Lost Childhood

Lost Childhood explores the everyday lives of street children in India. It presents insights on their life on the streets to provide a comprehensive understanding of why they are driven to extreme means of livelihoods.

This volume,

- Inquiries into the histories of street children, and discusses their socioeconomic and socio-demographic characteristics to provide a sense of their living conditions;
- Sheds light on the social injustice experienced by these children, their health and hygiene, and also looks at the insecurities faced by the children in their interactions with the society;
- Uses detailed field research data to highlight issues that affect the lives
 of street children such as education, gender discrimination, and their
 social networks;
- Suggests a way forward that would not only benefit street children but will also be of use to the community in understanding their lives, problems, and help explore this issue in further detail.

The book will be useful to scholars and researchers of human geography, development studies, child development, urban poverty, and social justice. It will also be of interest to policymakers, social workers, and field workers who work with street children.

Kapil Dev works as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography in St. Wilfred's P.G. College, Jaipur. He was awarded his Ph.D. from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for his research on the conditions of Street Children in Delhi. For his M.Phil., he focused on the characteristics of the Rural workforce. His fields of expertise are Street Children, Rural Work Force, Crime, Population Geography and Remote Sensing. He has published several papers on crime against women, and migrant workers in India.

Dipendra Nath Das is a Professor in the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, and the Dean of the School of Social Sciences in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. In his more than 26 years of career, he is involved in teaching since the last 20 years. His fields of expertise are Urbanisation, Migration, Population Geography, and applications of geospatial tools in different issues of social research. He has published numerous research articles in national and international journals of repute. He has authored two books on Child Labour, and Population of India.

Sangeetha Esther is pursuing her Doctorate in Population Studies from the Centre for the Study of Regional Development in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her current topic of research is Retirement Planning among Salaried workers. She did an extensive study of homeless women in the night shelters of Delhi for her M.Phil. She has volunteered with various organisations that deal with street and slum children, including Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board where she helped manage the Government Night Shelters.

Lost Childhood

Unmasking the Lives of Street Children in Metropolitan India

Kapil Dev, Dipendra Nath Das and Sangeetha Esther



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Dedicated to All the children living on the streets instead of their homes, working instead of attending school, sleeping hungry instead of being tucked into bed every night with a full stomach.

To all the children who have been abused and misunderstood by the society.



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Preface

Policymakers, social workers and many organizations are constantly taking up different issues to tackle the problem of downtrodden children. Street children, the mundane social evil in most of the metropolises, still constitute a sizeable proportion of child population, who are unable to get the attention they deserve. These children, who are an integral part of the nation's future, have their childhood withered away, with people remaining unaware of their crisis. Street children are seen by all, and live their lives out in the open, yet ironically very little is known about them. These children are enveloped in enigma and misconceptions. The very sight of them tugs at people's hearts, yet as soon as they are out of sight, their troubles are out of people's mind. The compassion for them is limited to only the moments when one encounters them. It doesn't percolate further so that it could lead to any action aimed at their long-term benefit. There is a lack of prolonged concern for them, which stems from the fact that the public doesn't know the depth of the pain and struggles of street children.

The lack of information and deteriorating conditions of street children encountered every day on the streets of Delhi sparked the idea in Kapil Dev to study and throw light on these matters. Initially, taken up as a topic for his doctoral thesis, it was found out, during the course of the study, that these children were living in such harsh conditions that even words could hardly describe. The realization that these children struggle every day just to be able to survive and ward off starvation for which they are treated with disdain was discomforting. To improve street children's conditions, people need to be made aware and educated about how they are victims of circumstances and of an unequal system. It was felt that keeping their stories and experiences from the general public would be a great disservice to these unfortunate children, on whom this study is based. It was then the idea to write this book was conceived. The book aims to unmask the lives of the street children living in Delhi by delving into their day-to-day experiences and perspectives on the cruelties of street life. These children, even though they have experienced great sufferings, cannot articulate their pain

as well as adults. For this purpose, we have tried to give voice to some of their evocative stories while keeping them anonymous. Life experiences of individuals have been shared with the reader at the beginning and ending of this book to highlight the atrocities perpetrated against some of these children and to invoke compassion for them. The hope is that after reading this book the reader can better empathize with street children whom they would come across in their daily life, and treat them with a little more love and kindness.

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We would like to start by expressing our gratitude to all the street children who participated in our study. Without their trust in us this study could not have been done. These children took time out from their struggling busy day's schedule to share their stories and experiences with us. Some of the children even introduced and helped us build a rapport with other fellow street children and their families, which greatly aided our survey. We are truly honoured to have been able to spend time with them and listen to their stories. We would also like to thank all the parents of the street children who helped us in our survey. We also extend our gratitude to the NGO workers who worked directly with the street children, as they helped shed light on many of the issues faced by the children.

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Abbreviations

AD Anno Domini

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome CRC Constitutional Review Committee

DWCD Department of Women and Child Development

FREPD Foundation for Research on Educational Planning and

Development

GCPS Global Child Protection Services

GOI Government of India

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IELRC International Environmental Law Research Centre

IIHS Indian Institute for Human Settlements
ILO International Labour Organization

IPC Indian Penal Code

IPEC International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour

IPER Institute of Professional Education Research

MCD Municipal Corporation of Delhi

MCK Methodist Church Kenya

MWCD Ministry of Women and Child Development

NCT National Capital Territory

NCLPS National Child Labour Project Scheme

NGO Non-governmental organization NSSO National Sample Survey Office NUHM National Urban Health Mission

OBC Other Backward Class

OHCHR Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human

Rights

ORS Oral rehydration solution

PENCIL Platform for Effective Enforcement for No Child Labour

RBSK Rashtriya Bal Swasthya Karyakram

SC Scheduled Caste ST Scheduled Tribe

SPYM Society for Promotion of Youth and Masses

xxii Abbreviations

TV Television

UID Unique identification

UNCRC United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization

UNICEF United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

WHO World Health Organization
WPR Work participation rate

YAPI Youth Advocate Program International

Introduction

Muffled Voices

Among the blur of people and cacophony of noises in the bustling city of Delhi, there are tiny bodies with muffled voices that share their melancholic stories.

Vishnu, a young scrawny boy who is barely ten years of age, narrates how he has been begging on the streets for 5 years. He once thought that he would be able to go to school like his neighbour's children, but due to his father's alcoholism, they went into debt and were forced onto the streets. To survive, he helps his mother by begging for alms and food at the most crowded traffic junction in Central Delhi. Unfortunately, his dreams of going to school, wearing a uniform and being able to read and write have been replaced by dreams only of a decent meal.

Naveen, an 11-year-old boy, earns money selling balloons at the traffic signals in West Delhi, shares how his customers would shout at him if he touches their car by mistake or would throw money at him rather than hand it over to him just because he is dirty. Initially, he used to feel very conscious about it, but there is nothing he can do as he barely has access to sufficient water to quench his thirst, much less wash himself.

Mahesh, a 9-year-old boy, works as a rag picker in one of the busiest markets in Delhi. He too has faced abuse and discrimination due to his situation. There have been many instances where shopkeepers and shoppers have openly humiliated him for his lack of cleanliness. It is very hurtful when people shrug away from him and call him names right to his face. Even as a child, he is able to understand the implications of it. Their behaviour towards him both angers and

saddens him as he feels that it is not his fault that he doesn't possess more than one set of clothes.

Deepa, who also works as a balloon seller with her mother, was taken aback by the unfair treatment meted out to her when she had started working. As the eldest of 4 siblings, she was able to study till 4th class. After the demise of her father, she had to forego her schooling to make ends meet. While her father was alive, they were living in a rented house, which they had to vacate after her father passed away. With nowhere else to go, they started living on the streets. Till then she had never faced such a deplorable treatment. Once she started working, she was really angered by how rudely and offensively people would behave with her and her mother. She was always taught in school that people should be kind and polite to one another, but in the real world, she could barely see such qualities in people.

Kamlesh, a 14-year-old girl who lives under a flyover in Central Delhi, also mirrors such feelings. When her parents are away working, she looks after her younger siblings. During these times she is extremely fearful of the adults passing by. Many of them would try to kick and punch the children without any provocation, while others would try to steal or destroy what little possessions they have. When her younger siblings are playing, she has to be cautious that they don't get hit by a vehicle or they don't disturb pedestrians. She has had some very nasty incidents with passers-by who had screamed at her, spat on her and even tried to grope her. She feels that these adults use her for venting out their anger and frustration.

Atul, a 12-year-old boy who works as a hawker in a popular market in South Delhi, explains that many people whom he approaches completely ignore him or shoo him off like a stray dog. It infuriates him that when he goes selling his items, they wouldn't even look at him, while others take his items without even paying for it. These types of incidents have made him lose his trust in the elders around him. Such situations have made him feel like he is less of a human, which is why they treat him and his kind with such disdain.

These are just a few stories of the scores of children who are living on the streets and who have had their childhood robbed from them.

I.I Introduction

Every day we come across young street children, barely in their teens, dressed in ragged clothes, underweight and stunted with forlorn expressions

on their tiny faces. If one were to pay attention while travelling around the city, they would see street children and homeless households in almost every street and corner of our cities. These young children can be seen living parallel lives to ours while navigating through the hustle and bustle of city life. There are a few occasions when their lives cross paths with ours. Some of us may acknowledge them, while others ignore their presence. The interactions with street children are mostly at traffic signals when we see them either begging or selling articles or performing 'acrobatics.' We can also see them scavenging through dustbins in popular public areas. Some of us might take pity on these children, but most of us tend to be disgusted by their existence and try to ignore and overlook them. These children are the epitome of the heartlessness that lingers within the society. Street children, the world over, have hardly ever been treated equal to other citizens of the society. In fact, many of them have never even been treated like human beings. The general public are often scared to make physical or eye contact with these neglected children, as though their predicament was contagious and could easily spread through touch. The greatest tragedy of street children does not lie only in the fact that young children are being robbed of their childhood but inhumanity being meted out to these young souls by the general public. Many of these children ponder over what their fault is to incur such treatment. Street children often see other more fortunate children and envy their lives. Things that are taken for granted by ordinary children such as having three square meals a day, clean clothes to wear, going to school and having toys to play with are some of the greatest wishes of these street children.

These unfortunate street children are trapped in a reality very different from that of ordinary people. They are ill-treated, exploited and abused by their own family and also the public. Their lives are filled with fear, hopelessness and loneliness. Being treated in such a pathetic manner makes them feel that they are not humans, but something at par with animals. Many of the street children are treated worse than animals, by sadistic people who try to take advantage of their desperate situation. They are abused, beaten, drugged, raped and sodomized. Even after going through such barbaric treatment there is no one to come to their aid, no one to hear their painful stories and fight for their rights. The only time their existence is acknowledged is when it is viewed as a bane to the scenic beauty of the city.

One has to remember that these children are also like our own children. While every adult loves to dote on his or her children, why is it that we are filled with disgust when it comes to these street children?

1.2 Children: the future

It is often said that children are divine gifts. Children are essential for the continuation of the species, which is why nature itself has put various systems in place that ensure the offspring are tended and looked after until they can fend for themselves. Without a new generation of humans, society and civilization will stagnate and eventually die out. Children are the ones who carry on the culture and accomplishments of civilization. It is not just their role in such a grand scale that makes children precious. At the household level, children are seen as a source of joy. In most societies, it is expected that a married couple complete their family by having children. Children also play a developmental role for the society and economy. Every new generation brings with its new innovations. Children are a huge resource for economic development and modernization (Bandyopadhyay, 1991). Children or the young generation is also at the heart of social development (Foundation for Research on Educational Planning and Development, 2003).

Due to the intrinsic and extrinsic value of children, the State and judiciary have provided various rights to ensure their survival and development as a productive citizen. It is the right of every child to have a safe environment and a proper childhood, and it is the responsibility of the parents and the community as a whole to provide these to them. No country or society can move forward without giving proper developmental support and care to its future citizens (Garg, 2002).

The type of a childhood a person has depends on the status of the parents or the type of welfare system of the State. Since the child not only benefits the household but the society at large, the responsibility of looking after a child should not fall solely on the parents. If in some way the parents are incapacitated, the community as a whole should take up the responsibility of looking after these children. This is the only way we can ensure a proper future for all the children who are born. Only then will a child be able to grow up to be a responsible and productive adult. Given a proper childhood and a conducive environment to grow in, they can be expected to contribute to the society. While growing up, a child requires nutritious food, a proper shelter, clothing and adequate sleep. They also need love and affection, freedom, sufficient physical activities (games and sports) and encouragement from adults. Other than physical growth it is also important to develop the child psychologically, for which it is essential that they be treated with love and kindness. These emotions are the source of power and direct the development of their personality (Singh, 2002). Only when they are properly looked after will they be able to adjust in the society.

I.3 The stark reality

Unfortunately, our society is not egalitarian; not every child gets to enjoy their childhood and live in a peaceful home. Some children for no fault of their own other than being born poor will face the disdain of society. Some children face extreme and painful circumstances which force them into hazardous conditions, ultimately diverting their life onto a darker path. Many of them are forced into this path by the inadequacies of their parents to provide for their basic needs and the failure of the State to look after children belonging to such households. Numerous issues exist today in society which determinedly strips a child of his or her childhood, and sometimes even their humanity. Children from poverty-stricken background, street children, school dropouts, runways or orphans are the easiest targets for child trafficking, to be forced into bonded labour and child marriage, sex trafficking, child labour, child pornography and so on. These children either become victims of heinous crimes or get sucked into the world of criminal activities. Being subject to such situations not only changes the behaviour of the children but also forces them to grow up with a misguided sense of identity and morality, and face a confused life.

Most of these issues stem from poverty and a lack of proper home environment. According to UNICEF Report (2012), 45 per cent of the world's population of whom almost 50 per cent are children is forced to live with less than \$1 a day. Hundreds of millions of children are living in urban slums, many without access to basic amenities. They are vulnerable because their living conditions are stressful (UNICEF Report, 2005a). According to Census of India 2011, 31 per cent (one-third) of total population comprise the children between the ages of 0 and 14 years, who are considered a dependent population. Out of the total child population (0–14 years age group) 52 per cent are male and 73 per cent are living in rural areas. While many of them get basic care in childhood, a large section of the children is robbed of their childhood and does not lead a meaningful existence.

1.4 The reality of street children

If children are seen as the future of the society, then the existence of street children proves an unwanted deviation from the set targets the society has placed for its future generation. These children spend most of their time working on the streets. They often come from slums and squatter settlements. These places are characterized by poverty and uncertain family situations. Some of them are able to maintain contact with their family, friends or relatives for a specific time. They are unable to attend school due to financial constraints or due to overcrowded schools, poor infrastructure and not having a safe place to play (Kopoka, 2000). They live on the streets on the brink of starvation with no proper access to clean water and adequate health care. These children have been dealt a bad hand in life by being born in an impoverished family that is constantly marginalized by the society and suffer the apathy of humanity. Living in such deplorable conditions and constantly being shunned by the public increases their predilection to drug abuse and criminal activities.

It is not only the conditions in which they live their lives that is disturbing but also the rapid pace at which their population is increasing, which implies that more and more children are being exposed to different types of abuses, and need special protection to promote their physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

The existence of street children is a global phenomenon, yet it is seen in its severest form in the urban landscape of developing economies. Their population has become so large that they have become a permanent feature in most cities. In a bid to increase economic growth, undue focus is given to urban centres, while the rural economies stagnate. Due to the deterioration of living conditions in villages, the economically weak rural folk are forced to migrate to urban areas in search of a better future. Sadly, their lives in the cities are not rosy as one would imagine. Rising unemployment rates and high rents in the urban areas lead to a rise in impoverished persons living in deplorable conditions. Many of the urban street children share this background. They migrate either with their family or alone. They all come to urban areas in search of a better life; however, they end up struggling on the streets. The process of urbanization has further marginalized these children and their families, denoting them as undesirable entities in an urban setup. They are the quintessence of urban poverty and social exclusion. Rather than having people sympathize with their plight, they are viewed as illegal inhabitants and a menace, also as those who do not provide any help to the society. The response of the government to alleviate their plight has also been inadequate, and with each passing day they are being further socially excluded by the mainstream society. This is further pushing them into a quagmire of poverty and suffering.

It is important to view the plight of these children in a sympathetic manner, and rather than aiming to ignore the issue, we must identify why this is spreading and how to prevent it.

1.5 Society's perception of street children

Generally, there is an apathetic attitude towards street children. In a country that has a high proportion of people living in poverty, the urban public are surprisingly averse to any sight that reminds them of that fact. These children are definitely viewed and treated with disgust. It is shocking how some people can even look at these hapless street children as if they were aliens (de Moura, 2002). A lot of the sufferings street children face are due to the unjust prejudice people hold against them. The urban community has a low opinion of these street children. Most people are ignorant of their plight and see only their dirty hands that are extended for alms. People usually consider them a nuisance as they are involved in fringe activities like begging or prostitution or other criminal activities. Urban people consider these children as trouble makers in the urban society (Pagare, Meena,

Singh, & Saha, 2004). This is why most people prefer not to interact with these children at all. Unfortunately, most of the people's opinions are based on stereotypes (Defence for Children International, 2005).

Most people are suspicious of these children and tend to avoid them as much as possible. The Defence for Children International report on children in the street in Palestine (2005) shows that these children are harassed by the society which includes passers-by, employers, supervisors and other street people. Being young, naïve and helpless, these children are approached by many people in society with the intent to physically, verbally, psychologically or sexually abuse them.

1.6 Streets children's perception of the urban society

When they first begin their life on the streets, they view people as their benefactors. However, from a tender age they are spited for asking money just so that they could fill their stomachs. These children see rich people having ample money, yet not willing to spare any for the poor and desperate. Not only do they see this selfish side of human nature, but they also see the barbaric side of human nature through people who verbally, physically or sexually abuse them.

As expected, being constantly abused and harassed makes the children weary of the public, making them feel very detached from the general public. This is why most of the street children try to have bare minimum interaction with the public. Unfortunately, many of the street children depend on the public for making a living, which forces them to have constant interaction with people they would have otherwise avoided. The fact that these children have no choice but to depend on the public for survival causes them to be caught in this vicious cycle with no hope of escape.

Some of the street children, nevertheless, have been fortunate enough to interact with people who genuinely take an interest in them and want to help them. These children have often cited instances where certain 'Good Samaritans' conversed with them, played with them and helped them. These people are the only ones who treat the children like a fellow human being. For most, it is the only time they feel love and a sense of worth. Every time they have such interactions, it brings a glimmer of hope for them that not all the people are bad in this world.

Despite the good intentions of many individuals, organizations and institutions that are working for the betterment of these street children, without cooperation from various other relevant bodies with a benevolent intent, more and more children will suffer. The first step in tackling this problem requires sensitization of the populace, which is the need of the hour. People should be made aware of why and how these street children end up on the streets and their plight thereafter. Such a sensitization is

essential for enabling urban citizens to sympathize with them, resulting in a collective solidarity. Armed with such a knowledge, the plight of these unfortunate children can be addressed. This book aims to enlighten its readers by revealing the truth about the arduous lives they lead, the responsibilities they have to shoulder and their bitter experiences while living on the streets. In order to systematically study the lives of the street children, it is important to first define what we mean by children, and what are their rights, and if their rights are being blatantly violated in the case of street children.

1.7 Definition of a child

The Constitution, the Law and various scholars have attempted to define a child from different perspectives.

- According to Article 1 of United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), 'A child means every human being below the age of 18 years, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier' (unicef.org.uk).
- Oxford University Press (OUP), as retrieved on 5 January 2013, defines a child from a biological perspective. Anyone is considered a child between birth and puberty or, in the developmental process of a child, between infancy and adulthood.

Indian legal authorities have also given various definitions from various angles, trying to understand what constitutes a child. The most common definition being that any person who has not completed 18 years is considered as a child in India.

- Ministry of Women and Child Development defined under Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) in Article 1 that every human being less than the age of 18 will be considered as a child.
- Indian Council for Child Welfare prohibits a boy and girl from getting married before the 21 and 18 years of age, respectively, as they are considered a child till then. The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act 2000, amended in 2006 and 2010, declares "juvenile" or "child" as 'a person who has not completed 18 years of age.'
- According to the Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act 'child means a person who has not completed his 14th year of age.' This is why The Factories Act 1948 states that 'a child who is less than age of 14 will not be allowed to work in any factory.'
- Indian Penal Code (IPC) in its criminal law considers 'nothing an offence which is done by a child under the age of seven years. The age of criminal responsibility is raised to 12 years if the child is found not to

have attained the ability to understand the nature and consequences of his or her act.'

- Census of India considered the population between 0 and 14 years age group as a child population.
- The NSSO has defined a child (male or female) as a person below the age of 15 years on the date of survey.

1.8 Legal provisions for children in India

The Constitution of India has set up several provisions which are to be followed by all states and union territories to help with the survival of a child.

- In Article 14, it is mentioned that a child has the same rights as adults.
- In Article 15(3), it gives the power to all states to make special provisions or laws for the well-being of children.
- Article 21A provides free and compulsory education to all children within the age group of 6–14 years.
- Article 23 prohibits trafficking of human beings and forced labour.
- Article 24 prohibits the employment of children in any factory, mine or as any other hazardous form of employment.
- Article 39(f) ensures that children are given equal opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. They are guaranteed protection of childhood and youth against moral and material abandonment.
- Article 45 provides early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years.
- Clause K of Article 51A states that it is essentially the responsibility of all parents or guardians to provide opportunities for education to their child between the age of 6 and 14 years.
- Article 243G along with Schedule 11 provides the right for institutionalizing child care to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living. It also aims to improve public health and monitor the development and well-being of children in the country.
- In 1960 The Children Act was the first major act passed in India which dealt with street children. It was defined as 'neglected' children including a child found without having any home or settled place of abode or any ostensible means of subsistence or is found destitute, whether he or she is an orphan or not (Puri, 2009).
- In 1974, The National Policy on Children was formed. It was recognized in India according to the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child 1959, which emphasized on child welfare.

While every country has provisions that ensure that a child is brought up in a safe environment, many children don't get to enjoy these provisions

and rights. Being born in impoverished family causes many children to take up the responsibilities of adulthood at a young age. While there are laws against burdening the young with undue responsibilities, their survival and their families' depend on it. This is why both the Law and the public overlook these violations. These children, who due to various situations end up on the streets, fight for their own survival and that of their families as well. They have fallen through the cracks of society and are unable to enjoy many of the provisions that the government has come out with.

1.9 Definitions and classifications of street children

To begin with, it is essential to know about the term 'street' which is associated with these children and how the new term 'street children' emerges from it. 'Street' is a wide concept which covers all the odd places where children spend time frequently with aimless motives (UNESCO). These odd places are slum residences, surrounding areas of cinemas, hotels, markets, railway stations, bus stands, car parking, wastelands and remote areas (like unoccupied dwellings or buildings under construction).

Researchers tried to find out the various concerns about those children who faced lots of problem under pathetic situations. Scholars have not only coined different terminologies for the street children but have also described their miserable life. The general psychological condition of the children throughout their life is one of sadness.

The concept of street children was defined in various ways at global and regional levels. Numerous definitions of street children were given by researchers, practitioners, policymakers and organizations. Definitions from different aspects of life were attempted. These definitions were, however, unclear and were unable to give explanations of the real situation of street children. These definitions of street children have been collected from various sources. According to the researcher's purpose, these definitions are changing because street children are a heterogeneous population. Ennew (1996) explained the new term 'Streetism' which meant that ways of life associated with living on the street. The word 'Streetism' was first used in December 1888 for the street children of Ethiopia (MOLSA & Radda Barnen, 1988; Heinonem, 2000). The authors defined the term in this way: 'Streetism' means those children who have reasons such as work and/or live on the streets. It is also intended to indicate the way of life of the children who consider the streets in its widest sense, with its own esoteric rules, customs and vocabulary as their world.

"Street Children" is a broad term which denotes millions of deprived urban children in the world who belong to several categories, based on age, sex, work status, kind of employment and contact with their families (Mathur, 2009). Their lifestyle and working activities are closely associated with the street (Kobayashi, 2004). Therefore, these definitions of street children are an indication of their lives from different perspectives so as to better understand their problems. Today the most common definition of street children is 'boys and girls for whom "the street" (including unoccupied dwelling, wasteland, etc.) has become their home and/or source of livelihood, and who are inadequately protected or supervised by responsible adults,' as defined by the United Nations (Volpi, 2002).

- According to UNICEF, there are three types of street children.
 - Children who reside in the street: children who have run away from their families and live alone on the streets.
 - Children who work in the street: children who spend most of their time on the streets, but who regularly go back to their homes.
 - Children from street families: children who live with their families in the street.
- The World Health Organization (WHO) classified street children into four categories.
 - Children who live on the streets.
 - Children who have left their families and reside on the streets, hotels, shelters, or abandoned places.
 - Children who live in the protection centres or orphanages, who are at risk of becoming homeless.
 - Children who have weak or insubstantial relations with their families, and whose circumstances force them to spend the night outside their homes.
- The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines street children as,

Children with severed family ties, who have found the street their only home; the street is where they stay daily; who all face the same dangers such as becoming involved in drugs or prostitution, and their presence in the streets gives them a sense of freedom.

- According to Youth Advocate Program International Report (YAPI), a street child is any boy or girl who has not reached adulthood, and for whom the street and unoccupied dwellings have become his or her home and/or source of livelihood (Berezina, 2003). These children are neither protected nor directed nor supervised by adults. These children are considered as 'Homeless Children' and are divided into three categories.
 - Children on the street: children who visit their families regularly and may even return every night to sleep at home, but spend most days and some nights on the streets because of poverty, overcrowding and/or sexual or physical abuse at home.

- Children of the street: children who have no home but are on the streets and no family support. They move from place to place, living in shelters and abandoned buildings.
- Children of a street family: a family that lives on the streets. Children who live with their families on sidewalks or city squares. Children, in this case, often work on the streets with other members of their families. They may be displaced due to poverty, wars or natural disasters. These families often live a nomadic life, carrying their possessions with them.
- Dallape (1987) defined street children as 'those whose basic rights to food, shelter, education and health are continuously violated.'
- Cosgrove (1990) defined a street child as 'any individual under the age of majority whose behaviour is predominantly at variance with community norms, and whose primary support for development is not a family or family substitute.'
- Lusk (1992) developed four categories of children who are found on the streets. The first category includes the poor working children who return to their families at night. They are likely to attend school and not be involved in criminal activities. The second category includes those who are independent street workers. Their family ties begin to break down, their school attendance decreases and their criminal behaviour increases. Third, the children of street families who live and work with their families on the streets. Their conditions are related to poverty. The fourth category encompasses the children who have broken off contact with their families and resides on the streets all the time. These children are called the "real" street children
- Street children are defined as those children who are under the age of 18 and spend most of their life on the streets. They live permanently on the streets and that is why they are called 'children of the street' (Lugalla, 1995).
- These children are not only 'homeless' or 'roofless,' but they are also culturally 'rootless.' (Lugalla & Mbwambo, 1999).
- Street children are those who are abandoned or neglected by their family and for whom the streets have become their home (Bueren, 1995).
- A "Street Child" who works and lives on the streets. They are highly mobile like a modern-day nomad, and they can alternate between living on the streets and living with family members (Cummings, 2006).

These definitions view street children from different perspectives. Every definition tries to touch at least one aspect of their reality. They try to show society where and how these children are surviving without any facility and care. This phenomenon is not a new one and has existed long before the Industrial Revolution and in different parts of the world. For centuries now children who have lost their childhood and are living without any hope for the future have existed.

1.10 History of street children

It was in the eleventh century AD that street children began to be noticed in Europe. They were recognized only in sixteenth-century England and dealt with as an issue regarding children who faced cruelty and negligence on the streets (Defence for Children International, 2005). Consequently, the presence of street children also began to be noticed in Latin American countries (Diwakar, 2006). According to Scanlon, Tomkins, Lynch and Scanlon (1998), the term 'street children' was first used by Henry Mayhew in 1851 while writing London Labour and the London Poor. The term came into general usage only in 1979 after the United Nations proclaimed it as the 'Year of the Children.' Before the term street children came into use, they were commonly referred to as homeless, abandoned or runaways (Scanlon et al., 1998). In 1982, the Inter-NGO Programme on Street Children and Street Youth was formed (Lalor, 1999). In 1986, UNICEF's Executive Board approved priority measures about those children who were facing difficult circumstances (Lalor, 1999). They coined new terms 'Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances, '1 'Children in Special Need of Protection' and 'Orphans and Vulnerable Children' (Ray, Davey, & Nolan, 2011). These terms, however, did not reflect the actual difficult conditions, which is why some of the representatives and organizations continued to use the term street children, while the Commission on Human Rights used the term "street child" in 1994 (see OHCHR, 2012). The Committee on the Rights of the Child under the human rights council adopted the new term 'children in street situations.' Again, the expert committee discussed and presented a new terminology 'street connections.' It showed that street may be a crucial point of reference for some children, even when they are not physically present there. Street connections are essential to children's daily survival because of their selection of managing strategies and their self-development (Report—Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2012).

Recently, attempts are being made to re-conceptualize the issues under broad groups about the children who are socially excluded and marginalized. But some organizations such as UNICEF, Save the Children and Every Child have re-conceptualized these issues. Now they are working with new concepts such as 'children on the move,' 'a' 'children without parental care' and 'children affected by conflict.' These re-conceptualized issues have been organized into large framework of prevention and response, like safe migration programmes, child protection and welfare systems, and disaster risk management. Now the term 'street children' has also been divided into various groups such as children who have migrated in an unsafe manner for

work, who may end up on the streets at their destination; children without parental care including homeless street children; and conflicts which have caused a number of children to live on the streets (Ray et al., 2011). The numbers of street children are increasing continuously, and their problems are becoming an area of concern in today's world and demanding more and more attention.

The concept of street children is wide, and it cannot be defined in a single line as a single concept. It should be defined at every stage of life because every child has his or her own story which affects their everyday life. These sorrowful stories are related to various issues like their family background, behaviour of the family members or others, living conditions and their views about the society. Along with problems related to poverty they also have to face other issues like losing hope for their future, discrimination, lack of basic amenities, engaging in different activities, social network, accidents and social environment. They feel helpless and do not get to lead a meaningful life. These children face various troubles on a regular basis which not only affects their future but also has a bad impact on society where they live. These children like every other child of this country are the new buds of society's garden and are entitled to a happy childhood and equal rights like the rest of the children. Unfortunately, they are unaware of such rights and the means of claiming them.

I.II Perspective of street children at global level

Street children are becoming a major issue in today's world. It is spreading all over the world similar to an epidemic. If the solution is not found soon, society will soon start to deteriorate, as it is the future generations that are getting affected. One of the major problems in rectifying the issue of street children is first identifying and estimating their number. There is no specific method to know the actual number of street children because of their frequent change of residence and work place. Most publications on this matter are based on estimates and guess work. Additionally, some of them were re-quoted by different authors which become accepted as a fact.

According to the estimated data, there are about 150 million street children in the world (Defence for Children International, 2005; Consortium for Street Children, 2009), and approximately 20 million of them are living on the streets round the clock without their own family (Farhat, 2004). According to the UNESCO, out of the estimated total street children, 40 per cent are homeless and 6 per cent are working to support their families on the streets. Street children exist in developing and developed nations, though their scale and nature vary.

Asia being the largest continent in the world houses a large number of street children. It has an estimated 30 million street children, and the figures are increasing rapidly (Stephens, 2004). In India, several cities are

also facing the problem of street children. But most of them are found in metropolitan cities. India has recorded (18 million) the highest number of street children in the world (Isangula, 2011). Most of them are from extremely poor families and belong to scheduled caste or tribes. Bangladesh has also experienced an increase in its number of street children. More than two million Bangladeshi children were living in the slums and streets (Ahmad, 2003). According to Samlah's Friend Survey (2001) and Benitez (2007), 10-20 thousand street working children were found in Cambodia. UNICEF (2005) report stated that an NGO estimated 150 thousand street children to be living in China in 2001. In Indonesia 170 thousand street children were estimated (Irwanto et al., 1999). Moreover, the Report prepared by CRIN (2001) also mentions 30 thousand street children found in Nepal, and out of them about 4 thousand were homeless. Some of the street children (15–20 per cent) were also infected by HIV-AIDS, and were mostly involved in prostitution (Consortium for Street Children, 2009). In Nepal, street children are easy targets for police. They are regularly harassed and arrested by police. Due to being marginalized by society they are easily recruited into illegal activities. The local newspapers of Kathmandu reported that many street children are recruited by Maoists to plant bombs. deliver weapons and spy on the movements of security forces in the city (Tamang & Frederick, 2006). In Pakistan, the available statistics of United Nations report reveals that 'approximately 70 thousand children are living on the streets and out of them 12 thousand street children are nomadic in Karachi' (Farhat, 2004). Out of the estimated total of street children in Pakistan nearly 56 per cent have run away from home due to domestic violence, 20 per cent due to hostile behaviour of parents and 12 per cent due to their parents' drug addiction (Farhat, 2004). In Philippines the problem of street children was first noticed in the 1980s and their number was recorded to be around 250 thousand. Out of them 50 thousand to 75 thousand were recorded in Metropolitan Manila (Pomm, 2005). However, the government agency of Philippines, Metropolitan Manila Development Authority, and other agencies are involved in rescue operation of street children (Scerri, 2008). In the African continent, ten million street children have been estimated, and they are continuously increasing (Stephens, 2004; www.unicef.org). According to Government of Ethiopia, there are 1.5 lakh children living on the streets, with 60,000 children living only in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. The mean age of the street children there has been found to be 10.7 years (Benitez, 2007; Consortium for Street Children, 2009). According to the Report prepared by the General Egyptian Association for Child Development in 1999 it was estimated that two million children lived on the street. In 2007, 250 thousand to 300 thousand street children were found to be living in Kenya, and 60 thousand of them were living in its capital, Nairobi (Consortium for Street Children, 2009). These teenagers are mainly engaged in activities such as begging, carrying

luggage and cleaning buildings and vehicles, or engaged in sexual and other anti-social activities (Benitez, 2007). There are 10–12 thousand homeless children recorded in South Africa (Save the Children, 2005). Ruth Payne (2004) pointed out that the number of street children has increased from 7 thousand to 19 thousand in Accra, Ghana in a matter of a decade, from 1992 to 2002. In another survey (2003) it was observed in Sudan that 50 per cent street children end up dying prematurely. The mortality rate of street children in Ghana has increased 75 per cent due to suffering from HIV/AIDS, use of drugs and sexual activities (Consortium for Street Children, 2009).

In South America, 40–50 million street children were recorded (Stephens, 2004; www.unicef.org.). In Brazil more than 1,000 street children die every year (Farhat, 2004). Most of street children are murdered by death squads, the police and other types of gangs. In Brazil those involved in illegal sexual activities often support their entire family on their earnings (Consortium for Street Children, 2009).

The phenomenon is prevalent throughout the world, though it may vary in nature. While most of us may think that street children are a by-product of poverty alone, the presence of street children in developed and affluent countries show that it is not only poverty that drives children to the streets. In Europe, 25 million street children have been recorded (Emmanuel, Iqbal, & Khan, 2005). Rees and Lee (2005) have stated that in the United Kingdom about 100 thousand children have been found to have left their homes. Other countries where street children are also found include France (10,000), Ireland (500–1,000) and the Netherlands (7,000) (Lesson Plan: Street Children). 'Children on the Street' (2003) report says that one to four million street children are found in Russia and every year 50 thousand children run away from their homes. In Latvia more than 150 thousand children were living with deprived families and 29 per cent of them were between the age group of 0 and 17 years (Children on the Street, 2003).

In Canada there were 150 thousand street children recorded who were homeless and living on streets, mostly in cities. They left their home on being beaten, in search of money and an attractive lifestyle. They are mostly engaged in sexual activities, begging, selling of drugs and trade of body (Consortium for Street Children, 2009). In the United States 200 thousand children left their home and 16 per cent had run away more than five times (Kidd, 2003).

In Australia, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission stated that 50 to 70 thousand children were found to live on the street. Another 15 to 25 thousand were recorded in New South Wales whose ages were between 16 and 18 years. These children neither have any shelter nor a home to spend a night, and most often end up sleeping under a flyover or foot overbridge. Many of these developed countries have good social security and child protective services. These children are not on the streets to earn

a living out of desperation, but rather due to failures of social strongholds, and structural factors within their society. Most of these children are runways because they are unable to fit into the rigid definitions of mainstream society and are often ostracized by their family and community members.

Even though the nature of street children varies between developed and developing countries the fact remains that children are being exposed to vulnerable situations that risk their health and lives. The estimated statistics of street children are evidence to the fact that the issue of street children is growing rapidly in all continents. These children are facing various types of problems in their lives, many of which can't even be fathomed by a common man. Several times the voices of street children are suppressed by the society, due to which most of the older street children are involved in sexual activity, drugs or illegal work. They are also affected by various diseases like HIV/AIDS or any other transmitted diseases. If no intervention is taken, the number of street children is estimated to reach 800 million in the world by 2020 (Farhat, 2004).

1.12 Perspective of street children in India

As mentioned earlier, India has the highest number of street children (18 million) in the world. These children are concentrated mainly in urban areas that are located in various parts of the country, especially in million plus cities. In India the phenomenon of street children was first brought into the purview of research between 1970 and 1980 (Claire, 2003). Research on street children of India is hampered mainly due to lack of adequate data. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get a precise number of street children existing in India. The Census of India, which is one of the most comprehensive databases on population enumeration, also cannot help in throwing light on this predicament. Although the Census gives data on the houseless population, it does not enumerate street children separately (according to the definition accepted), and it gives houseless children's population only till the age of six years. From Census 2011 it can be determined that of the total child population (i.e. 0-6 years), 0.16 per cent of the population are houseless which is approximately 27 thousand. This, however, is a gross underestimation. Agarwal (1999) estimated that there were about 20 million street children in India, and they constituted approximately 7 per cent of the total child population. According to him big cities attract street children in large numbers. The study of IPER (1991) in five cities of India (Mumbai, Chennai, Kanpur, Bangalore and Hyderabad) recorded 314 thousand street children. Another study which was conducted in 1997 estimated 500 thousand street children living in seven large cities (CRIN, 2001). It is predicted that approximately 100 thousand – 125 thousand street children reside in Mumbai, Kolkata and Delhi, 45 thousand in Bangalore (Reddy & Mamta, 2008-2009).

Moreover, in another official record, provided by the DWCD in 1997, 420 thousand street children are estimated to be living in the six metropolitan cities of the country and most of them are 8–12 years old. A. B. Bose (1993) reported in his publication that 47 million homeless and runaway adolescents are roaming on the streets of India. The recent estimates of street children in metros have shown a rise in numbers; in Delhi there are 0.1 million–0.5 million street children, Calcutta has 0.2 million and Mumbai has between 0.1 million and 0.25 million street children (Jain, 2003; Gahlot 2007; Subramaniam 2007). According to Navajeevan Bala Bhavan (NGO) an estimated number of 3 thousand children are living on the streets of Vijayawada due to poverty and because of troubles at home. The conditions of girls are more vulnerable than boys because they are more susceptible to human trafficking, and are often pushed into the commercial sex industry.

These estimations on the numbers of street children done by various studies show that their population is growing very fast in urban India (Bayyapunedi, 2009). However, it can be said that the exact number of street children is still not known, and the studies show variations in their numbers due to non-uniform definition and unclear identity of street children.

I.I3 A perspective of Delhi

Delhi, being the second largest city in India, is an administrative, political and a cultural hub. It has the perfect blend of modernity and traditional culture. Even the modern buildings that come up complement the historical structure that adorns the city. Talking about the essence of Delhi, the great poet Mirza Ghalib says that 'the world is body and Delhi its soul.' The city is home to people from different parts of the country and also from other countries. Even with immense diversity Delhi has been able to develop in a consolidated manner. This is the city people come to in order to fulfil their dreams of a better life. It is one of the fastest developing cities in the country. Every day the city witnesses innovations in technology and developments in different fields. It is a fertile ground for start-ups. It also has a large and ever-growing service and non-formal sector. Life in Delhi is enviable for most citizens. Due to its significant role in terms of employment opportunities and living standards as compared to the other parts of the country, Delhi has become a major attraction for migrants from all over India and also other countries. It provides employment for mostly all the people who migrate here. For most of the migrants it is the final destination. They work continuously and finally settle down here with their families, for whom also the city affords various opportunities in terms of education and other facilities. Besides these migrants, there are some others who come only for a short duration and after completion of their work they return to their native places.

Even in a fast-blooming global city like Delhi, not everything is perfect or agreeable. Being one of the major attractions for migrants, Delhi is faced with various issues. Over-population caused due to a large inflow of migrants is causing problems related to pollution, sanitation, lack of basic amenities, increase in crimes, discrimination and overcrowding, Sadly, the city has its dark side too. Not all those who have stayed in Delhi are able to lead the life they had desired. According to Census 2011, Delhi constitutes 2.66 per cent of the total Indian homeless population and 1.33 per cent to the total homeless children (0-6 years). Thus, a large population of Delhi is living without a proper roof over their heads. Many claim that the homeless figures are an underestimation of the current scenario as various other organizations have come up with a much higher estimate for the homeless population in Delhi. Unfortunately, there are no official figures about the total number of street children in Delhi. The only comprehensive figure we have on the number of street children in Delhi is given by 'Save the Children,' an NGO that works on child rights. According to their survey conducted in July-September 2010 in all districts of Delhi, it was found that almost 51 thousand children within the age group of 0-18 years were living on the streets. Most of these street children live with their families and move regularly to different parts of Delhi. The study also showed that 51 per cent of the street children were not literate, although many of them were working. One out of every five (20.3 per cent) of the street children was involved in rag picking. This was followed by street vending (15.18 per cent), begging (15 per cent), working on roadside repair shops (12.19 per cent), dhabas⁶/hotels (6.24 per cent) and those employed in manufacturing units (merely a 1.22 per cent).

1.14 The need to study street children

If one were to pay attention, we can see street children in almost every part of the city, including the posh neighbourhoods like Lutyens' Delhi. They are found at almost every road traffic signal or road junction, railway station, tourist and religious places; at markets; under flyovers or bridges, slums, railway lines, bus terminals or bus stops and near metro stations. These children are abused, exploited and deprived from reaching their full potential to achieve a good life. In such a flourishing city like Delhi, which is at the heart of the country, the critical issue of the utter violation of children's rights, that too right under the noses of administrators, cannot go uninvestigated.

As a civilized society, we should not be turning a blind eye to such issues, which is why we aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of this issue and at the same time make the reader sympathize with these young lives. Various organizations have come up with reports to explain the extent of this phenomenon. From international organizations like the UN⁷ to

local organizations like Save the Children India⁸, each has put enormous effort into bringing the issue of street children to the limelight. Most of these reports are region specific and take up pertinent issues such as trafficking, abuse, prevalence of drugs and crime. These reports, in most cases, are based on rapid situation assessment methodology. Under this methodology many different sources of data are utilized to understand the magnitude of a social problem, thus determining the adequacy of the interventions and services provided (ODCCP, 1999). Most of the reports are built using Census data, along with sample surveys and FGDs with street children and stakeholders, who are mostly NGOs and other organizations working with street children. These reports are extremely valuable for understanding the magnitude and severity of the issue. Likewise, various studies have tried to throw light on different vet equally important aspects of the children's life like their health status, their mental status, their economic activities and the legal provisions available for street children. Most of the works on street children tend to see the issue through the lens of social medicine, sociology, psychology and law where the street child is given a passive voice and seen as a subject to be discussed.

In this book, we believe that street children should be looked through a prism of different disciplines but at the same time also seen through an objective lens of individuality where the child is given his or her own voice. Street children should be allowed to describe their lives for the world to know. Only then can we get their correct perspective and stress on the severity and the emotions behind this issue. For such cases interviewing the street children individually, in their own safe space, is essential. It is a challenge, indeed. As the children are mobile and are apprehensive about adults, conducting in-depth surveys is time-consuming and physically strenuous. In order to capture the unique voices of the street children, a multi-stage purposive survey with a location-based approach has been used in this study. These children tend to congregate in certain areas, and for the authenticity of this work, it was pivotal to carry out the survey in their own areas and at a suitable time so that the child feels comfortable enough to discuss his or her life with us without any inhibition.

I.I5 Layout of the book

To bring out sensible and authentic results, it is important that a rational and scientific procedure be followed in order to avoid bias and errors in the study. For this reason, a well-designed sample design, together with a proper conceptual framework and methodology for the study, is developed. This has been discussed in Chapter 2.

In academic literature, street children are in a nascent phase but are growing rapidly as people are coming to understand the seriousness of the issue. Academicians and scholars have tried to bring to light the social injustice

these children face. Issues such as the life of street children need a multidimensional approach, which helps us to see it through the prism of multiple disciplines. This is why it is important to also look into the previous work done on this issue by scholars in and around the country. This book has endeavoured to expand the knowledge on street children, by bringing together different sources of literature on street children and providing a theoretical understanding of the process involved in this phenomenon. In Chapter 4, We look into the socio-demographic characteristics of the street children who have been surveyed, which we hope will give the reader a better picture of the respondents. Demographic and social characteristics such as age, sex, social group and number of siblings are important to this study, for comparative purposes and for identifying the vulnerable groups. They are also essential for explaining the outcome of the analysis that has been carried out. Since street children are driven by poverty, it cannot be looked at in isolation. To get a full understanding of the respondents, it is important to look into the characteristics of their families too. By looking at the socio-economic basis of the families of these street children, we will be able to identify the vulnerable families, and at the same time know the target population and the kind of assistance they need to be provided with, in order to relieve them from the situation that forces their children onto the streets. Once the background of the street children and their families is established, subsequently, in Chapter 5 we will delve deeper into the lives of the street children, by looking into their journey into the street. While every child's journey is different, we try to find their common connecting threads. We wish to highlight the situation of these street children by making the reader understand their everyday life which includes attending school, the type of discrimination they face, how they spend their leisure time and how their social networks are established and function. We also endeayour to get a glimpse of the child's psyche, especially about their lives and how they cope with it. We hope this would help sensitize the reader about the everyday struggles of these children in different aspects of their lives.

In Chapter 6, we move on to examine what the street children do on the streets. We look at what age they started working, and why they did so. We will look at the type of activities they do, the difficulties they face in their jobs and how much they are being remunerated for all their struggles and hardships. It is also interesting to see how they manage their earnings and what they usually spend it on. By the end of this section, one will have found a profound understanding on the struggles the typical street child goes through just to get a few simple pleasures in his or her life such as being able to share a wholesome meal with his or her family.

Many of these children, by living on the streets are deprived of proper sanitation, nutrition and shelter which eventually takes a toll on their health. In Chapter 7 we have attempted to provide a comprehensive study of the street children's health status. While lacking the tools for doing an

in-depth paediatric study, we have resorted to appraising the various known factors which could directly or indirectly affect the health of a child, such as the condition of their sleeping environment, level of personal hygiene, eating habits, access to clean food and water, access to toilet facilities and engaging in risky activities. The types of ailments common among street children, along with the barriers they face in getting adequate treatment, are also discussed in Chapter 7.

Most studies of organizations dealing with street children give their recommendations about how to deal with the issue. However, sometimes it is good to get the point of view from street children themselves. In Chapter 8, we look at the insecurities street children face when they are asked to rejoin mainstream society, including their inhibitions to the societal barriers while getting rehabilitated. What rehabilitation really means to them has also been looked into.

We hope that by the end of the book, the reader would be able to better understand the predicament of street children and appreciate how complicated it truly is. The issue of street children should not just be brushed under the rug by clearing slums or getting children enrolled in a school. We wish that the reader would understand the difficulties the typical street child faces in almost every facet of his or her life and why there is a burning need for a more comprehensive, sensitive, multifaceted rehabilitation plan which needs to be developed with the cooperation of various government departments.

Notes

- 1 It means that socially excluded children who are seen in groups around.
- 2 It means that children engage in various activities on the street and if there is a 'problem' it is not the child, but rather the situations in which s/he finds herself or himself (Report—OHCHR, 2012).
- 3 That is, transcending the narrow lens of child trafficking.
- 4 That is, not just orphans.
- 5 That is, transcending the focus just on child soldiers.
- 6 Road side food stall.
- 7 See UNICEF (1993) Street and working children, Innocent Global Seminar, Summary Report.
- 8 See Report Save the Children India. Life on the streets: Street Children Survey in Five Cities: Lucknow, Mughalsarai, Hyderabad, Patna and Kolkata-Howrah.
- 1 Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a mental health condition that's triggered by a terrifying event—either by experiencing it or by witnessing it.
- 2 Drugs used for abortions.
- 1 Street children who have migrated to Delhi during their lifetime are considered migrant street children, and children who were born in Delhi are considered non-migrant street children. The street children who are residents of Delhi could be children of migrant parents who may have migrated to Delhi 10 years ago.
- 2 It includes people who take up daily wage work by temporarily working in tea stalls, repair shops and other jobs like carrying loads or unloading,

- cleaning two- or three- or four-wheelers, pot cleaning, office assistance and white-washing.
- 1 Usha Ramanathan in HLRN Released Report for the United Nations Habitat III Conference claimed that urban nomads are 'those people who cannot settle anywhere because there is a refusal to recognize their right to the city.'
- 2 Children on the street are those children who work on the street but have a house to go back to. Children from the street are those children who work and live on the street.
- 1 Helen R. Sekar (2008) quoted the Draft National Policy while defining street vendors as persons who offer goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall. Street vendors may be stationary by occupying space on the pavements or other public/private areas, or may be mobile in the sense that they move from one place to another carrying their wares on push carts or in cycles or baskets on their heads, or may sell their wares in moving trains, buses, and so on.
- 2 A devotional offering made to a god, typically consisting of food that is later shared among devotees.
- 3 Charity.
- 4 Stone grinder.
- 5 According to the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, an activity such as prostitution and begging generates an income but is not considered an economic activity.
- 6 To calculate the contribution of the child's income to family income the following formula was used: Share of income = Monthly income of child/(parents' and siblings' monthly income).
- 7 Small cup-shaped oil lamps made of baked clay.
- 1 Similar to quacks.
- 2 Sages who use rituals to provide relief from ailments.
- 3 Traditional doctors who work outside the purview of the government.
- 4 Betel guid.
- 1 'Child Protection' refers to protection from violence, exploitation, abuse and neglect (MWCD).

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