were observed, these included incidences of rat bites. The parents are apparently apathetic towards the students' sickness, probably either because they are incapable of remedying them within their means, or have household worries more grave, or are plain indifferent. The management is wishful of an in house doctor, but can presently not afford one. The school does conduct regular health camps though.

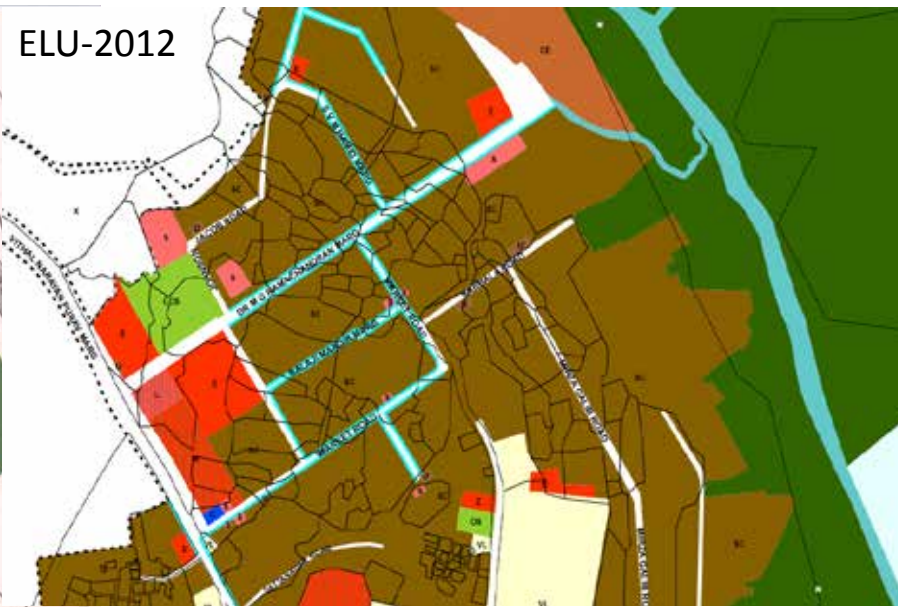
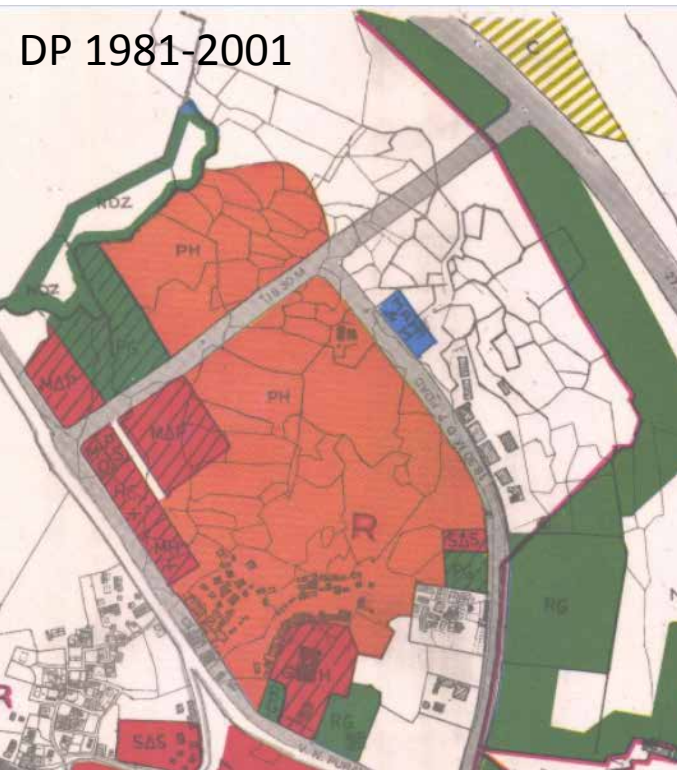
The management has recently opened a junior college for science, commerce and arts, and hopes this will help maintain continuity of education for both Tamil and English medium students who avail of education through their schools and/or other schools such as the BMC. The management is also desirous of opening a vocational training centre amidst its premise in the adjacent low lying area. They also identify an urgency in getting it constructed in the fear of losing that land to possible encroachments from surrounding hutments.

Sources:

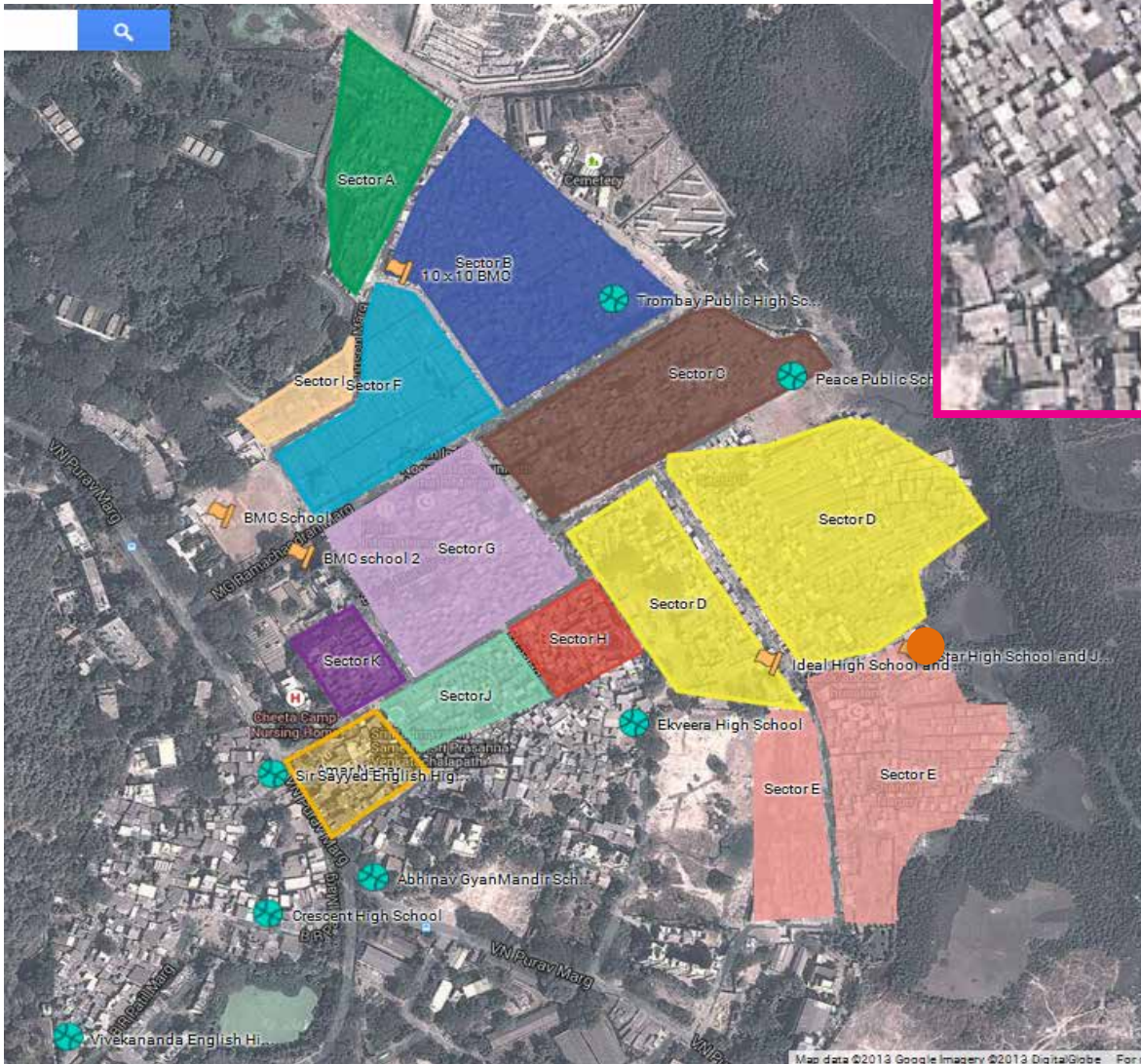
Ashanet.org, Personal discussions with the Principal Mr. Arul Mani and Trustee.

DP 1981-2001

ELU-2012

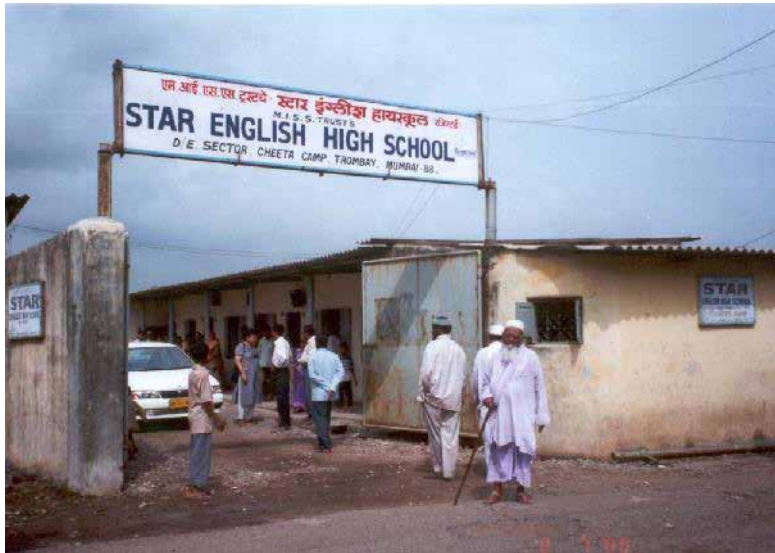


Star Public School does not feature on the DP or the ELU



Star English High School

Pictures showing its interior premises, including its computer lab and science lab. The central courtyard area is now covered by a temporary structure of tarpaulin sheets. The last set of pics indicate the area to the east of the school towards the marshes which were earlier used for outdoor activities, but now lie in neglect after the school built up and extra wing towards it. The school intends to build one more. Photo courtesy : Asha.org and Self Survey



2.23 Shahaji Nagar Municipal School 1,2 and 3

The BMC school number 1 is amongst the oldest in Cheeta camp, and is mentioned in documented accounts of the settlement dating back to 1977. BMC schools number 2 and 3 are more recent with number 2 serving

Urdu Secondary

The school was started in 2009. Being a secondary school, it lies in the jurisdiction of the Education Officer (secondary). It is recognized by the BMC, and has an index number. But administrative processes to get formal authorization from the State are yet ongoing.

Land:

The school is located on the first floor of a MHADA constructed structure that houses a public toilet on the ground floor. The building was not constructed originally to house a school.

Medium of Teaching:

The school gives instruction in Urdu medium for classes VII to X.

Type : Co-educational, however the classes for boys and girls are conducted in separate classrooms.

Catchment area

Cheeta Camp, Kurla, Shivaji nagar, Govandi

Fee structure:

INR 250-350 / month

Religion of students

Muslim

Funding:

Unaided- Recognised by BMC but not yet by State. Has an index number, will now get a serial number. Administrative procedures for the same are ongoing. Provisions to books, bags and notebooks

SSC passing % -

11%, 23%, 55.2% (*Teachers say this is attributed solely to the nature of students in that particular batch and their academic inclinations, and not to any improvement in teaching quality or facilities*)

Operation –

Two shifts –

2 sections of class 8 in the morning and evening each, 2 sections of class 9 in the morning and evening each, 2 sections of class 10, both in the morning (as expert teacher is available only then).

Total number of students-

388

Facilities:

None, the boys are taken out to the Lal Maidan for cricket by the coach.

Teaching Staff:

The school does not have a headmaster. Currently there are a total of 7 (4 female, 2 male) teachers on roll, which includes a cricket coach who is shared by the Municipal school number 1 and 2. Teachers are centrally recruited. The age group of these teachers lies between 22-38.

Supporting Aid:

Teaching Programmes by TISS, Mahesh Tutorials and Salaam Bombay.

About the building and surroundings:

As mentioned, the school is housed in a building not originally meant to be a school. The classrooms have been demarcated out of an open plan structure on the first floor of a MHADA owned building that houses a public toilet on the ground floor. A total of five large classrooms and a small staff room have been portioned out from the total carpet area available on the floor. There is no administrative office, and the staff room doubles up as one.

The school uses the terrace as its open space for conducting morning assemblies. The overall space suffers from a mismanaged layout where slightly tactful design could help accommodate and organize more amenities. The toilets that open right into the foyer are also considered an inconvenience.

The school sits amidst a residential area on a T junction in the north eastern part of the settlement. The road leads up to a dead end that culminates in the low lying Khadi area, which has an open sewer and serves as garbage dumping grounds.

While the school is accessed through a separate entry than the public toilets, it has an overflowing garbage can that sits right outside its walls.

Some Key Issues Identified:

In the case of BMC Urdu secondary school number 3, the problem is identified more in its basic 'disposition'. The school was accommodated in this building to avert the threat of permanent

encroachment by certain anti-social elements/activities in the area⁹. The school is fairly isolated from the remainder of the BMC schools, which lie along the main axis of the city and are surrounded by supporting amenities and institutions.

Moreover, the profile of students that the school serves to educate is most challenging in terms of socio-economic context as well as age. The school teachers identify them as students who come from disturbed or indifferent families and most of who already have some level of engagement in anti-social activity, as well as drug addiction¹. They lack parental support, and moreover, the parents tend to appear at the school's doorsteps only to protest some authoritarian action by the teachers.

The lack of engaging teaching material and methods, basic infrastructure such as adequate seats, chalk and drinking water, along with a lack of sufficient number and range of teachers serve as major discouragement for the students to come to school. They often come to school and leave at will.¹⁰

There are no science or computer labs, and the only extracurricular activity is limited to cricket coaching for boys on the Lal Maidan. The teachers mention the difficulty in taking the children to any other amenity in the area, such as a library or computer centre, as navigating the short distance from the school to that particular location may witness some wayward incidences of trouble making by the boys (or they may just disappear).

This nature of state of affairs of the school in fact attracts students from areas other than Cheeta camp, such as Kurla, Mankhurd and Govandi, whereby the students who get struck off other schools or who are basically uninterested in attending school, tend to gravitate towards this school.

While on the one hand, considered in themselves, the classrooms are airy and well lit, the fact that there are such big openings looking onto the streets below creates a major source of distraction to this particular age group.

As there are plans to shift this school out of this premise to some other, there are some crucial takeaways that this experience can offer towards the opportunity, especially in the context of creating a physical and social environment conducive for learning through adequate attention to spatial disposition, built form and a responsive programme formulation that includes peer support and parental counseling.

Sources:

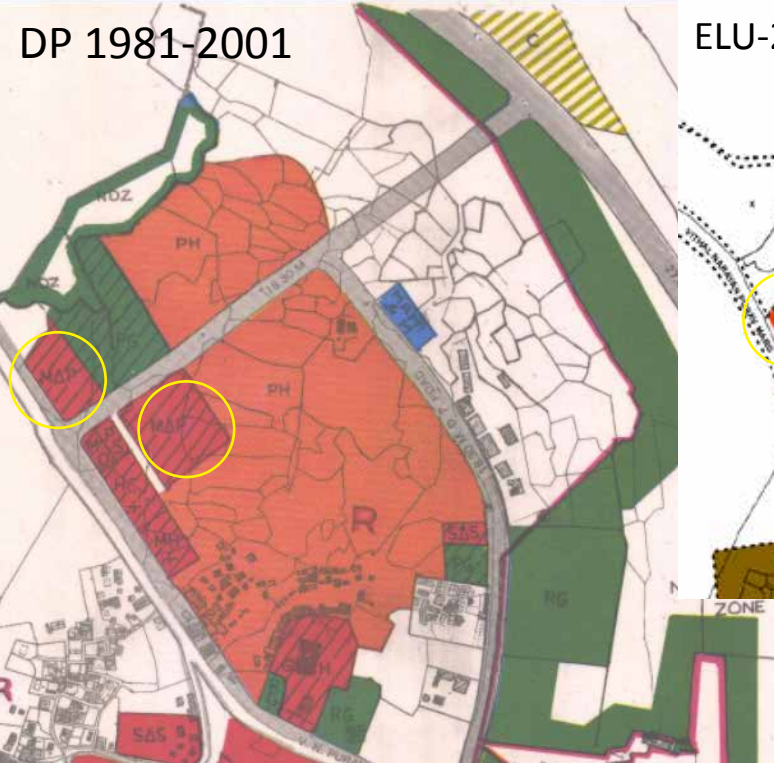
Discussion with the teachers

⁹ This is the description provided by the community members. The nature of these anti-social elements could not be further probed.

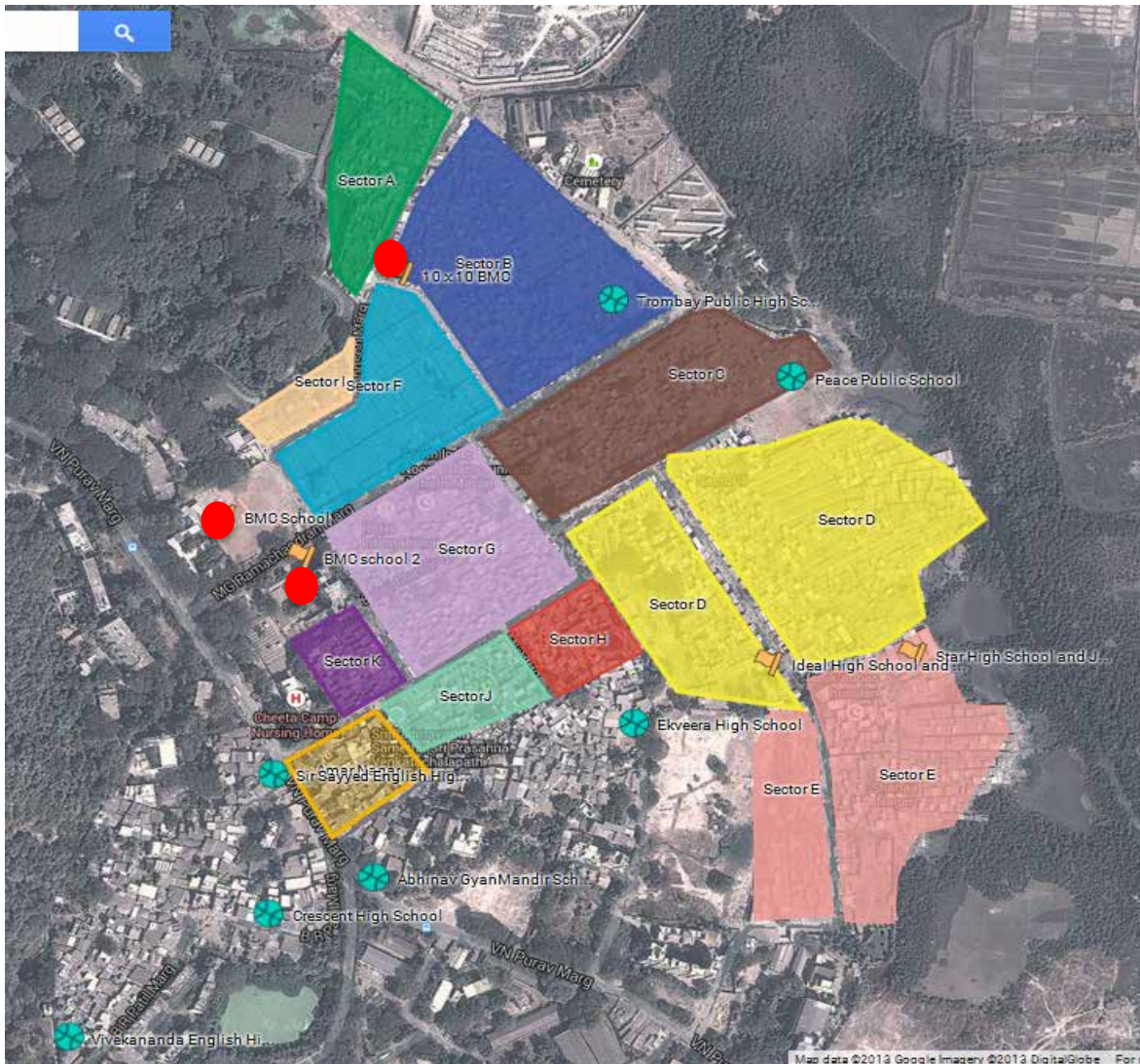
¹⁰ Here they mention that girls are still willing to sit on the ground. The boys almost always leave.

DP 1981-2001

ELU-2012



Schools number 1 and 2 have existed on the DP report and the ELU, whereas school number 3 is indicated only on the ELU





Shahajinagar BMC Secondary Urdu School (no.3)

The pictures indicate the external and internal disposition of the school. The first floor has been partitioned off into five classrooms along the periphery of the building. The road along which the school lies leads upto the 'khadi area', (the cemetery is visible in the background)





The Municipal schools 1 and 2 are located along the main arterial axis of Cheeta Camp, and are surrounded by important institutions, especially the Police Station. They also share the Lal Maidan as their official sports ground. (However, at most parts of the day, it is just the boys who are sighted playing here). Municipal school number 3 adjoins the Khadi area. Once again, it is just the boys who are brought all the way out to Lal Maidan for cricket coaching.





Shahajinagar BMC School (no.1)



Shahajinagar BMC School (no.1)



3 OTHER ACTORS IDENTIFIED

3.1 Welfare Trusts

It is widely perceived by the community that the in decade spanning the late 70's to late 90's, it was the Welfare Trusts who lifted the education scenario of Cheeta camp. Trusts run a fair share of the private schools in the area. In addition, the madrasas¹¹ are also run by some Welfare Trusts.

3.2 Civil Society Organisations

- Plug in with services such as science classes, scholarship support,
- In some instances special vocational classes

3.3 Private Tutorials

In terms of frequency, almost every sixth or seventh commercial display across Cheeta camp is one advertising some kind of private tutorials. Discussions with various community members regarding this phenomenon lead to an understanding that private tutorials were largely considered as mechanisms to:

- Fill in the gaps in education quality ,
- Fill in for the need for English speaking skills
- Enhance professional options: IT
- Ways to keep the children 'occupied' and 'accounted for'
- Engage in a lucrative commercial enterprise

Interestingly, several opinions across the community resound around the aspect that the area is emerging as a key hub for IT education, and thereby a centre for providing IT professionals to the country¹².

¹¹ The community members identify a prior time some children would attend formal schooling and madrasas simultaneously, so as to avail of formal and spiritual educational together. The trend is declining as the parents now send their children either to the madrasas or the schools (largely to schools). In this too, they mention the phenomena where some parents send the brighter students to the schools, and the academically less inclined/weaker students to the madrasas. Moreover, madrasas are also, at some level, associated with welfare trusts that have sprung up in greater number in recent time, and promoted by the 'newer migrants' from different parts of the country.

¹² This was of course, mentioned most emphatically by Mr. Allahbaksh , an educationist of the area (born and brought up in Cheeta camp) who is an ex Microsoft employee, and runs private tutorials for SSC as well as professional IT training. He is also one of the founder members of Peace Public School, and was actively engaged in the running of Crescent High School in its initial years of setting up. The Wikipedia page on Trombay mentions something to the same effect, although it is only possible that the information was added by a resident of Trombay.

Some efforts have been made to provide subsidised private tutitions to the needy through individual or group patronage¹³. The Mariamma Temple Trust hosts low cost tutition classes for the underprivileged. There have been initiatives of getting IT professionals involved in a ‘pay back to their society’ and building upon their association with Cheeta camp as home. However, it is apparent that private tutoring is emerging largely as a competitive business enterprise, visibly perceivable by the proliferation of advertisement and propaganda.

There lies an advantage in the fact that just like lower house rents, tutorial fees in Cheeta Camp are also less than in surrounding areas like Chembur, Mankhurd (for SSC- INR 11,000 to 13,000 compared to around 20,000-30,000 in other areas).¹⁴

¹³ Mr. Allahbaksh mentions one such initiative whereby he had attempted to set up a tutorial centre on a no-profit model. Charging students a fee of INR 3500, he proposed to utilize the fees for paying the salaries of employee tutors and utility bills, while providing the premise and his own services free. He claims that it is often the mentality of the parents too, that proves detrimental in such cases. Parents tend to be unwilling to trust services that are ‘priced low’. Moreover, they would tend to send the more academically inclined child to the expensive tutorials. He considers the issue to hold true even in the choice of schools, where ‘neighbourhood’ schools were taken for granted and discounted as not being up to the mark.

¹⁴ Mr Allahbaksh, emphasizes on the growing quality of these tutorials not only in terms of the toppers achieved, but in the overall average and pass percentage of the total number of students.

Given the social and physical context of Cheeta camp, and based on the insights gained through the course of the study, what emerges is fairly strong community cohesiveness that has manifested itself in providing a secure living environment for its inhabitants. There is a strong sense of shared history owing to the experiences of evacuation, resettlement and reconstitution of their lived life in the region¹⁵. There is also a fair amount of agency amongst the community members to maintain and enhance these aspects of the community. This is evident in aspects such as the formation of peace committees, the coming together of certain educationists to propose the setting up of a community library, and the foray of some of them in providing better quality tutorial facilities. They also speak of having held discussions with the police and community members regarding the increasing pattern of drug addiction in the vicinity, especially in the 10 x 10 area, which is where BMC school number 3 is located.¹⁶

In the context of education, this is clearly seen in the way Ideal school has over time, elaborated its education related activities, while maintaining the framework of a religious ideology and high level of independence. This has in turn, created catchment areas for this school that go beyond Cheeta Camp. In themselves, these programmatic formulations of Ideal Trust (such as Industrial Training, Information Technology centre, Junior college) are responsive to the needs of the community.

On the other hand, Star English School has identified its role in filling up the gaps laid bare by limitations in Government education. In the way it has kept moulding its programmes, there is reflected a strong complementarity to the BMC schools.

¹⁵ One could refer to excerpts from a newspaper article 'Inside a Troubled Town' in the Indian Express (dated Sun Sep 28 2008) regarding the community's response to the identification and arrest of two key IM suspects from Cheeta camp.

"We arrived here on a rainy night without any food or shelter, only to find a vacant plot of marshy land into which our feet sank. It took 15 years to make Cheeta Camp what it is now," says 70-year-old Bano Abdul Hanan.

Public suspicion back in their homes, the residents of the small, dank homes in the crisscross of lanes point repeatedly to struggles the community here has faced, before settling into eking out a living from zari work and bag-making.

"Most of the crimes that occur here are minor assaults or thefts and there has been no communal tension since 1984. This area is devoid of any organised crime, gangs or weapon trade as most of the people are not devoid of work," said Senior Police Inspector Vijay Joshi, Trombay police station. Many residents also look for work in the Middle East.

Sprawled across about 1.5 sq km, 70 per cent of the residents are Muslim, of whom the huge majority are Muslims from the southern states. Muslims belonging to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Kolkata account for only 10 to 12 per cent of the area's Muslims.

¹⁶ It is incidentally parents in this area who mentioned the need to keep their children occupied through various activities saying, "mahaul theek nahi hai. Cheeta camp rehne ke liye bahut accha hai par aajkal mahaul theek nahi hai." It is said that drugs are obtained from over the medical counters by bullying the chemists.

BMC schools still have their own relevance in providing education to the lowest economic strata. The teachers, with long years of experience, do perceive the RTE as a positive step in providing children with books, uniforms and food (they state earlier conditions where the children would arrive with no notebooks as the parents couldn't afford it). There is a widespread perception that peer support and moral values are a missing component¹⁷ while dealing with most children in the area.

Some of the key issues identified by school management are the guidelines set forth by the RTE, especially towards ground coverage. Some of them claim that these guidelines need to be revised in consideration of the urban conditions of Mumbai.

If one were to consider the spatial aspect, the schools in Cheeta camp do not have extreme constraints of space (relatively, not absolutely). Also, each of the schools (and this is applicable to various schools across the area) is surrounded by a fair amount of open space, which the administration (or the students) are already accessing as open play areas. However, proper access to sports facilities is lamented by almost all schools as a problem.¹⁸ These however do tend to be restricted to the access of the boys and are prone to becoming dumping grounds. Thus there exists a very good potential, both in the scale and the nature of community mobilization, to create community assets in the provision of education. There lies a good opportunity in the fact that the BMC school has initiated the process of tendering the demolition and reconstruction of its existing schools.

Models of collaboration exist in the form of successful scholarship programmes offered through the Ideal and Star Schools. Even in the case of BMC, the teachers accord high value to the classes being held by Mahesh Tutorials, TISS and Salaam Mumbai.

Some of the key external factors identified

- Perceived threats by the community from increased levels of in-migration, referred to by the community members as 'they/them'. Thus there exists a fairly strong phenomena of 'original' versus 'others'
- Conflict in the perception of the neighbourhood as 'a good place to stay' versus the social environment as a possibly threatening one (increasing incidences of crime, drug addiction- association of children's play time versus potential loiter time)
- Large determining factor played by political agendas and their temporal cycles

¹⁷ A common lament of school management of both BMC and private schools is the aggression they face by parents. In fact, the principal of Star English School considers the parents more notorious than the children. A private school – Crescent, has addressed this problem by introducing parent counseling sessions.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note here that a sportsground has recently been created in Trombay with a rental of Rs 800 per day. While this is beyond the reach of the local schools, the playground still enjoys advance bookings from other areas.

- The requirements of the RTE, and the increasing rift between aided-unaided as also facilitated by it. Land also being perceived as a limiting factor.
- Educational Institutions as a means of claiming and securing property
- Presence of an external ‘out-throw’ area in the form of the Middle east and the dynamics associated with it
- Rise of an internal potential and trend through association with niche educational areas (such as IT)
- Vocational training as perceived largely as a positive intervention
- Presence of at least some patrons and actors from within the community engaging with the issue of education and activism associated with it .
- Increasing presence of Civil Society Organisations as plug in mechanisms

POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS

- Prioritising Community Amenities such as libraries, sports, activity centres
- Enhancing positive participation by the parents in the overall educational scenario
- Conceptualising programmatic interventions for girls (perhaps on the lines of parks for girls that have been initiated elsewhere)
- In the presence of land restraints, is verticality, as demanded by some of the school authorities, to be allowed as an option for schools? What were the means to regulate that verticality to achieve desirable spatial form and characteristics?
- Does RTE need to include an assessment of existing resources and their optimisation

IN CONCLUSION

The original assumption that geography is a limiting aspect for Cheeta Camp has proven to be wrong. It has been negotiated by the presence of effective transport linkages as well as internal educational and professional trends, to the extent that it can also be looked at as an emerging gravitational centre in some respects. In fact the locational desirability of Cheeta Camp is now being viewed more as an issue by the community members.

Sources:

Primary data: Survey

Secondary data: News articles, websites, blogs, social networking sites, Economic and Political Weekly

Images: Self clicked, Google maps, Wikimapia, Asha.org

