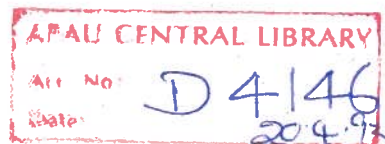


ECOLOGICAL AND PSYCHO - SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN

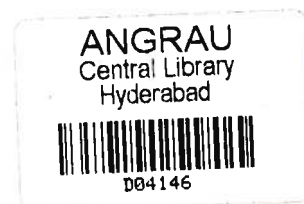


BY

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B. Sc (Home)

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
ANDHRA PRADESH AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN THE FACULTY OF HOME SCIENCE



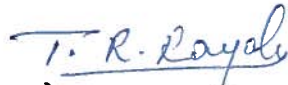
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CERTIFICATE

Ms.D.V.N. NALINI has satisfactorily prosecuted the course of research and that the thesis entitled **ECOLOGICAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN** submitted is the result of original research work and is of sufficiently high standard to warrant its presentation to the examination. I also certify that the thesis or part thereof has not been previously submitted by her for a degree of any university.


Date: 16.11.92


Dr. (Mrs) T.R.RAYALU
MAJOR ADVISOR

CERTIFICATE


This is to certify that the thesis entitled **ECOLOGICAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN** submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HOMESCIENCE** of Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University, Hyderabad is a record of the bonafide research work carried out by **Ms.D.V.N.NALINI** under my guidance and supervision. The subject of the thesis has been approved by the Student's Advisory Committee.

No part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree or diploma or has been published. All assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by the author of the thesis.


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Nalini D.V.N

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DECLARATION

I, D.V.N. NALINI hereby declare that the thesis entitled ECOLOGICAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN submitted to Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University for the Degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HOMESCIENCE is a result of original research work done by me. It is further declared that the thesis or any part thereof has not been published earlier in any manner.

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ABSTRACT

Street children refer to those who have adopted the street as their abode or a source of livelihood, or both. The largest category of street children consists primarily of children engaged in street trade as shoe-blacks, vendors or ragpickers. They still have a home and most return to it at the end of the day. For the purpose of the present study children who are engaged in street trades but living with their families have been categorised as street children. The phenomenon of street children which has been growing at an alarming rate has several causative factors. The developmental consequences of being engaged in street activities are very disturbing. These factors could be deep-rooted and the consequences, on street children far-reaching.

The present study was formulated to find out the ecological and psycho-social profile of street children. Case study method, with the ecological approach to human development (as given by Bronfenbrenner) was used to view the phenomenon in totality and also to interpret the phenomenon from new dimension. The sample consisted of 9 children (9-12 years), three from each category - ragpickers, beggars and vagrants, chosen from 5 slums in Hyderabad city. Out of the 9 children, 5 were boys and 4 were girls. The tools and techniques used for data collection were interview schedule, Malin's Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC), Indian adaptation of Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS) and informal observations.

The data was presented in the form of case studies consisting of eco-maps, ecological and psycho-social profiles.

The present study revealed that the family background of street children was poor. The microsystem and macrosystem factors were prominent in initiating and sustaining the street activities. The microsystem and mesosystem factors were mostly responsible for negatively influencing the behaviour and development of street children. Street children had below average intelligence levels and average social maturity levels. Some street children aspired to take up parental occupations which included casual labour and vending while others hoped to seek employment as maidservants, helpers in hotels and so on. They expected food, clothing and financial assistance for their welfare.

Preventive and rehabilitative measures were suggested for the welfare of street children.

...

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ISIC	:	Intelligence Scale for Indian Children
VSMS	:	Vineland Social Maturity Scale
SHD	:	Self-help dressing
SHE	:	Self-help eating
SD	:	Self-direction
OCC	:	Occupation
LOC	:	Locomotion
COM	:	Communication
SOC	:	Socialisation
IQ	:	Intelligence Quotient
SQ	:	Social Quotient
SMC	:	Social Maturity Constellation
UBS	:	Urban Basic Services

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"His Name is Today"

We are guilty of many errors and
many faults,
but our worst crime is abandoning the
children,
neglecting the fountain of life.

Many of the things we need can wait.
The children cannot wait.

Right now is the time his bones are being
formed,
his blood is being made and his senses
are being developed.

To him we cannot answer, "Tomorrow".
His name is "Today".

Gabriela Mistral
(Nobel prize winning poet from Chile)

Children are a nation's important asset and the early years of childhood are the most significant for the development of intelligence, aptitudes and personality. Though family bonds are strong in India and parents love their children, yet a large number of them remain neglected. Today there are millions of children in the world who are forced to seek survival on the streets. According to Misra (1989) they are blossoms of innocence plucked off before they bloom into sunshine. They are often referred to as "Street urchins".

In developing countries where adequate education and organized recreational facilities are not available, visibility of young children on the streets is fairly high. This is true both of villages, city slums and unprivileged areas. Apart from

these, there are a sizeable number who are on the streets for the specific purpose of earning money for themselves and for their families.

1.1 DEFINITIONS

The term street children is applied to those who are engaged in multifarious activities on the streets of big towns and cities in almost all Third World countries. Most of the children found in the streets are those who run away from the home. They survive by begging money, selling newspapers etc. Some of them belong to broken families, others have very poor parents, so they have to struggle on their own.

For the purpose of a study, the Institute of Social Research and Development, Pakistan (Chaudhary 1990) described street children as "children who, for some reasons or the other, voluntarily or by compulsion from family, spend their time on the streets and are engaged in some economic activities that would supplement their families' income".

Street children refer to all the young girls and boys who have adopted the street as their abode or a source of livelihood, or both. Whether they maintain ties with their families or not, these children are inadequately protected, supervised and directed by responsible adults. Generally left on their own, they keep themselves alive - or help their families survive - by engaging in odd jobs such as scavenging, begging, vending and even prostitution (Balanon, Bravante, Moselina, 1988).

Shah (1990) divided street and working children into 3 categories :

- (a) Children without continuous family contact
- (b) Children with occasional family contact
- (c) Children with no family contact.

The major categories of street children (ICCW, 1989) are -

- (a) Children on the street : are the largest of categories and consists primarily of children engaged in a street trade like shoe blacks, ragpickers, vendors and coolies. These children still have a home and most return to their families at the end of each day.
- (b) Children of the street : are a group that have chosen the street as their home and it is there that they seek shelter, livelihood and companionship. They have occasional contacts with their families.
- (c) Abandoned children : are a group that are most vulnerable. These children have severed all ties with their families. They are entirely on their own not only for material survival but also for psychological survival.

For the purpose of present study, children who are engaged in street trades but living with their families have been categorised as street children. Such children live in unauthorized settlements and downtrodden slums of urban areas. Thus slum children engaged in such street activities as ragpicking and begging have also been recognised as street

children. Similarly vagrant children from very poor families spend a greater part of the day roaming aimlessly on the streets. These children can also be included as street children, by the virtue of the nature of experiences they face once on the street.

1.2 RISE IN THE PHENOMENON OF STREET CHILDREN

On account of poverty, growing urbanization and tendencies toward family disintegration, it is possible that the number of street children is increasing.

With increasing urbanization there has been a proliferation of slums and squatter areas. This was largely brought about by the influx of migrants from the rural areas in search of better opportunities in the cities, generally unskilled,,they would land in service-type jobs and earn so little that they could only afford to squeeze themselves into the growing slum colonies.

In 1981, slum dwellers accounted for 17.5% of the total urban population. This is the national average. In certain states like Bihar it was as high as 37.5%. In Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Kanpur, over one-third of the population will be living in slums. Around 40 million people in urban areas constituting 20% of the total urban population were found to be living below the official poverty line (Padmanabhan, 1992).

The slum communities have to grapple with poverty and hence their children often find themselves active participants in the survival of the family. It is these children who, for supplementing the family income, are on the streets - as

ragpickers, beggars, vendors and constitute the biggest category of street children.

Thus it is the phenomenon existent among urban poor population devoid of basic amenities. Very often these children belong to families who have migrated from rural areas, in search of better prospectus. Therefore it is debatable whether this aspect can be considered in isolation from the overall socio-economic problems of the urban poor. Paucity of social services and the economic compulsions of families draw these children to the streets, for apparently easy and lucrative earnings, but at the same time exposing them to numerous hazards and a way of life which may lead to deviant and problem behaviours as they grow.

If the participation of children in the economic survival of the family represents one facet of the urban slum scenario, the incidence of vagrancy among slum children represents the other. Although juvenile delinquency and vagrancy among minors are not exactly a recent phenomenon, they have gained increased prominence in the face of decreased school enrollment and rising school drop-out rates.

With the rise of urban population, deteriorating economic conditions of families and the resultant pressures on families to struggle to survive, it is not contrary to reason to assume that this phenomenon will continue to show an upward trend.

1.3 NEED FOR FOCUS ON STREET CHILDREN

The urgency for focus on street children can never be exaggerated or over-emphasized. Given the kind of family conditions prevalent in the homes of street children, it is beyond doubt that a street child is one who is maltreated and abused. It may be in terms of physical punishment, emotional neglect or lack of provision of opportunities for development, which may be intentional or unintentional, but nevertheless adversely affects the child and hampers his future as a productive member of society. Life on the street holds its own share of hardships which have an equally deleterious impact on the child's development. Thus there is an immediate need to intervene in their lives, not only to counteract these harmful influences but also to prepare the child for being a contributory member of society.

As of today, many studies have been conducted on child labour, but the phenomenon of street children, as a whole, has not drawn significant attention of researchers. This is particularly so, because until recently this phenomenon was not recognized as being existent. Even within street children, the focus has been only on a few groups like porters, hotel boys etc who are working and living on the streets itself (referred to as working street children). Such 'invisible' and 'hidden' groups as vagrant slum children, juvenile beggars etc have not been touched upon totally. The situation of girl-street children has also been totally neglected. Thus increased attention needs to

be focussed, by researchers, to fill the gaps and address themselves to all the issues concerning street children.

Another reason for calling attention is that these children work and live in callous conditions. The slums in which they live, lack such amenities as safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health care, schooling etc which are basic to survival and development of any individual to full potential. The nature of their activities on the street the habits they acquire and their lifestyles in general are debilitating to the children.

Violence figures centrally in a street child's life both at home and on the streets. It is most likely that they will also turn to crime under the influence of such an environment. Infact, the case reports of almost all delinquents admitted to institutions for correctional services reveal that they had led a life of vagrancy at sometime or the other. Therefore preventive measures need to be taken to ensure that the situation does not become uncontrollable for these children, in future.

In order to formulate effective welfare programmes (curative, preventive or rehabilitative) for street children it becomes imperative to conduct indepth studies to identify causative factors, understand the psychological condition and identify the needs of street children.

There are thousands of children who are on the streets for various reasons. It is beyond doubt that they are developing in

ways which are undesirable by any standards. They represent the poor quality of human resources potential that will unfold in the future. A large proportion of tomorrow's human resource is being allowed to wither away instead of being carefully harnessed and built for future progress. This has to be recognized and immediate action needs to be taken to retard the drain in potential manpower, even before it is ready to be tapped appropriately.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study was undertaken after having not only acknowledged the rising trend of the phenomenon of street children but also appreciating the immediate need to focus attention on this category. It has been widely observed that most street children are between 9-12 years of age. During this period, children are most sensitive and responsive to the environment in which they live. It is these childhood years which are likely to influence their development and mould their lives. Therefore this particular age group has been emphasized in the present study.

So far within research on street children, the focus has been on children who have left their homes. Unfortunately, what has eluded the attention of most researchers is the situation of children living in poor slums and engaged in hazardous street trades. It is this segment in the child population which will, in all probability, break away from the home if not intervened immediately by the persons concerned. The target of this research have been those street children who are living in the slums (with

support of family), with particular emphasis on those involved in such activities as begging and ragpicking. These two activities were chosen for two specific reasons -

- i. Most of the slum children widely engage in these activities and,
- ii. These activities fall outside the purview of what is accepted to be child labour, in the strictest sense of the word - i.e. with an employer and adult supervision.

This target group (of slum children) will serve to focus attention on family and community dynamics as likely factors which could ultimately prompt children to leave their homes to live on the streets.

If slum children do not enter the educational system (for reasons other than economic necessity or financial constraints), what would happen? They would roam around on the streets as vagrants and/or become juvenile delinquents. The threat of abuse and harassment faced by these vagrants and the kind of maladies afflicting their families also needs to be highlighted. This is because vagrancy is common in the initial phases of a street child's life.

Much has also been reported about the causes and psychological make-up of street children. What all these studies lack is in-depth investigation and that too, in settings of primary importance to the street child - the family, community and the street. Any research wherein the various aspects of the phenomenon are studied in isolation of each other, tend to

remain incomplete. When such studies are put together and viewed in relation to one another, wide gaps in data surface and frustrate any attempts at logical interpretation and thorough understanding of the phenomenon.

Therefore what is actually required is a broad framework within which the problem can be surveyed from manifold perspectives and simultaneously provide an opportunity to view it in totality. The theoretical framework which meets all such requirements and used for the purpose of this study is the Ecological Approach given by Urie Bronfenbrenner.

Taking all the above mentioned issues on street children into consideration and keeping in line with the spirit of the ecological perspective, this study titled, "Ecological and Psychosocial Profile of Street Children" has been formulated with the following objectives.

1.4.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

(a) **General objective:**

To study the ecological and psycho-social profile of street children.

(b) **Specific objectives:**

- i. To assess the family background of street children.
- ii. To study the ecological environment of street children and consequently construct an eco-map for each individual child.

iii. To assess the cognitive and social maturity characteristics of street children.

iv. To find out the future aspirations and expectations of street children.

1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

(a) **Street Child** : A street child was operationally defined as a boy or girl in the age group of 9-12 years living with his/her family in the slums and is either a

i. Ragpicker - a boy or a girl who collects rags, scrap etc as a main and continued activity on the street;

ii. Beggar - a boy or girl who resorts to seeking alms in any form ; or

iii. Vagrant-a boy or girl who neither attends school nor is engaged in any economically gainful activity but moves around aimlessly on the streets for major part of the day.

(b) **Family background** : Family background was operationally defined to include the caste to which the families originally belong, migration, composition of family, the education and occupation of family members.

(c) **Ecological Environment** : Ecological environment was operationally defined to include the activities performed by the child at home and on the street, the significant persons and, the relationship of the child with such persons and, factors influencing the child's development across the different systems (as given by Bronfenbrenner).

- (d) **Eco-map** : Ecomap was operationalized as the diagrammatic representation of the ecological environment.
- (e) **Psycho-social profile** : Psycho-social profile was operationally defined as the profile of development of the child with regard to cognitive abilities (given in terms of Intelligence Quotient) and social maturity aspects (given in terms of Social Age and Social Quotient).

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The present study views the emerging phenomenon of street children from a new perspective and adds a different dimension to it. It provides a wide but detailed picture of the life of street children - the circumstances leading to, and the implications of the phenomenon on these children. Therefore this study will offer a basis for professionals in the field to formulate feasible and practical programmes of intervention at various levels - the individual child, the family and the community. The target group for the study have been children living in slums who, given their family conditions, are likely to break away from their homes. Thus the relevance of the study becomes obvious, especially since preventive measures are emphasized to control the phenomenon, which is assuming alarming proportions. Based on this study, which throws light on the psychological make-up of these children, appropriate non-institutional approaches can be worked out for not only counteracting the "developmentally harmful" experiences of these children but also to mainstream

them into society. Thus it has practical and social policy implications.

Apart from this, the study also brings to the forefront previously unknown influences in a street child's life which can be further explored scientifically. It also enables new variables to be identified for further research and add to the much needed information on street children.

...

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

The present chapter provides the theoretical background on which the study is based. It deals with the important concepts and elements which constitutes the ecological perspective to human development as given by Bronfenbrenner:

In behavioural science, human development is a product of interaction between the growing human organism and its environment, expressed symbolically in Kurt Lewin's classic equation: $B = f(P,E)$ i.e. Behaviour (B) is a function of person (P) and environment (E) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Thus when an individual's behaviour deviates from the expected, it is customary to turn to the environment for explaining the phenomenon. Keeping this in view, as well as assuming that the presence of street children signifies a form of child maltreatment, the need to understand the street child's ecosystem becomes obvious.

The scientific perspective of ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive mutual accomodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between settings, and by the larger context in which the settings are embedded (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

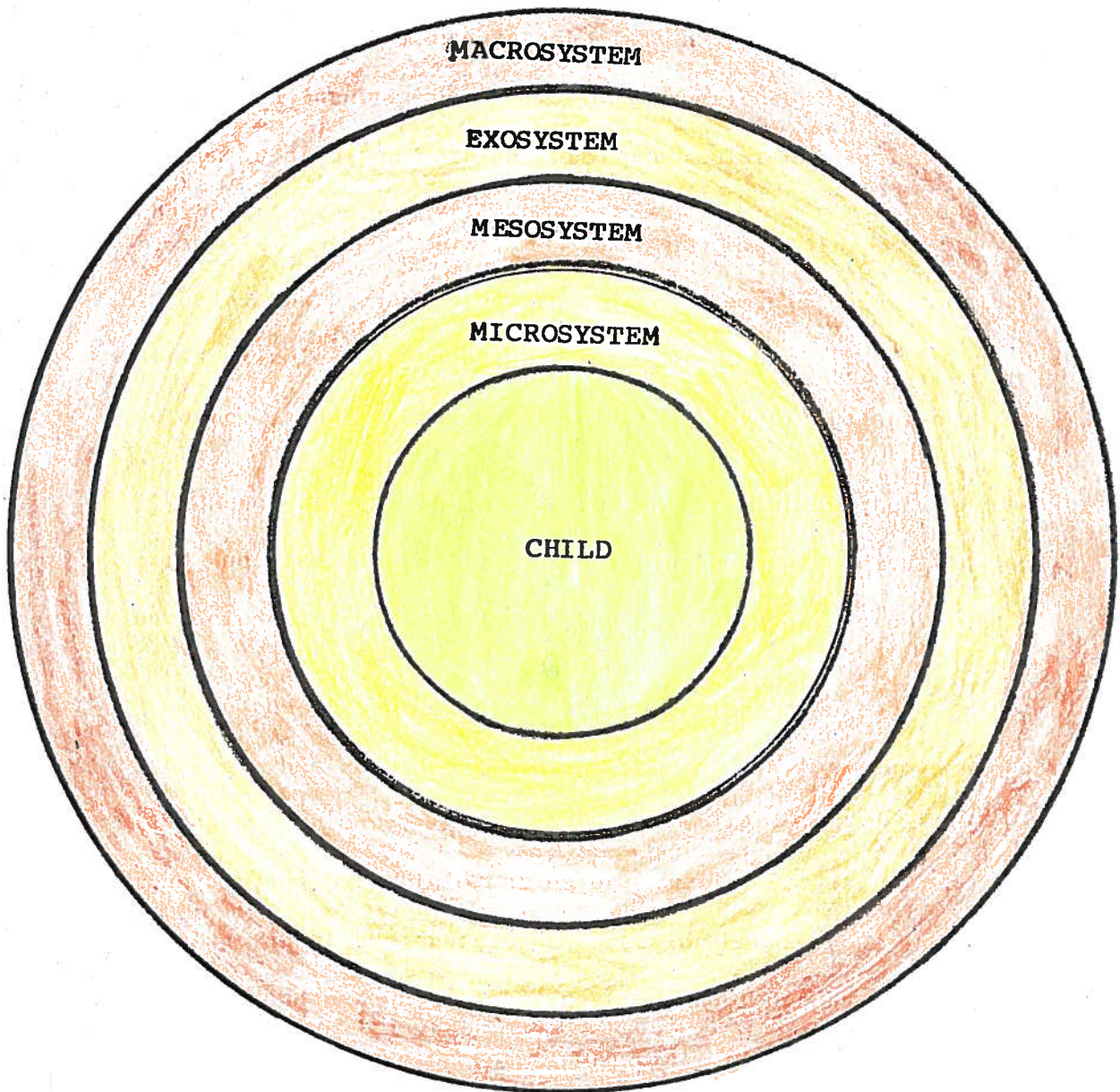


Fig.1 : Ecological environment

The ecological environment is conceived as a series of nested and interconnected structures, as given in the diagram (Fig. 1)

Microsystem:

It is a system immediately containing the developing person. The microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting, with particular physical and material characteristics.

In the present study the microsystem has been described in terms of roles played by street children, activities (at home and on street) and interpersonal relations (dyadic relations).

Mesosystem: It is a set of inter-relations between two or more settings in which the developing person becomes an active participant. A mesosystem is thus a system of microsystems.

In the present study, the inter-relations between 2 or more settings has been described in terms of the interconnections or linkages (primary, supplementary, multiply linked or weakly linked) and, the information or experience that exists in one setting about the other (inter-setting knowledge). The type of linkages and extent of inter-setting knowledge have an important bearing on the developmental potential of that setting.

Exosystem: It refers to one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in

which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing person.

Macrosystem: It refers to consistencies, in the form and content of lower-order systems (micro-, meso-, and exo-) that exist, or could exist, at the level of subculture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies.

Thus the understanding of human development demands more than the direct observations of behaviour on the part of one or two persons in the same place; it requires examination of multiperson systems of interaction not limited to a single setting and must take into account aspects of environment beyond the immediate situation containing the subject.

The other approaches/formulations to study human behaviour have two shortcomings—first they tend to overlook the impact of the non-social aspects of the environment like the nature of activities engaged in by the participants. Second and more crucial, they delimit the concept of environment to a single, immediate setting containing the subject, and seldom pay attention to the environmental events and conditions outside any immediate settings.

Therefore the study of street children from the ecological perspective can provide the best possible and overall insight into the determinants and the process of development and

behaviour. This is especially true when viewing street children as representing child abuse is justified.

The findings of the study have been analyzed from the ecological perspective and, consequently their implications for the development of street children has been highlighted.

...

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

CHAPTER III
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A comprehensive review of literature is essential for any good research endeavour as it provides background information to aid the investigator in designing and analysing research work. Literature directly or indirectly related to street children has been examined and presented under four broad headings.

- 3.1. Magnitude and demographic details of the phenomenon of street children.
- 3.2. Studies on street children.
- 3.3. Voluntary efforts and Government endeavours for the welfare of street children.

3.1 MAGNITUDE AND DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS:

There are conflicting estimates about the number of street children at the global and national level. UNICEF puts the number at 31 million street children in the World and 11 million in India. Some estimates place the national figure at one lakh (1,00,000) while other studies indicate that the number on Bombay's street alone would be that much. In Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta the number of street children is estimated to be between 50,000 and 1,00,000 each. In Bangalore and Madras, their numbers are estimated at over 35,000 and 25,000 respectively (Shroff, 1991). There are 51 lakh children who are either vagrant or involved in begging (Jayalakshmi, 1992).

3.2. STUDIES ON STREET CHILDREN:

UNICEF (1982) believes that certain basic factors accompany family loss; it is most usually not something that "happens overnight", but a gradual process or cycle which begins with rural-to-urban migration, frustration and deprivation (family abandonment) in city slums, the giving up and leaving of the father (mother abandonment), and the inability of the mother to cope economically or otherwise (child abandonment).

Balanon, Bravante, Moselina (1988) conducted situation studies in ten cities of Phillipines covering a total of 3,255 children who live on and off the streets. The findings from the consolidation of the 10 studies revealed that 1-3% of the child and youth population, was of street children, with more male than female street children. Children came from large families with 6-7 members and some as many as 9 to 12 siblings. 15-65% of their parents were separated. Majority of the children had some elementary schooling, but many dropped out, the reasons being economic difficulties and the need to work for augmenting family income. Many children spend 6-14 hours working on the streets daily, but earn little. The street gangs with which these children associate themselves provide not only companionship but also the means for learning street life. These children face a variety of hazards such as harassment, brutality, susceptibility to disease, physical injuries.

Apart from the breakdown of home and family a child takes to the streets for a variety of other factors, not the least of

which are the increasing pressures generated by developmental imbalances. At times the breakdown of the family is brought about by poverty, at others by an accident or sudden death causing removal of one or both parents or a drastic change in the family atmosphere the arrival of a step-parent, unbearable marital discord between parents (Misra, 1989).

Sondhi (1989); Subramanyam and Sondhi (1990) conducted a study on child porters in Delhi. The sample consisted of 46 migrant boys in the age range of 9-14 years. The study revealed that children had left their homes to escape from intolerable home situations. They had unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships with their family members especially the father of whom a majority of the boys were afraid, the reason being illtreatment and physical punishment. Most boys reported parental neglect which affects the emotional bond between the child and his parent. The breakdown of family relationships was aggravated by poverty, illtreatment by step-parents and also elder siblings.

Rao (1989) conducted a study in Vijayawada on 256 street children (230 male, 26 female) using a close-ended questionnaire. The study revealed that the mean age of the children was 10-12 years; a significant majority of them are migrants and had moved to Vijayawada to find some livelihood as against compulsive poverty at home. A majority of them never went to school while the rest discontinued at an early age. Most of them involved in ragpicking and a few indulged in begging and worked for 7-9 hours

a day to earn an average income of 5-10 rupees per day. Majority of them reportedly were deprived of parental love and affection and crave for protection and security. Most of them dream of becoming mechanics, getting government jobs or being self-employed. A majority of the children were confident of achieving what they intended for themselves in life while a few feel apprehensive about such achievements.

Panicker (1990) commenting on the abuse of street children points out that the cycle for the family is usually migration to the city, profound urban slum poverty and family disintegration beginning first with the abandonment of the family by the father. Subsequent consequences are the pressures on the deserted women, dependency of abandoned mothers on several male partnerships and the rejection of these mothers' children by the so called "step-fathers". Violence figures centrally in the lives of these children-at home and the streets. At home they are faced with physical violence but bear it since it is not socially permitted to strike back at parents. While on the street they are often nabbed and mercilessly thrashed by the police under charges of vagrancy, gambling, street brawls or other crimes they have not committed. In these circumstances the child becomes "street-wise" and hardened. Therefore, Panicker believes that if some of them grow up to be thugs or thieves, it is the adults who have to be blamed or it is they who have taught him/her violence.

According to UNESCO, UNICEF (ICCW, 1991) formal policies such as charging school fees, demanding such documents as birth

certificates and permanent addresses and requirements to wear school uniforms led to marginalisation of some children causing them to take to the streets.

Rapid industrialisation has accelerated the migration of thousands of families from rural areas to cities. These migrants increase the population of the urban poor, thus contributing to the ever growing number of slums and pavement dwellers. Due to socio-economic pressures, the children of the urban poor find themselves active participants in the survival of the whole family. If the family cannot hold together due to increasing stress within it, the children break away and seek survival by themselves on the street (Shroff 1991)

Pallipuram (1991) conducted a study on ragpickers of Bangalore and reported that a vast majority of ragpickers are run-aways from homes and keep practically no contact with their kith and kin. The findings of the study reveal that the children ran away because of quarrels at home, poor relationship with father (28% disliked their father more than anyone else in the family), parental neglect and poverty. The reasons cited by the children for taking up ragpicking include that no other job was available easy way to earn money as well as ensure to earn an income at the end of the day(24%), influence of companions(30%) and parents(4%).

Subramanyam (1991); Agarwal (1989) in a study on girl ragpickers of Delhi, brought out the stereotypic image of girls from a lower socioeconomic status families. The girls were

involved in domestic chores apart from working as ragpickers. Stating the gender differences in ragpicking they pointed out that male children travelled long distances to collect scrap whereas girls never ventured far away from houses. The boys go alone and work unescorted whereas girls were always in groups, to ensure personal safety. Girls are involved in household chores also. Ragpickers boys were often run aways while girls lived with families through they work on the streets. The girl ragpickers had no control over the money and it was used by the family while the boy ragpickers support themselves.

Aiyer (1992) reports that Deonar, probably India's largest garbage dump, provides a living sorts to more than 15,000 ragpickers, mostly women, teenagers and children aged between 5-15 years. Most come from huts and shanties nearby, but a few are from the lower middle-class families which are afflicted by elders who are unemployed, alcoholic, unlettered or whose marriages have broken up. Many children have never attended schools, while a few were forced to drop-out of school and take to ragpicking so that their families can survive. The children spend 10-12 hours picking rags at the dump. Their earnings are likely to average between Rs.10 and Rs.40 per day. Apart from disease, illness and debility, these children are harassed by municipal workers, police (who extort Rs.50 or 60 under some pretext or other) and "dadas" (who levy a 'hafta' on each child of about 10% of the daily earnings). These children end up at the municipal hospital for treatment every three or four months.

Madan (1992) reports that these children, mostly between the ages of 5 years and 12 years, are forced to leave their parents due to heart-breaking circumstances, lack of affection and peace at home, feeling of insecurity and not being wanted. They take up easy going jobs and make a living hand to mouth. Some of them are good and hard working while others are diverted in bad company of playing cards, gambling and smoking.

Similar observations have been made by Karkhanis (1992) who reports that many of these children (not necessarily abandoned or orphaned) are run aways from home. It may be due to harsh beatings from their parents, drunkard father ill-treating his children, poverty and starvation at home. They end up on pavements, picking rags in gutters or rubbish heaps or are ensnared by antisocials into vices. Cases of street children reported by Sravanthi (1992) also reveals that many of the children are run aways from poor, broken homes, to escape such intolerable situations as alcoholic father mercilessly beating his wife and children, and illtreatment by stepmothers. Many of them do not want to study but all of them aspire to do a good job or start a small business. Few of them indulge in drugs, alcohol, thievery and other bad habits.

The problem of street children arises from poverty, non-existent supportive social and economic structure to provide such children with opportunities for growth and development, fast pace of urbanisation and oppressive home environment (Padmanabhan, 1992).

Pinto (1992) states that many children find themselves in vulnerable conditions of not being able to count on adequate family protection. Some have "no family" at all and many more belong to a family that has been traumatized by disaster, poverty, family disintegration or other causes that it does not meet their basic needs. Still others are in neglectful or abusive families that they have become threats to, instead of protective of their welfare. He notes that sometimes family incapacity may be temporary (sudden catastrophies) or chronic (absolute poverty).

Analysis of studies on the situation of street children indicate major causes of this phenomenon as poverty in rural areas, family disintegration, school dropouts, and vagrancy. Families who struggle for livelihood in slums and deteriorating social environment in urban poor neighbourhoods also contributes to the growing number of street children and the increasing trend of delinquent children in the cities (UNICEF, 1992)

Rao and Mallick (1992) carried out a situational analysis of street children in Hyderabad. The sample consisted of 2306 children of which 1385 were boys and 921 were girls. The findings showed that majority of street children were in the age group 11-15 years and belonged to the general category (45.2%) rather than scheduled castes (35.8%) or scheduled tribes (19%). Their families consisted of 4-9 members. Parents belonged to very low income group and had migrated from some surrounding area in search of jobs. The basic needs of street children were met

partly by the parents, but physical growth was unsatisfactory. Most of the street children shared a loving relationship with siblings, neighbours were usually sympathetic and other children were friendly. In terms of personality traits, the street children were composed, submissive, social but suffered from a moderate degree of 'sense of inferiority'. They did not have facilities for cultural sports and recreational activities. Magority did not have an ambition in life. Some children felt the need for education and training in some craft to attain ambition. Their important needs were that of food shelter and clothing.

Nangia and Panicker (1992); Nangia (1989) in a study on working and street children of Delhi reported that a substantially large number of children were self employed in the form of vendors, newspaper hawkers, shoeblacks, ragpickers and so on. Their working hours had varied from 2-3 hours to 18 hours a day and earned meagre incomes. They were exposed to several job hazards as unhygienic atmosphere, accidents and skin diseases. They usually fell victim to bad habits. They were harassed by adults on the street.

D'Lima and Gosalia (1992) conducted situational analysis of street children in Bombay. The total sample of 2169 street children included 1544 boys and 625 girls. Regarding the street child with family, they made the following observations :- They belonged to migrant families, with poverty, unemployment and natural calamities being the reason for migration. These

children live in congested areas in dirty unhygienic conditions. Their fathers were self-employed as engaged in casual labour and mothers generally did household work, 90% belonged to low or very low income group. These children earn between Rs. 5-10 per day and give all their earnings to their mothers, thus there is no scope for saving. Street children with families are generally conditioned by their home life which makes its demands on them in terms of house hold work, looking after siblings, running errands, fetching water etc. The lives of these children are less mobile, more settled and supported by the family structure economically occupationally, physically and emotionally. The presence of family is an important source of security and support for the child despite the material deprivation.

The Social Welfare Directorate, Government of West Bengal, (Mukherjee, 1992) in its status report on street children states that on arrival on the street the immediate needs are food and shelter, and therefore many go for self-employment. They earn about Rs.400/- per month for working 8-10 hours in a day. The economic independence at an early age changes the entire life style of a child. Some keep the excess money they earn, after meeting their requirements for food with local shop keepers for commission. Others spend as much as possible because there is no place for them to keep and do not trust others for its safety. They watch movies, resort to smoking, gambling and even drugs.

Rao (1992) notes that there is lack of awareness among law-enforcing personnel that vagrancy will lead to delinquency. He identified the causes for juvenile vagrancy and delinquency as poverty and deprivation, unemployment and under employment; social alienation and a sense of cynicism towards political and economic institutions; rural-urban drift; extremism involving violence under the guise of religion; and unplanned development. More specifically he states the causes as being laziness and greed of poor and lower middle class parents who prefer to send their children for earning instead of for learning at school; lack of attention at home due to either the death of one or both the parents or due to busy and fast life of parents; and developing abnoxiousness or animosity towards the home due to either the immoral life (drinking and debauchery) of parents or their hypocrisy.

Gamma (1992) states that in Romania, street children are victims of an incoherent, irrational birth control policy (which forbids abortion for every Romanian woman who has not had four children), of massive movements of population during the large scale construction of peasant villages; and also of pauperisation and alcoholism, which is rampant and ruins the family life as well as of violence or of incestuous fathers. He notes that they had left their families, unable to stand such a miserable life. Many of these children have fled the countryside, where the lack of money and the lack of moral and affective education is more widespread than in big cities.

Chaudhary (1992) reported on the street children of Pakistan. He observed that majority of them belonged to poor rural migrant families or low middle class families who lived below or on the verge of poverty line. Many children had attended primary school but dropped out after 1-2 years. The families were cohesive and well-knit and most children returned home at the end of the day. Their activities on the street included vending cleaning and begging. Most of them had poor health looked sick, pale and emaciated. They suffered from fever, cough and skin problems.

The situation of street children in South Africa is rooted in Apartheid. Widespread black unemployment, the migrant labour system and the group Areas Act (which relegates black children and their parents to live in bare and impoverished Bantustans, also serve to increase the number of children living and working on the streets. The vast majority of these children (estimated one million street and working children in South Africa) is black. There are a few white street children but they are runaways from wealthy families more closely resembling street youth found in industrialised cities. (ESPERANZA, 1991)

3.3 WELFARE PROGRAMMES FOR STREET CHILDREN:

The phenomenon of street children is a global one and every developing country is faced with it. They are not only the victims of exploitation but also their growth is hampered by economic, psychological and social barriers. although the

situation is very serious there is nevertheless hope of seeing real change, provided efforts are initiated early. It is important to note that the lives and situations of these children could defy our traditional responses to destitute and abandoned children. The need is to respond with innovative approaches to tackle the rapidly growing problem of street children. The intervention for street children has to be planned at two levels (Shroff, 1991):-

- (A) Children already living on the streets have to be served and helped so that they have adequate access to the minimum basic services considered necessary for their healthy growth and development.
- (B) Families which are economically and socially vulnerable tend to aggravate the problem. Assistance must be provided to such "at-risk" families or else they are likely to fall apart and consequently lead to destitution among children. Therefore, the aspect of prevention must be emphasised.

3.3.1 Voluntary efforts for the welfare of Street Children:

In India as in various developing countries the first ones to respond to the problems of street children, have been the Non-Governmental Organizations. Based on concrete experience over the past several years, the Non-Governmental Organisations have evolved newer methodologies of intervention. Three innovative

models of intervention based on successful strategies evolved by Non-Governmental Organisations in the field are:-

- * Community based contact programme
- * Night Shelter/Day and Night shelter
- * Group Home

A. Community based contact programmes:

This model based on the experience of "Vatsalya-A Project for Street Children", Bombay. The main objectives of a contact programme are:-

- (i) To provide professional social work intervention.
- (ii) To create awareness among them about their life and work situation and stimulate in them the motivation to help themselves.
- (iii) To enable them to have an access to various basic services like education, health care, vocational training, employment, recreation and counselling for their growth and development.
- (iv) To enable them to improve their self image and self-esteem by meeting their emotional needs for love and acceptance.

In order to penetrate the world of street child the workers develop an "outreach programme" to contact the children, living and working on the streets. This is done through a contact centre established not too far from the place of their stay. Services of a contact centre include:-

- i. Street contacts to build relationships
- ii. Identity cards to be issued jointly by the Non-Governmental Organisations forum and the Police Department to ensure security to the child.
- iii. Health care
- iv. Recreational and cultural activities
- v. Facility for toilet, bath and lockers
- vi. Non-formal education or holiday school for working children
- vii. Facility to save money, either in the centre's piggy banks or in a bank account
- viii. Awareness on health and hygiene, nutrition, drug abuse and family life education
- ix. Educational visits and camps
- x. Establishing contacts with the families of the children
- xi. Assistance in the formation of co-operatives in the sale of waste material collected by street children for recycling.
- xii. Vocational training
- xiii. Organising children themselves, to voice their plight and demand rights for their own growth and development.

B. Night Shelter/Day and Night Shelter:

Night shelters, and day and night shelters are based on an open-house approach, where the children organize their own activities with freedom and self-respect. This approach is much desired as these children have a

strong need for independence, group loyalty and group associations. These shelters also have several other advantages and serve many purposes. They could become an extension of the contact centres, serve as point of entry for the street child who may gradually get oriented towards the centre and its activities, introduce them to a structured and disciplined life through constructive group living experience, thus preparing them for the mainstreaming.

C. Group Home:

Group home is a place where "house parents" perform the role of parents. This type of residential care is particularly useful in the case of the very young street children without family support. "Sneha Sadan" in Bombay and "SOS Villages" in many parts of the country have successfully evolved effective group home programmes.

D. Work with families and communities:

The families and communities have to fully participate in the efforts to prevent the children of the slums from becoming children of the street.

The focus should be on:-

- i. Generating public participation and developing non-institutional programmes to strengthen their family life.

- ii. Work with community leaders to generate self effort for upgrading the quality of life by getting more civil amenities.
- iii. Work with women's associations to build the potential of women, strengthening the family life and preventing family breakdown.
- iv. Family counselling
- v. Educational sponsorship to keep the child in school and within the family
- vi. Adoption to give destitute child a family
- vii. Day foster care for the children of working mothers
- viii. Foster care for families in crisis situations and single-parent children

E. The Experience of Co-ordination among Non-Governmental Organisations in India:-

Non-Governmental Organisations forums have been established in 12 cities in India with about 50 organisations directly working with children. In some cities Non-Governmental Organisation forums have come together with civic bodies, Government Departments and public bodies to formulate City Level Action Committees and State Level Task Forces. A National Non-Governmental Organisation forum for street children and working children has been formed in 1988 with the objectives (Shroff, 1991)

- i. to promote more forums at regional and city level
- ii. to share, promote and strengthen the activities of the constituent members, and
- iii. to promote collective action on certain issues

In some cities in India, the Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW), a non-profit voluntary organisation conducts, in some cases in coordination with local bodies (like in Bangalore, Delhi), welfare programmes for street children. The activities some of which have also been recommended by Nangia and Panicker (1992) include:-

- i. Education: Non-formal education through evening classes
- ii. Vocational training
- iii. Health camps to help sick and suffering children
- iv. Recreational and cultural activities: games and sports, celebration of festivals, field trips, picnics etc.
- v. Encouraging small savings
- vi. Night Shelters
- vii. Outreach programmes-to reach out to maximum number of children on the streets

3.3.2 Government endeavours for the Welfare of street children:

The focus of action by the Government has so far been to provide grant-in-aid to voluntary organisations working in the field of child welfare ("children in need of care and protection")

The Ministry of Welfare (Social Defence) although does not directly concern/address itself to street delinquent and vagrant children under Juvenile Welfare.

In an endeavour to see that juvenile vagrancy and delinquency is eliminated, the Government formulated the Juvenile Justice Act - 1986 (J.J. Act - 1986). The J.J. Act has the following provisions (Rao 1992).

- i. It provides for the care, protection, treatment, development and rehabilitation of neglected or delinquent juveniles.
- ii. Male juveniles upto 16 years and female juveniles upto 18 years who are either vagrant and or delinquent are to be apprehended by police or probation officers and are sent to the nearest observation homes, after being produced before Juvenile Boards (in case of vagrants) or Juvenile courts (in case of delinquents)
- iii. The first preference of these Boards or Courts is to hand over the juveniles to their parents/guardians and only in case where it is neither possible nor advisable, they should be admitted to Juvenile Homes (vagrants) and special homes (for delinquents).
- iv. The juveniles are kept in the homes till the proceedings of the Board or court are complete, or till they attain the age of 16 years (males) and 18 years (females) during which they are provided with educational and

vocational training facilities in addition to shelter food, clothing, medical and recreational facilities.

- v. The Act also provides for After Care Homes for those who need help for some more time (6 months to 1 year) before they are rehabilitated in the society.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh operates successfully a scheme called, "Scheme for the Prevention of Vagrancy and juvenile beggary" under the purview of Directorate of Juvenile Welfare, but implemented through Child Guidance Bureau. The scheme involves the identification of vagrant children in the urban slums and providing educational as well as vocational training facilities.

According to Bose (Padmanabhan 1992) street children are not recognised in the Plans as a separate target group. They are under the category of "Children in need of care and protection". But in the Eighth Plan, for the first time, a programme for welfare and development of street children through grants to voluntary organisations has been given a separate identity and a separate budget provision made. Bose suggests that one way of dealing with street children could be to include them in the National Policy of child labour, and another approach could be to have a separate policy and plan of action for them.

Many professionals working in the field have made several recommendations for effective planning and implementation of

welfare programmes for street children, many of which are reflected in those made by UNICEF.

UNICEF (Pinto 1992) emphasizes the following working principles:-

1. Prevention should be considered top priority, thereby reducing the likelihood of destitution, exploitation and risk.
2. Protection against threats to children in conflicts and disasters and also due to abandonment, neglect and exploitation.
3. Encourage actions within the family and community rather than advocate the institutional approach.
4. Regard the child as a "whole" person, paying special attention to his/her needs.
5. Extend, strengthen and improve existing services (UBS, primary health care, non-formal education, vocational training and women's programmes).
6. Initiate new community based and self-sustaining services
7. Public awareness to the hardships faced by children should be increased through the mass media (broadcast and non-broadcast modes)
8. Serious efforts are needed to ensure that existing sectoral government programmes reach out to children.
9. Non-Governmental Organisations who have an effective rapport with these children and are often equipped with necessary (though limited)resources, should be supported by the welfare

departments to strengthen their programmes and to extend coverage.

10. The quality of services in child care institutions should be regularly reviewed and improved.

It was clear from the literature cited above that research on the phenomenon of street children was inadequate and incomplete in several aspects. Similarly, review of the welfare programmes showed that more emphasis was being placed on rehabilitative rather than on preventive measures. The present study was intended to throw further light on this subject.

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MATERIALS AND METHODS

CHAPTER IV
MATERIALS AND METHODS

This chapter deals with methods and techniques followed in the study. For the sake of clarity, it is presented under the following sub-heads -

- 4.1. Research design
- 4.2. Sampling procedures
- 4.3. Selection and formulation of research tools
- 4.4. Collection of data
- 4.5. Analysis of data.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN:

The Case-Study method was used in the present study. Case study is defined as a method of exploring and analysing the life of a social unit be that a person, a family, an institution, cultural group or even entire community (Reddy, Praveena, 1985). Case study is often termed a method, a technique, an approach to a social reality, and a mode of organising data in terms of some chosen units. It deepens our perception and gives a clear insight into life and is sometimes useful to support a belief or advance a new interpretation. It provides clues and ideas for further research (Sharma, Prasad, Satyanarayana, 1983).

4.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURES:

As street children mostly reside in the slums of urban areas, it was decided to select urban slums for conducting the study.

Thus sampling procedures followed in this study can be classified into -

4.2.1. Selection of slums

4.2.2. Selection of subjects.

4.2.1 Selection of Slums:

A survey was conducted by the investigator, in Hyderabad (A.P.) city, to locate the slums in which street children resided in large numbers. Based on this survey 5 slums were chosen.

4.2.2 Selection of Subjects:

In case study, cases are not selected according to some scientific technique of sampling although an attempt is made to select representative unit as possible (Reddy, Praveena, 1985). Typicalness of the cases is important (Sharma, Prasad, Satyanarayana, 1983). Accordingly the subjects chosen for this study belonged to the following 3 categories of street children.

a) Ragpickers

b) Beggars

c) Vagrant slum children.

In each slum, the names of children, in the age group 9-12 years and, belonging to any of the 3 above mentioned categories, were listed separately. After initial interaction with all the children, 3 subjects from each category (totally making a sample of nine) were finally chosen purposively.

Apart from the nine subjects, two children in each slum were also initially included. Thus the number of children was more than the required number, foreseeing drop-out during the course of investigation.

The distribution of subjects in different slums is given below in the table 1-

Table 1 : Slum-wise distribution of sample.

S.No.	Name of Slum/Area	Ragpickers	Beggars	Vagrants
1	Chintalabasti	1	1	-
2	Nirankarnagar	1	2	-
3	Indira Park	1	-	-
4	Domalguda	-	-	1
5	Bandamaisamma	-	-	2
Total (9)		3	3	3

Reasons for small sample

Within the limited time and resources at the disposal of the investigator, the study had to be conducted on a small sample (9) for the following specific reasons -

- i) First, case study method followed for the investigation required detailed reporting on several aspects of the subjects under study. To enable this, it was necessary to

establish good rapport, obtain the confidence and interact closely, for over several prolonged sessions, with the subject as well as other significant people in the slum community. This was a time-consuming exercise, possible only with a small sample.

- ii) Secondly, the ecological approach to this study necessitated that, apart from intense interactions, constant probing be done to elicit significant responses from the subjects and others in the slum community. This could provide vital 'links' in the data for correct interpretation of the occurrences in their environment. Keen observations were also needed to be made in different situations, over a period of time. This was essential not only to get a better insight into the environment in which the subjects lived, worked and developed, but also to substantiate the information obtained orally. Such deep involvement of the investigator in the subject's environment, to do justice to the approach adopted in the study, was possible only with a small, limited sample.

4.3 SELECTION AND FORMULATION OF RESEARCH TOOLS:

The following tools and techniques were used for collecting case data -

- 4.3.1 Interview schedule
- 4.3.2. Malin's Intelligence Scale for Indian children (ISIC).
- 4.3.3. Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS).
- 4.3.4. Observation.

4.3.1 Interview schedule:

The interview schedule, constructed for the purpose of this study, formed the broad framework for collecting data regarding the socio-economic background of family, activities of the subjects at home and on the street, ecological environment, aspirations and expectations etc. Most of the questions required either 'yes' or 'no' responses or choosing from the alternatives provided, while the rest were open-ended questions. The interview schedule was pre-tested on a small sample, which was not included in the final sample. The pretest, as a preliminary exercise, was done both to test the effectiveness of the questions in the schedule as also the handling of the situation by the investigator. It was a very good exercise which revealed some of the limitations of the questions, the need for clarifying concepts and the kind of approach called for from the investigator. It was decided that separate notings be made of interesting facts concerning the lives of the children even if the interview schedule did not contain such references.

4.3.2 Malin's Intelligence Scale for Indian Children:

(a) Description of the test:

Malin's Intelligence Scale for Indian children (ISIC), constructed on the model of the popular American test, namely, Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) is suitable for 6-15 years old children. It embraces all the advantages of the original scale along with several improvements. ISIC comprises

of eleven sub-tests grouped into a verbal and a performance scale.

Verbal tests	Performance tests
1. Information	1. Picture completion
2. Comprehension	2. Block Design
3. Arithmetic	3. Object Assembly
4. Similarities	4. Coding
5. Vocabulary	5. Mazes
6. Digit span	

(b) Reliability and validity of the test:

It provides a Verbal I.Q, a Performance I.Q and a Full Scale I.Q. The Indian adaptation established its reliability with the Test-Retest method and yielded a Pearson's Product Moment correlation coefficient of 0.92 for the full scale I.Q results. Similarly, the Concurrent (0.61) as well as Congruent (0.63) validity have also been established.

(c) Rationale for selection of the test:

The ISIC has been selected for the study for 2 reasons-
 (i) it is a standardized Indian test suitable for the age group of the subjects in this study. (ii) the test uses both the verbal and performance group of item to assess I.Q,(which is best suited for this group of children) rather than those tests which are based on other methods for testing I.Q.

(d) Administration and scoring of the test:

The test was administered to the subjects in Telugu. All the instructions regarding the administration and scoring of test items was adhered to strictly. The vocabulary test in the verbal group had been dropped and the Digit Span was administered as an alternative, since the verbal group has an alternative in digit span test in case of spoilage or when regional vernacular test drops the vocabulary test in the upper age levels (Malin).

While scoring, pro-rating was done as per the instructions given in the manual.

4.3.3 Vineland Social Maturity Scale

(Indian adaptation by Dr.A.J.Malin).

(a) Rationale for selection of the test:

The Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS) has been selected for use in the study because of its suitability to the age-group of the subjects, easy administration and wide usage for measuring this aspect of development.

(b) Description of the test:

VSMS measures the differential social capacities of an individual. It provides an estimate of Social Age and Social Quotient, and shows high correlation (0.80) with intelligence. It is designed to measure social maturation in eight social areas : self-help general (SHG), self-help eating (SHE), self-help

dressing (SHD), self-direction (SD), occupation (OCC), communication (COM), locomotion (LOC) and socialization (SOC).

The test, applicable upto 15 year-old children, has 89 test-items grouped into year levels. The information on VSMS test items (marked either as passed or failed) is collected by direct observation of the child's abilities and supplemented by interviewing the mother (Arya, 1981).

4.3.4 Observation:

Observations which were made regarding the street children's lives supplemented the data collected through the interview schedules. During the personal interviews, the investigator had ample opportunity to observe the interaction of these children with their family members, peers, neighbours and so on. Observations were also made of the people, the prevailing conditions and events occurring in different settings. Sometimes these occurrences seemed unrelated to the respondent child then, but later served to provide new insights for explaining and interpreting the child's development within his/her environment.

Apart from the details obtained from the interview schedule, observations made by the investigator, as well as the information reported by the people in the slum were taken into account. These formed the basis for the construction of the eco-maps.

4.4 COLLECTION OF DATA:

The investigator approached the adult members of the slums and convinced them of the purpose and usefulness of the study. In spite of this, most of them were initially hesitant to reveal details of the children in the slums, to an outsider. They thought that the investigator was enquiring about the children with the intention of kidnapping and selling them or for indicting them under charges of thievery etc. Such apprehensions were overcome and confidence was slowly built, once the investigator made several visits to the slums. They reported later, that such incidents were common occurrences, which made it necessary for the slum dwellers to be cautious and suspicious of outsiders enquiring about slum children. Once they were convinced, the investigator was permitted to interview the children. Later they also responded enthusiastically to queries.

The time spent on data collection was 2 months.

It is necessary to understand the atmosphere and setting in which the interviews were conducted. In all the slums, there was no proper place where conversation could be carried on. The housing conditions were very bad and the surroundings unhygienic and unsanitary. In such a situation, interviews were carried on either under a tree, or a dry narrow passage between two 'shanties' so that it could proceed undisturbed. In spite of this, the atmosphere was often charged with movement - women

going about their work, very young children curiously looking on, and in one particular slum the constant noise of vehicular traffic.

It had to be an informal chat, so that the subjects could freely narrate their experiences without inhibition. Often further probing became necessary whenever the subjects were hesitant to reveal something or when they were afraid of talking in the presence of curious adults. The parents, neighbours, peers, siblings, were also interviewed to either confirm or supplement the data.

The information provided by the subjects during the interview was noted at the end of each session. The standardized tests (ISIC and VSMS) were administered during the last phase of data collection, so that the subjects felt free, and not anxious, to respond to test items. They were extremely interested in ISIC as the items in the performance group were new and something which they did not have the opportunity to handle.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF DATA:

The information of each individual subject was processed through qualitative analysis and elucidation was provided to make the key points clear in the cases. Case data has been presented in the form of case studies and eco-maps for each individual child.

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The data has been analysed using non-parametric statistical procedures. Frequency distributions were computed for the data obtained from interview schedule. Frequency distribution, and means were calculated for IQ and SQ scores, obtained from administering the ISIC and VSMS tests.

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CHAPTER - V

CASE PRESENTATIONS

In the present chapter, individual cases have been presented. Each of the nine case presentations contains the following sections -

1. Case: Relevant details about the individual street child have been presented briefly in this sub-section.
2. Eco-map and Ecological Profile: The primary purpose of ecological experiment is identification of systems properties and processes that affect and are affected by the behaviour and development of human beings (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Accordingly, the case data was analyzed to identify the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystem factors affecting street child's behaviour and development. These factors have been illustrated through the eco-map and, briefly explained to present an ecological profile.
3. Psycho-social Profile: In this sub-section, scores obtained by each street child on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC) and Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS), have been illustrated, followed by description of the child's intelligence and social maturity.
4. Discussion of the case: The most important points arising out of the case have been discussed and, the prominent eco-systems of the case have been analysed in this subsection.

CASE - I

New to the game! THE 11-year old ragpicker

At the time of this study, Yadamma was new to Hyderabad. Her family had migrated from Vicarabad , where like hundreds of families in rural areas, her family too had depended on agriculture for survival. Although belonging to a community of "Voddari" (stone-grinder makers), the family didnot practice the profession. Instead they worked as agricultural labourers for earning a livelihood, and made stone-grinders when they went out of work as agricultural labourers.

When her parents went to work in the fields, Yadamma did the work at home. She did all the cooking, cleaning and for most part of the day looked after her younger siblings. Yadamma and her siblings were always under the supervision of her grandmother or other relatives who lived close-by. Due to her involvement in household chores, Yadamma did not have the opportunity to attend school; neither did her illiterate parents think it necessary for girls to be educated.

The income which her parents earned was, obviously, not sufficient to maintain a family of 7 members. To add to it, work was not always available. The stone-grinders too, did not fetch enough money to help them tide over their problems. Thus the family was heavily weighed down by poverty and sometimes unemployment. Then, like several other families, unable to withstand the consequences of poverty, the family migrated to

Hyderabad, 3 months ago (January, 1992) in search of better prospects in the city.

After they came to the city, the family moved from one slum to the other, where many others from their community lived. But they found it difficult to adjust in the already over-crowded slums. Finally they settled in the Indira Park slum, three weeks before the study was initiated.

The slum, in which the family has settled, is located adjacent to a bus-stop, on the main road. Majority of the occupants belong to the same "Voddari" community. Basic civic amenities are lacking in the congested slum. The huts are precariously structured. The living conditions are dirty and unhygienic. The slum dwellers wash clothes, clean their utensils, bathe children and discard waste within the slum premises, thus making the area a breeding place for flies and mosquitoes. These unsanitary conditions often make children ill.

Neither Yamma nor her parents were prepared for this and for more that was to come. They realized that life was easier in the villages - among familiar people and surroundings, than in harsh cities. Earning a livelihood became difficult.

Yamma's father works at a stone-quarry and as a casual labourer on construction sites. When there is work at hand, he brings home Rs.40/- daily. Since the children cannot be left alone in the house, amidst unfamiliar surroundings, Yamma's mother does not go to work along with her husband. Instead, she

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makes stone-grinders along with the others in the slum. As the eldest sibling, Yadamma too finds herself a necessary participant in the survival of the family - by picking rags.

Moving out of the home and earning was not something which Yadamma had contemplated when she was in the village. She was used to being at home, amidst secure surroundings, even if she had to work hard at the household chores. She neither expected nor was prepared for entering amidst the harsh world of the streets. But it was inevitable in the present living conditions.

Yadamma started picking rags only after coming to Hyderabad. She had learnt it from the other children in the slum where, the older boys made stone-grinders while the younger ones went to pick up rags. But why ragpicking? Why not something else? As an answer to this, the mother expressed her helplessness. She cannot go out and work leaving the children like she used to earlier in the village. Although she wished to send Yadamma to work as a housemaid, she could not find an employer. "Whom to approach for work in this big city", she asks and feels that Yadamma cannot properly handle household work, alone. "She keeps dropping utensils, sometimes does things in a mess. It is alright in our own home, but elsewhere who would allow it", the mother reasons out was.

Yadamma leaves home every morning to pick rags. She collects bottles, plastic bags, metal scrap etc. lying on the pavements, roads, from stinking garbage bins and piles of rotten rubbish. She doesnot travel too far away from home, otherwise

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HYD I

she may lose her way. She is also afraid that "someone may do something" to her. Sometimes either her 9 year-old sister or her neighbour and only friend Thayamma, accompanies her. She earns Rs.8-10/-per day from selling rags. "Sometimes the rag dealers gives me less money for the same amount of rags" she complained and said that she would not dare to question him. She gives all the money to her mother. Apart from the dirt and stench of the garbage, Yadamma has to cope with many experiences. The weather for one- her feet burn when she goes barefoot to pick rags. Sometimes if a piece of broken glass cuts through her foot, at other times it is the thorns which pierce her fingers when she digs through the garbage.

She is frequently harassed and chased by "big boys". One such incident had frightened Yadamma so much that she had refused to go ragpicking again. The parents had become concerned and more cautious. One sunday as usual when she was out picking rags, a middle-aged man followed her for sometime and gradually approached and asked her "something which was not clear". She got scared, avoided him for a while and finally, unable to get rid of him ran away to her house. She could not seek anybody's help, since the road was deserted on the sunday morning. When she narrated this to her mother, the parents had decided not to send her for ragpicking anymore and would manage with whatever the father earned. But Yadamma was back again on the streets - exactly 3 days after the incident.

Toiling for augmenting the family's income doesnot relieve Yamma of household chores. She just assists her mother in cooking, but does all the other work herself (sometimes with the help of her sister). After she returns from ragpicking late in the afternoon, she washes utensils, clothes, sweeps the hut, collects firewood (sometimes while ragpicking itself), fetches water from a handpump in a nearby residential colony, run errands every day and when free, takes care of the youngest sibling (leaving the mother fully free to work). All these chores, in addition to the strenous job of ragpicking,leave Yamma tired and weak.

Recreation and relaxation are something which the girl is not familiar with. What does she do in the free time, in the evenings?. "Play marbles with my friend, otherwise simply carry my youngest sister around the slum",she answers in a matter-of-fact way. Neither the parents go to the cinema nor do they allow her to go with the neighbours. Many children in the slum watch television at a nearby place, but Yamma's mother doesnot allow her.

The question of saving doesnot arise either, she doesnot have any money to save and even if she did, wouldnot know where to keep it safely so that the money did not fall into the hands of her mother or sisters. Therefore, with the 20 paise or 25 paise which her mother occassionally gives, she buys eatables for herself. Her friend Thayamma is addicted to "paan", "zarda" etc

which is common among ragpicker children; but Yamma does not have any such bad habits.

As though the travails she undergoes on the street are not sufficient to strain her psychologically, Yamma has to confront tense moments within the family and the slum. Her mother scolds and beats her whenever she doesnot "do the work properly". So does her father, with whom she doesnot interact much because she is afraid of him. Sometimes he scolds when he comes late from work. Being the eldest child she cannot complain to her mother, but bear it silently whenever her siblings hit her. They snatch away her belongings - bangles, ear-rings, pencils, beads which she may collect during ragpicking. They always complain to the mother about "insignificant things" who inturn reprimands Yamma for being troublesome.

Apart from the family members, the other children in the slum also pick up fights with Yamma, "over small things". She doesnot like the boys in the slum because they tease her, talk "bad things about girls" and many of them smoke. The only person whom she likes is her dominating friend Thayamma, who realises that Yamma is meek and submissive, supports her during arguments with siblings and other slum children.

Frequently there are serious fights within the slum-dwellers, or outsiders come and attack some members of this slum, due to rivalries. Apart from this, drunkard husbands beating wives is a common occurrence. Children also happen to be silent witnesses to such incidents.

Yadamma is unsure about what she will do after she grows up. She thinks that like her mother, she will have to make stone-grinders. She does not want to go to school, because her parents would not send her anywhere. Child marriages are prevalent in the community. Yadamma's mother expressed the wish to get her married within a year and after that, "whether her in-laws want her to make stone-grinders or not is their wish".

ELUCIDATION

1. Newly migrated to Hyderabad city from Vicarabad district due to poverty and unemployment.
2. Does ragpicking due to economic necessity; earns Rs.10/- per day which she gives to her mother.
3. Has to perform household chores apart from ragpicking, which becomes strenuous and tiring.
4. Illiterate; did not have the opportunity to attend school.
5. Spends away all money given to her since there is no facility to save; does not have bad habits.
6. Abused at home and harassed on the streets.
7. Is submissive, meek, and frightened amidst the new and unfamiliar city life.
8. Likely to get married within a year, since child marriages are common in the community.
9. Unsure about own future, expectations and aspirations.

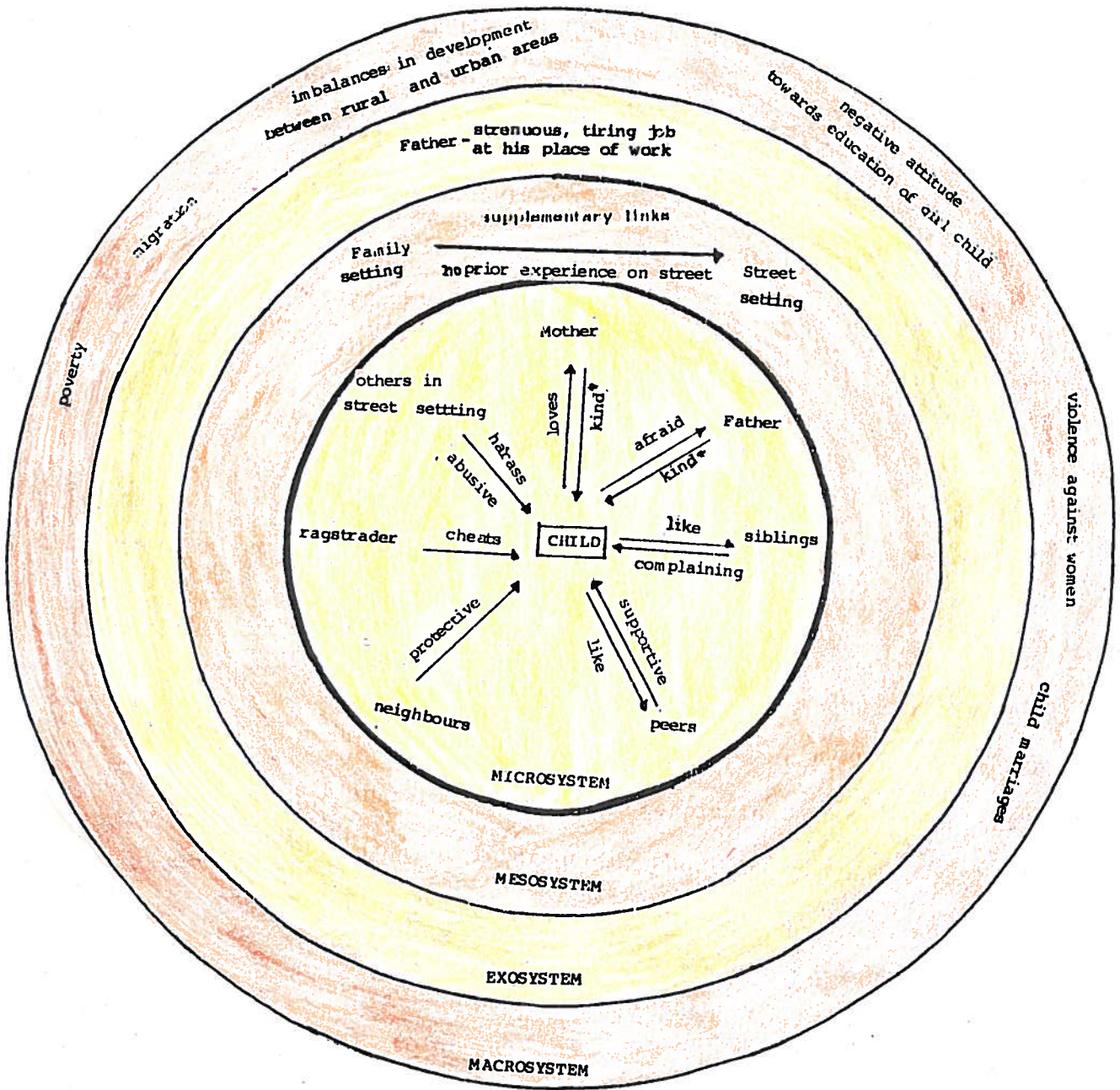


Fig.2: ECO-MAP - 1

Note: Maintaining ecological validity (↔) indicates the child's perception although the investigator's observation showed that the child was often ill-treated.

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceeding case description and the eco-map, the following is the profile of ecological environment ;

Microsystem:

- * Plays the role of earner (since active participant in economic survival of family).
- * Activities engaged in are household chores (family setting), ragpicking and selling rags (street setting) playing or leisure activities (slum setting), no harmful habits.
- * Interpersonal relations range between mutually positive (in family setting) to mostly negative and abusive (in street and slum setting).

Mesosystem

- * Prominent inter-relationship is between street and family setting. Both linked by supplementary links since sometimes siblings also resort to ragpicking. Development is affected due to poor intersetting knowledge and no prior knowledge about street life.
- * Occurance of setting transition - first due to migration (rural to urban); second, change in activities at home to street activity. The consequence was change in role. Both aspects have adversely affected development in Yadamma.

Exosystem

- * Hard manual labour which characterizes father's job make him to become tired and irritated and thereby ill-treat family members in frustration.

Macrosystem:

- * Imbalances in development caused poverty and migration.
- * Migration triggered the change in settings, while poverty manifested in poor living conditions and financial status and thereby role expectation (of participation in economic survival).
- * Child marriage, violence against women, negative attitudes serve to further affect development in future.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE

A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)

Chronological age	:	11 years 3 months
Verbal I.Q	:	69.0
Performance I.Q	:	74.3
Total I.Q	:	71.7

An I.Q. of 71.7 indicated that Yadamma was below average in intelligence. She had higher performance I.Q scores than Verbal I.Q. scores.

Figure (3) shows that Yadamma performed better in Arithmetic, Block design and Mazes than in Information, Comprehension and Picture completion.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	:	11 years 3 months
Social age	:	126 months
Social quotient	:	91.1

An S.Q. of 91.1 indicated that Yadamma was average in social maturity.

Figure (4) indicates that Yadamma was average or above average in major social areas of self-direction, occupation, communication socialization and self-help eating and self-help dressing.

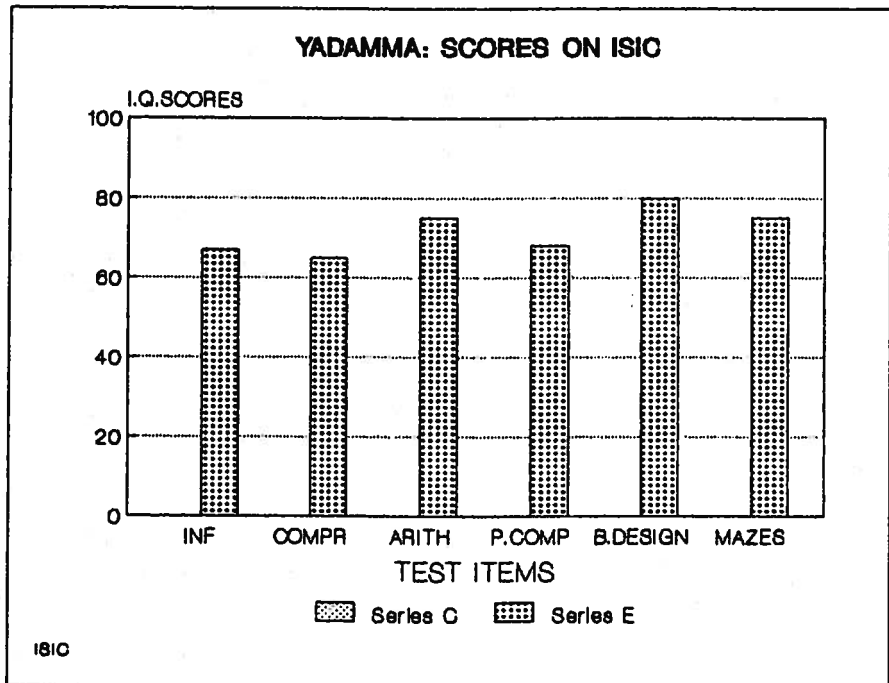


Fig. 3: Scores on ISIC - Case 1

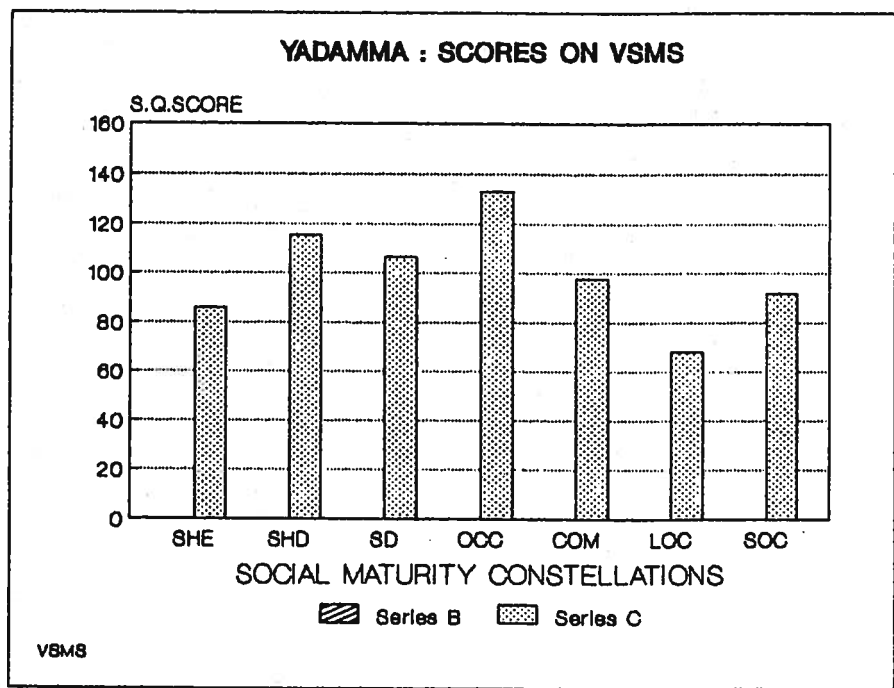


Fig. 4: Scores on VSMS - Case 1

DISCUSSION OF CASE-I

Yadamma's case presents a typical example of the process by which children of migrant families get forced into such street trades as ragpicking, and how they come to acquire certain features which characterize street children.

From development point of view, the factor which assumes importance is the contrast in the environments and experiences between rural areas (Vicarabad) and the urban setting. It is obvious that in Vicarabad, Yadamma and her siblings were in a protected, secure atmosphere, - When the family migrated to Hyderabad city, the urban setting into which Yadamma entered was new and something for which she was not prepared. Secondly considering her age (11 years) she would not only require some time to comprehend what is happening around her but also acclimatize to the new situation. In this case, Yadamma didnot have a chance for either of them. She was plunged into a strange atmosphere, suddenly, and was unprepared for many of the happenings which are part of the urban scenario. First, due to economic compulsions she was forced to step-out of home and earn money to supplement family income. It can be seen that parental force plays an important part in children taking up street trades. It is clear that economic considerations take an upper hand compared to child welfare. This is obvious from the fact that Yadamma went back to picking up rags within 3 days of occurance of the incident which had terrified her. The incident

is yet another example of the vulnerability, of girl children, to abuse because of their gender.

Yadamma's case is also an example of how the girl child has the additional burden of household work. Household work and work on the street occupy her throughout the day leaving little time for recreation. It is compounded by cultural restrictions on girl children. This is true in Yadamma's case too.

The influence of slum children on Yadamma's behaviour is obvious from the fact that she has learnt ragpicking from them. It was observed that she was meek, shy and apprehensive about going for ragpicking everyday. She does not have any bad habits, although her friend has many of the habits like chewing 'paan' commonly seen among street children. It could be because Yadamma was new and had not been in the company of such friends long enough to acquire such habits. Similarly from the researcher's experience, it can be said that the incident which had distressed Yadamma, may not have caused much concern to a child who had been a street child for a long time. For him/her it would have been yet another one in the daily routine. These instances show that Yadamma is totally unprepared; these instances should also be viewed as reflecting the ways in which migrant children, being in the company of street children, gradually learn the ways of street life, anticipate troubles on the street and ways of tackling them.

The question of primary importance is the developmental implications of the environment in which the child is

developing. First it is beyond doubt that given the contrast in experiences, the sudden change in settings was in itself traumatic for the child. Second within the family, the child is abused and maltreated. The family may be functional as far as providing shelter is concerned, but in all other aspects it is a case of child abuse and neglect - a deprivation of opportunities to develop. Therefore, given the developmental context, it could be said that Yamma is emotionally affected and her personality development is hindered.

Yamma is also too occupied with her everyday life to contemplate a future. Already she is deprived of opportunities for growth and development, and in case of child marriage it would affect her further, make her more dependant economically and emotionally on her husband. As it has been widely reported, the status of women is further lowered, by such dependency caused by child marriages.

Thus apart from her status as migrant ragpicker, Yamma also represents the plight of a female child - with additional burdens, no opportunities for independent decisions, vulnerable to exploitation and deprived due to cultural restrictions.

In terms of the ecological environment, the prominent ecosystems in Yamma's case are the mesosystem and macrosystem. Since the developmental potential of a setting in mesosystem is enhanced if the person's initial transition into the setting is not made alone, that is, if he/she enters the new setting in the

company of one or more persons with whom he has participated in prior settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the profound influence of the mesosystem on Yamma is obvious. Secondly she did not have prior knowledge of the setting, which is essential to tackle new situations.

As for the macrosystem, it has indirectly, caused Yamma to take up ragpicking.

CASE - II

"The only thing I've ever known", - 10 year old ragpicker

Large sack across the back, a stick in hand to dig through the garbage, a thin, short figure in tattered clothes, with a pale dirty face presents a typical picture of a ragpicker. A closer look reveals much more - a 'leaky' nose, dirty nails, bandaged fingers, bruised arms, open wounds or scars of injuries. In spite of these, the thin figure goes about garbage bins collecting rags with the ease of an expert. After all 10 year-old Manohar has been at the job for many years now.

Manohar started picking rags from a very young age. He used to accompany some older boys and adult women in the slum. But, then he did it occasionally. Before that his elder brother and himself used to deal with liquor. Encouraged by the father who was a drunkard himself, the two boys used to buy liquor packets and sell them within the slum. This fetched them a lot of money. His father used to trash the children if they did not do the job and beat the mother if she objected to it. The couple used to quarrel frequently over the matter. When the father became ill, they gradually stopped selling liquor. Instead, they went back to picking rags - the only other way they have known to earn money.

The family had migrated from Narsaraopeta in Andhra Pradesh, 20 years back because they did not own lands, and employment was not available. Therefore they had come to the city in search of

livelihood. Manohar's father was an autodriver. After prolonged illness he died of tuberculosis, three months ago, leaving his wife and six children (3 sons and 3 daughters) to fend for themselves. Thus ragpicking had become a necessity, not just a casual means of getting money. It became a source of livelihood, inevitable if the family has to survive amidst severe financial problems.

Apart from the expenditure that has to be incurred on food for seven people in the family each day, a large portion of the income is spent on medication and treatment. Doctors diagnosed that Manohar's 3 year-old sister Maggie, suffers from tuberculosis and prescribed injections and tablets, which are expensive but have to be used everyday. Medicines also have to be bought for his 8 year-old sister Lakshmi who gets "fits" frequently, and sometimes "behaves strangely". Apart from this, money has to be saved for clearing a debt of Rs. 8000/- borrowed for the purpose of repairing their dilapidated house and making it a permanent structure. A sum of Rs.2000/- was also borrowed for his father's treatment and later for performing the last rites.

Where does the income come from? Manohar and his two elder brothers are breadwinners for the family. His eldest brother, Kumar was himself a ragpicker until 2-3 years ago. But now at 19, it embarasses him to pick rags. So he works at a rag-dealer shop for a weekly pay of Rs.200/-, but gives only Rs.150/- to his mother. The rest is used for his own personal expenditure.

Manohar's other brother Madhu, is also a ragpicker and feels more responsible for the family. He earns Rs.20-30/- per day, most of which he gives away to his mother. Sometimes he keeps 2 or 3 rupees for his personal use. Manohar also earns Rs.15/- each day but gives only rupees 10/- at home. The total weekly earnings of all the family members is about Rs.250-300/-. All of them are illiterate and do not have the skill to practice a decent trade which could be equally remunerative.

Everyday Manohar starts picking rags from 5 O'clock in the morning, on an empty stomach. He travels to far off places collecting rags, till 11 O'clock - 12 O'clock. As the end of it, he sorts out the collection, on the roadside itself and sells them in a ragtrader's shop. With a part of the money he buys himself something to eat and starts back home. Till it is time to go again at 2 O'clock, he spends his time with his friends and sometimes run errands. Thus Manohar spends on an average 9-10 hours in ragpicking each day.

Manohar narrated several dangerous and abusive incidents which have occurred during ragpicking. Apart from the physical injuries like cuts and bruises there is frequently danger from animals such as dogs, cows, buffaloes and sometimes snakes, especially the former which are always present near garbage bins. Infact he was once everely hurt when a buffalo raged at him and threw him down. Once he had got a electric shok when he unknowingly stepped on an electric wire fallen near the garbage dump. One of his worst experiences happened a few years

back. He had gone ragpicking with another girl from the slum when, a middle-aged man lured them away. He bought them "drinks" and asked Manohar to buy cigarettes from a nearby shop while he waited with the girl at the station. By the time Manohar returned, they both were gone. When he had started to cry, he was helped by another man to return home. He found that the girl had not returned home. Out of fright, Manohar got high fever and was immobilised for two days.

Street fights, heated exchanges, harassment from adult ragpickers are so common that Manohar has learnt to accept them as part and parcel of life. Infact, each time he narrates an incident he adds, "this is nothing; you would be shocked to listen to some of the things which happen to others like me".

When questioned about why he does not leave ragpicking inspite of such horrifying experiences, Manohar has a ready answer. He says, that it is easier to earn money this way. "Need not follow particular timings which is necessary if working either in hotels or offices", he adds. It is convenient and assures him of an income at the end of the day. He can enjoy with his friends throughout the day. If money is needed urgently, picking rags is the easiest way of getting it. "If I want to see a movie but do not have the money, I will go ragpicking for an hour and earn rupees 5/- for the movie", he explains.

Manohar had acquired several bad habits. Most harmful of such habits is that of chewing "ghutka", atleast two packets each day. He is so addicted to it that he "does not feel like doing any work, even pick rags without it". He does not start work without eating it because, "it is in that 'nasha' that I am able to pick rags better". He also eats "paan" (betel nut leaves), but drinks liquor only on "special occasion as it is a custom". He watches 3-4 movies per week with his friends and enjoys gambling with marbles and cigarette packs.

Where does he get money for indulging in these habits? "I take away rupees 5-6/-each day from what I earn" he says. Much of it goes away for buying eatables, and the remaining 1-2 rupees is saved for a day or two, until it is also spent on movies. Where does he save?, "In my shirt collar, so that nobody can take it away!", he replies.

Except for eating and sleeping, Manohar is never at home. He does not concern himself much with the situation at home, although he is very much aware of the problems. He is disturbed at the frequent quarrels and arguments between his eldest brother and mother, over the former's irresponsibility and lack of concern for the family. The mother often disapproves of the boys keeping away money for themselves instead of giving it to her. "We could eat better food if they give me the money they waste on movies", she complains.

Friends are very important for Manohar. He likes to spend most of his time with them. They discuss the day's happenings,

and sometimes the problems they encounter. His friends support him when "outsiders harass or attack him. Sometimes 3-4 of them pick rags and sell rags together and share the money equally. They roam around together, watch movies, gamble and play. Many of them share similar type of habits and 2-3 of his friends admitted that they often commit thefts, during ragpicking.

The other persons who influence his ways, although unconsciously, are the older boys and adult members of the slum. They drink, gamble, and frequently indulge in violent, anti-social activities. One elder person from the slum explained that most of them were ragpickers themselves. But having grown up, it embarrasses them to pick rags. Since they have not learnt any trade which could be practiced, they are left with nothing constructive to do. Hence, they indulge in black marketing (cinema tickets especially), eve-teasing, rioting and so on.

Apart from this, children are also witnesses to violence - stabbings and armed clashes (which are frequently indulged in by the slum youth themselves). Many children in the slum have also reported seeing dead bodies near the railway track, adjacent to which the slum is located.

Although unsure about the future, Manohar is sure of one thing - that he will stop ragpicking. He wants to earn by working as a labourer, or hotel boy or helper in ragtrader's shop like his brother. But he is not very confident of finding such work. He does not want to study and would not leave ragpicking

at present to avail of better opportunities for education and training. He would do it only if all his friends also agree for such training and if he is given sufficient freedom and money.

Inspite of the difficulties and hazards involved Manohar says he is content with the present life of freedom, friends to enjoy and money to spend.

ELUCIDATION:

1. Belong to "Mutharasu" a backward class community.
2. Migrated from Narsaraopet in Coastal A.P., 20 years back, to earn a livelihood.
3. Fatherless; the onus of earning for the family is on the children.
4. Illiterate; started ragpicking many years ago, at a very young age.
5. Spends 9-10 hours a day on ragpicking and earns 10-15/- rupees each day.
6. Spends a lot of time in the company of friends and youth of the slum.
7. Addicted to "ghutka", "paan" and movies.
8. Exposed to dangerous and harmful experiences on the street especially during ragpicking.
9. Violent slum environment.
10. Is sure about leaving ragpicking in future, and expects to find work as casual labourer.
11. Unwilling to leave ragpicking at present.

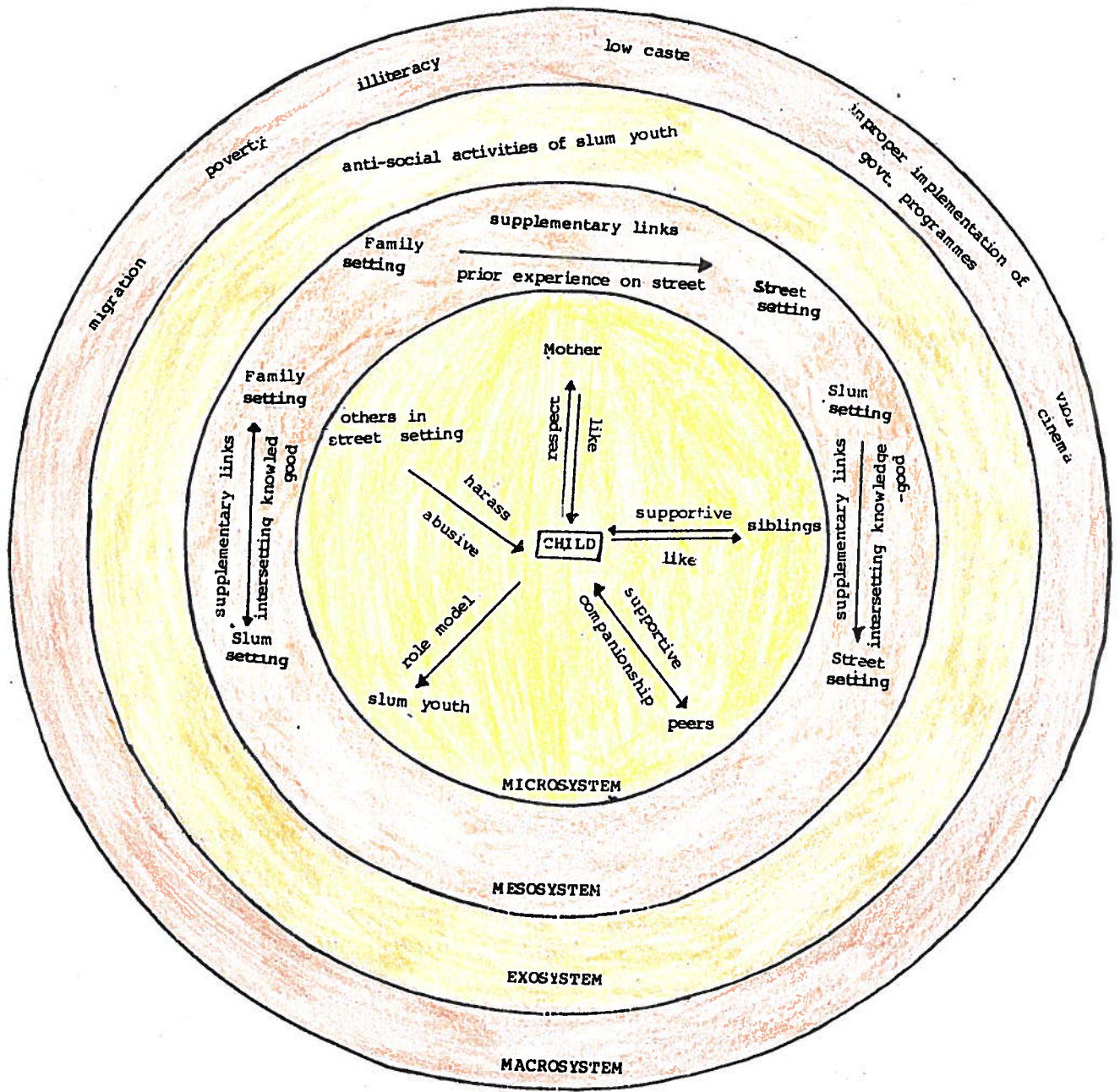


Fig. 5 : ECO-MAP - 2

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE:

From the preceding description of the case and the eco-map, the following profile, of the ecological environment, emerges -

Microsystem:

- * Role of bread-winner.
- * Activities engaged in are ragpicking, sorting and selling rags, gambling, watching movies, indulge in street fights, witness to violence.
- * Interpersonal relations with family members and peers is the strongest and mutually positive; whereas with persons on the street it is abusive, with negative impact on his behaviour.
- * Relationship with peers constitutes strong transcontextual dyads within which he and his peers are involved in several activities (like ragpicking, indulging in harmful habits) together across the different settings.

Mesosystem:

- * Inter-relations between all 3 settings (street, slum and family) are prominent.
- * Supplementary links between 3 settings are provided by siblings, peers and adult ragpickers who are also active in the street setting. They also serve as sources of information to Manohar about street setting.
- * Manohar's previous experiences on the street also add to intersetting knowledge. Therefore he had adapted himself to the situation and developed behaviour which will help him to survive on the streets.

- * Intersecting knowledge (between, slum, street and family) are prominent because street activities, several harmful habits, and unsocial behaviour have been acquired through it.

Exosystem:

- * The antisocial activities in which the slum youth indulge creates an "aura" of strength, which Manohar and his friends learn and imitate.

Macrosystem:

- * Poverty, belonging to lower caste are the factors which have indirectly caused him to take up ragpicking.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE

A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)

Chronological age	:	10 years 1 month
Verbal I.Q.	:	91.0
Performance I.Q.	:	87.7
Total I.Q.	:	89.4

An I.Q. of 89.4 indicated that Manohar was below average in intelligence. He had higher performance I.Q. scores than verbal I.Q. scores.

Figure (6) shows that Manohar's performance in Comprehension and Picture completion was average while it was below average in Arithmetic, Similarities and Block design.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	:	10 years 1 month
Social age	:	10 years 9 months
Social quotient	:	106.60

An S.Q. of 106.60 indicated that Manohar was average in social maturity.

Figure (7) shows that Manohar's performance was superior (120-140) in self-help dressing and self-direction. Self-help eating, Occupation, Communication, Locomotion and Socialization were at average level.

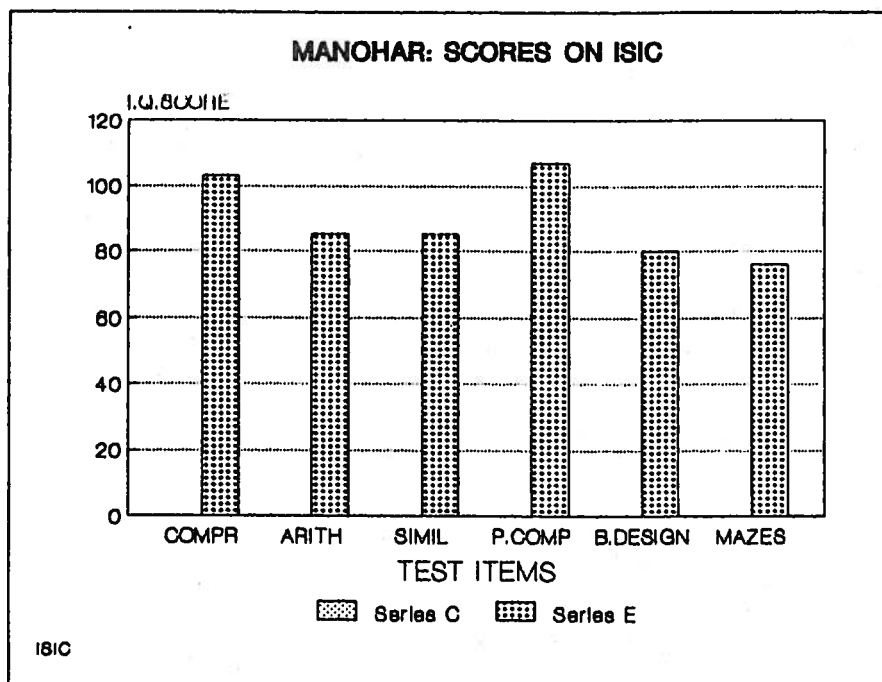


Fig. 6: Scores on ISIC - Case 2

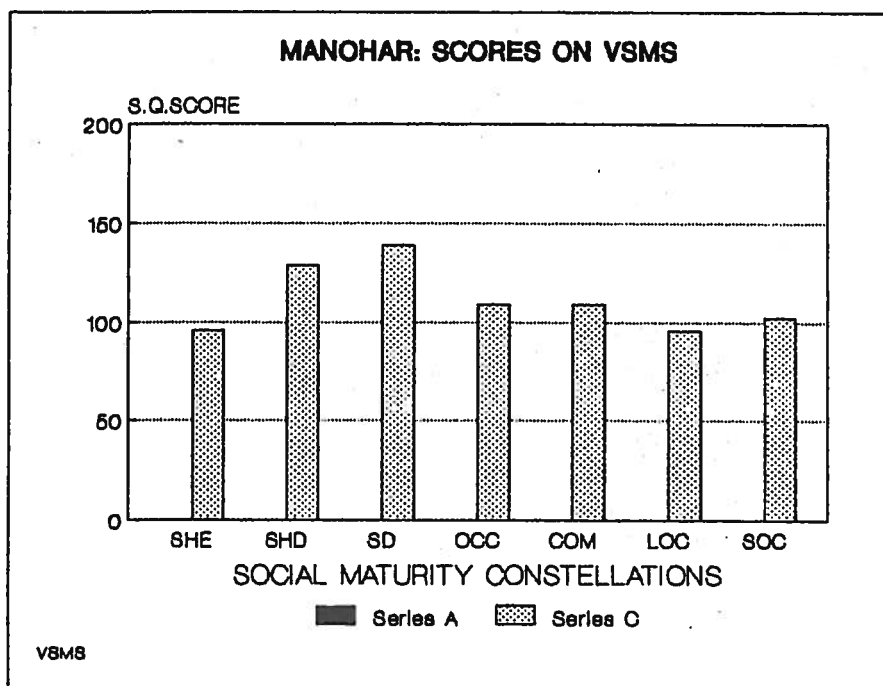


Fig. 7: Scores on VSMS - Case 2

DISCUSSION OF CASE-II :

This case brings into focus the role played by community in initiating and sustaining the phenomenon of street children. It also highlights the damage caused to the developing child, by being involved in such activities. From this view point it is obvious that the child's experiences, and his childhood background had prompted him to resort to ragpicking. Otherwise it is possible that he would have earned a living through other means. During investigation it was observed that adult ragpicker women generally took along with them, three or four small children from the slum to help them in ragpicking. This is yet another way in which the children get initiated into ragpicking and perfect the 'skill' to enable them to set out on their own. Therefore if such children could be kept occupied in constructive activities (schooling, recreational activities) there could be less chance of them being enticed by these adults.

Another striking fact that comes through from the case is that the families do not seem to have internalised the need to change their status (social, economic etc). This is obvious from the fact that the family had migrated to the city twenty years ago and still have remained in similar conditions. The parents are engrossed in earning a daily living and care and concern for the children is not a priority. It is a case of parental negligence.

By virtue of his activities on the street, Manohar has been exposed to hazardous experiences and situations. They could have

made hardened him, hampered his personality development and retarded his physical growth.

Peer influence is great on Manohar, both in positive and negative ways. The peer group provides him a sort of identity, companionship and strong in-group feeling. On the other hand, he has acquired several harmful habits and ways of behaviour which can not be considered desirable by any standards. It could be expected that in future, he may acquire delinquent behaviour too (which he has not so far), which will further complicate matters.

The freedom of work, association with friends, and the easy and convenient way of earning money have remained the main pull-factors in ragpicking. For Manohar who has been at it for so many years, he has got habituated to it and it is doubtful if ever he will look beyond it to develop himself. So many years of ragpicking have deprived him of opportunity to learn a skill which could be practised later in life. Since he has not, it could be assumed that once he leaves ragpicking (as he has expressed) the future is uncertain. He is unsure of what he will do. Therefore, this case is a pointer to the need for counselling and intervention at this stage to help them mould their lives in a better way.

From the ecological perspective, the ecosystem which is prominent in Manohar's ecological environment is the microsystem.

CASE - III

Unhappy, but helpless - 9 year old ragpicker

Nine year old Suresh belongs to the scheduled caste "Budhegajangam", a community originally of beggars by profession. The chintalabasti slum in which he lives with his family is mostly inhabited by people from the same community. Suresh's parents have six children - two sons and four daughters, of whom two daughters are married. Suresh is the fifth child.

Suresh's father used to work as a watchman in a government office and earned 600/- rupees every month. He was a drunkard and had died of heavy drinking, after prolonged illness in December, 1991. The members who have remained in the family after the father's death are Suresh's widowed mother, a 19-year old sister Yellubai who is employed as a housemaid, a 16-year old brother and a 7 year old sister, besides Suresh himself.

Suresh's mother was employed as a maid servant but she stopped working after her husband's death. Instead, she begs for money near temples on some days. Suresh's elder sister, employed as a housemaid earns rupees 150/-per month. Until recently Suresh's elder brother Shankar, was employed at a fairprice shop, as a helper. The employer used to make him overwork, which made Shankar tired and weak. Unable to cope, he left the job and became a ragpicker. He and Suresh together bring back 20-30/- rupees each day from ragpicking. Suresh's 7-year old younger sister, Sujatha, stays at home.

When Suresh's father was alive, he disapproved of ragpicking and often warned his children against accompanying the neighbours for begging. He wanted to place Suresh as a helper in a hotel or send him as a casual labourer. Thus without attending school and between waiting for suitable work, Suresh lead a life of a vagrant. He used to roam around on the roads and play with friends. Sometimes when he went around to collect firewood, he occasionally used to pick up a few things like broken plastic or discarded footwear which when sold could fetch him money for personal use. He did this without his father's knowledge.

After his father's death, Suresh and his brother had to resort to ragpicking, to help the family financially. Provisions for the day are bought with the money the two boys bring back from ragpicking, in the morning. Till then there is no food for them to eat. Therefore, apart from ragpicking sometimes Suresh goes begging for food very early in the morning, in the nearby residential colony. The income which the sister brings is insufficient and is available only on a monthly basis; similarly amount from begging is meagre and irregular.

Suresh starts picking rags from 5 O'clock in the morning. He goes a little late if he has to go begging for food. He returns at 10 O'clock and after selling rags brings back 5-8/- rupees. Sometimes he helps his mother in fetching water, otherwise he buys and gives provisions to his mother and goes to a nearby play ground for playing. He returns in the afternoon, eats his food and leaves for picking rags.

money, we can not have anything to eat". He is unhappy with the present conditions but accepts it.

Suresh's mother is eager to see both her sons doing decent work to earn a living. She too, does not want her sons to continue ragpicking, as she thinks it is harmful. She said that since she did not have an choice, she has forced the children to ragpicking.

Suresh feels very responsible for looking after his mother and the family. Memories of his father persist. He mentioned that his father used to come home in a drunken state, beat the mother and scold the brother for not earning enough money. Sometimes his brother used to retaliate by beating the father himself. Thus there used to be tense moments at home every night, when his father was alive. In spite of all this, Suresh liked his father the best and adds, "if he was alive, he would have found some work for me and I would not have done ragpicking".

Suresh frequently quarrels with his elder siblings because he feels they are dominating. One person of whom Suresh is afraid and dislikes most is an elder cousin who lives in another slum but often visits the family. He is, supposedly, helping the family to secure some money which is due to the family and also trying to get the deceased father's job for Shankar (Suresh's brother) in the same office. He is the community leader and is a sort of a "disciplining figure" of whom all the children in the slum are afraid. He exercises control over their behaviour.

Many children mentioned that he often beats them when outsiders falsely complain about them being involved in a theft or a street fight. He forces the boys to lend him money, drinks liquor with it and gambles, but never returns the money. They are also very scared to ask him. Suresh was thrashed several times.

Suresh likes the company of his friends. Most of them are ragpickers like him. Some of them also attend schools (study in 6th, 8th classes) but pick rags on Sundays and holidays. They are looked upon highly by the rest of the boys. They talk boastfully about their school which also makes the other boys interested in education. These boys learn many things especially style of dressing, talking, cleanliness, manners etc by imitating their classmates, and in turn influence those in the slum who do not attend school. Suresh also has friends who belong to the same 'Budhegajangam' community, but live in other slum areas. Although he meets them frequently he does not like them very much because "they are dominating, cunning and commit thefts". He mentioned that many of those boys were caught by police for stealing. Suresh's friends are very supportive of him. They discuss each day's experiences and help each other "in solving difficulties" frequently.

Suresh has the habit of eating "supari" (betel nut powder). He spends money on gambling with marbles and watching movies, which have influenced him so much, that along with his friends, he frequently imitates the violent ways in dealing with others. With a kind of pride and heroism the children mentioned, "we go

and attack, with sticks and cycle chains, when we find a fellow who abused or harassed us". What is seen in movies is reinforced by what occurs in the slum. Frequently there are serious arguments and fights with the neighbouring slum dwellers, from a different community, over small matters. There is frequent use of highly abusive language among adults which is imitated by these children.

Suresh is keen to leave ragpicking and take up a job. He is prepared to learn vocational skills but he and his mother feel that equal remuneration like what he earns now should be provided. They also feel that if the training centre or school is located conveniently they would be motivated to learn the skills.

ELUCIDATION

1. Belongs to scheduled caste of "Budhegajangam", a community originally of beggars.
2. Led a life of vagrancy before becoming a ragpicker.
3. Father's death compelled the subject to start ragpicking to support the family.
4. Faces harassment in the street, witness to violence in the slum.
5. Many fellow ragpickers from the slum attend regular schools and are important influences on his behaviour.

6. Addicted to "action-packed" movies and imitates the violent ways in his dealings with others.
7. Unhappy with present conditions; does not like ragpicking and prefers to take up any other decent job to earn a living.
8. Willing to avail vocational training and educational facilities but only under certain conditions.

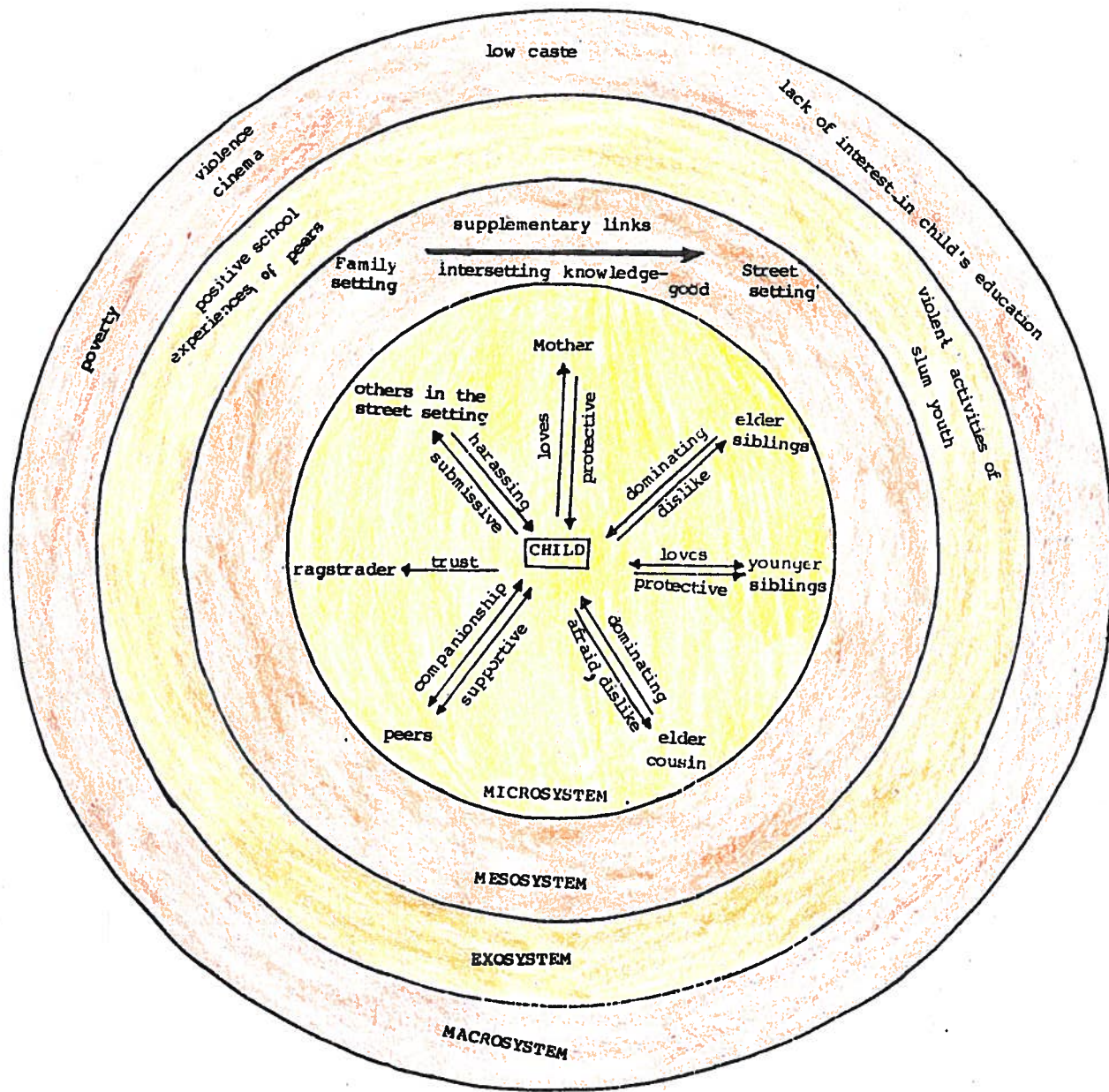


Fig. 8: ECO-MAP - 3

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding description of the case and the eco-map, the following ecological profile emerges -

Microsystem:

- * Plays the role of financial contributor.
- * Ecological transition within family setting due to father's death, has caused change in role (which has forced Suresh to take up ragpicking).
- * Activities engaged in include ragpicking, sometimes begging, indulging in habits, and household chores.
- * Interpersonal relations are positive with mother and peers, but negative with elder siblings and persons in slum and street setting. Strong transcontextual dyadic relations with peers.

Mesosystem:

- * Interrelations between family and street settings are prominent. Supplementary links are provided by mother (who is a beggar) and siblings (both are ragpickers and beggars).
- * These links also serve as sources of knowledge about street setting to the family. Thus knowledge about abusive street conditions has prompted Suresh's mother to realise the need for him to leave ragpicking and search for better work options.

Exosystem:

- * Positive experiences of peers attending schools, have influenced Suresh want to improve himself, in general. On the contrary, violence in which slum youth indulged was imitated by Suresh, like other slum children. This has a negative impact.

Macrosystem:

- * Scheduled caste to which he belongs, poverty, illiteracy have indirectly caused him to resort to ragpicking.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE

A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)

Chronological age	: 9 years 4 months
Verbal I.Q	: 77.3
Performance I.Q	: 76.0
Total I.Q	: 76.7

An I.Q of 76.7 indicated that Suresh was below average in intelligence. He had higher performance I.Q scores than verbal I.Q scores.

Figure (9) shows that his performance was below average in Comprehension, Arithmetic and Picture completion. In Mazes he showed average performance.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 9 years 4 months
Social age	: 9 years 8 months
Social quotient	: 103.60

An S.Q. of 103.6 indicated that Suresh was average in social maturity.

Figure (10) indicates that Suresh was superior (120-140) in self-help dressing, self-direction and communication. He was average in self-help eating, Occupation, Locomotion and Socialization.

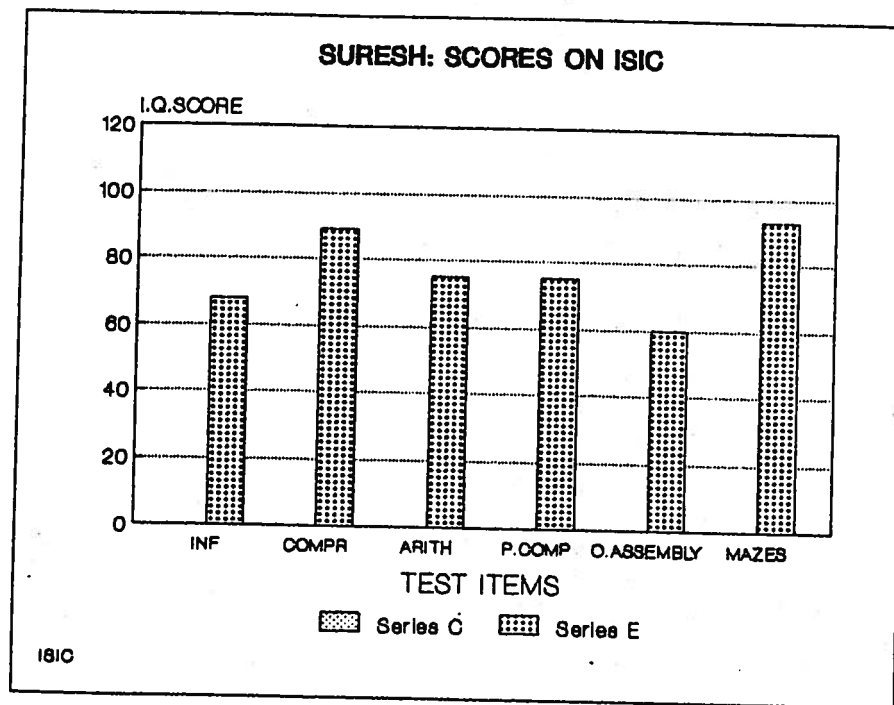


Fig. 9: Scores on ISIC - Case 3

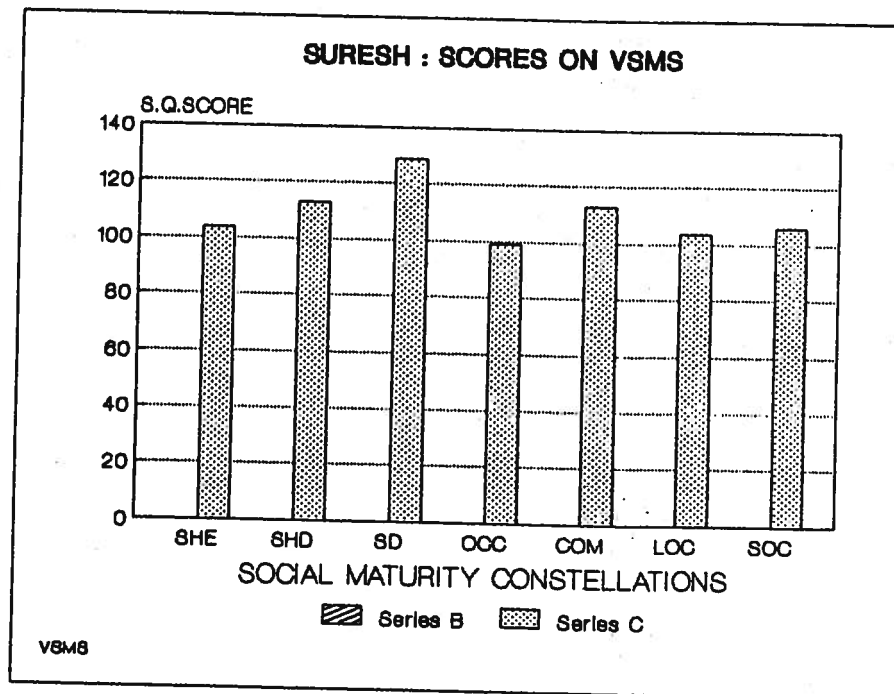


Fig. 10: Scores on VSMS - Case 3

DISCUSSION - CASE-III

This case highlights how economic compulsions force children to indulge in ragpicking.

It is obvious that Suresh's father did not encourage him to go to school and preferred him to work. Therefore, neither did he have an opportunity for schooling nor was he gainfully occupied. He had to lead a vagrant life.

This case also highlights the pathetic condition of families created by death of father. The grave economic crisis forced Suresh to resort to ragpicking. In this case, ragpicking was the only means, because only ragpicking could fetch money immediately. So it is obvious that Suresh did not have a choice. It could be that if his father was alive, Suresh would have been employed in a more decent job.

The experiences which Suresh undergoes during ragpicking are not only physically harmful, but also emotionally disastrous. This is compounded by the situation at home and within the slum, where he is dominated and maltreated. What is more hazardous, developmentally, is that Suresh obviously perceives that he is being maltreated and abused. This is likely to not only frustrate him but also affect his personality.

An interesting observation was that some boys (who are Suresh's friends) continued ragpicking inspite of attending schools. This could indicate that children need not be

ragpickers just because of economic necessity. But on the other hand ragpicking, which could have become a habit with them, also serves to bring an additional income.

In whatever other ways the above observation is interpreted, what is clear is that, these boys (who go to school and also to ragpicking) have influenced Suresh, positively. They can be said to be the sources who have instilled an interest in Suresh to change his status - either to study, to give up ragpicking and in general improve himself. They also provide companionship.

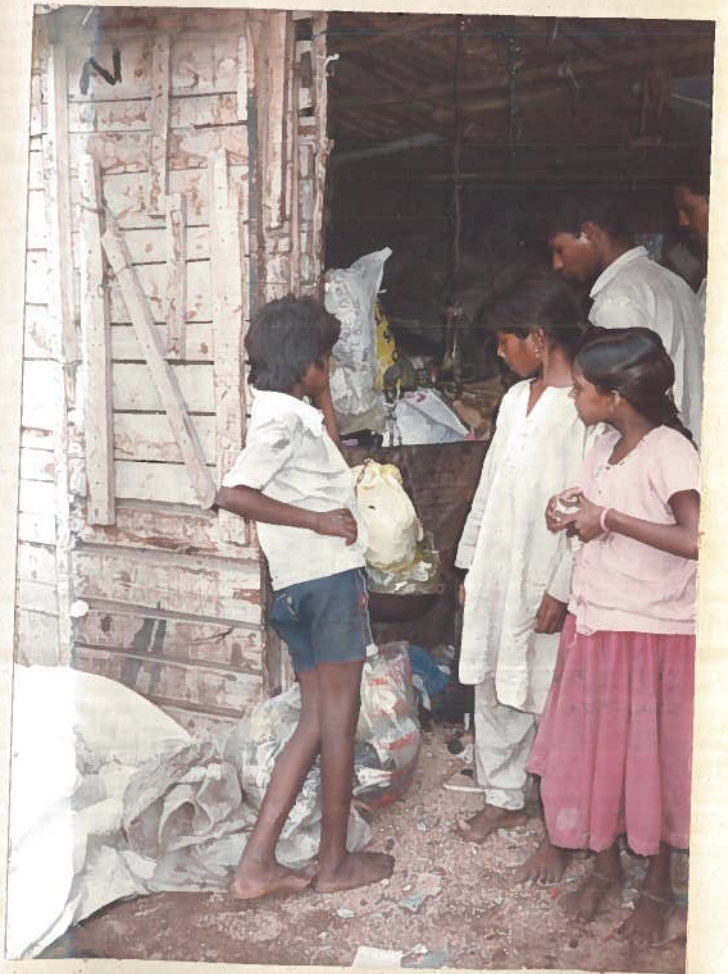
From the point of view of providing welfare services, one important point that has emerged is the awareness shown by Suresh's mother over his plight on the street. This could prove to be the first step in parent's allowing their children to leave such activities. Suresh's mother's keenness for him to find some other work and quit ragpicking is thus a first step in the positive direction. This point also serves as a pointer to, possibly, many more families who inspite of being in such economic situations want to ensure that their children do better jobs instead of such debilitating ones as ragpicking. This could indicate that vocational training programmes, to equip the children with necessary skills could be useful. This would enable children to find better employment.

From the ecological perspective the microsystem and macrosystem are defective.



▶ SORTING THE RAGS TO SPOT THE MORE FETCHING ONES.

ANXIOUSLY WATCHING WHAT THEIR HARD WORK WILL FETCH THEM. ◀



CASE - IV

"Everybody there calls me a thief" - 9 year old vagrant

Nine year old Durga Prasad is ninth and the youngest child in his family. He has four sisters and four brothers. Three of them had died when they were very young. Of the remaining two of them are married. Thus Durga Prasad stays with his parents, two sisters and a brother, in the Bandamaisamma slum in Hyderabad. He belongs to the scheduled caste "Madiga" family. The family lives in their own small, 2 room house, a portion of which they have rented out.

Durga Prasad's father is a casual labourer and earns a daily wage of 40/-rupees. His mother trades steel household articles for old clothes, which in turn she sells at the weekly shandy. She earns about 100-200/-rupees per week. Durga Prasad's twenty-five year old brother pastes cinema posters (on walls and advertisement boards). It fetches him about 100-150/-rupees per week. Approximately the weekly income of the family is Rs.400-450/-. Durga Prasad's two elder sisters, aged 12 and 10 years, study in a residential school for backward classes and scheduled castes children in Bholapur, near Hyderabad. Education and hostel accomodation is free for these children. Durga Prasad's mother said, "I could not get my older children educated then, so I am keen to see atleast the younger ones go to school. But the problem is with this fellow. He refuses to go to school".

Durga Prasad is a school drop-out. He had studied in a Telugu medium school upto the third standard. Later his mother

put him into a English medium school. She says, "In Telugu medium schools, the teachers do not teach anything but the English medium teachers are strict and teach well". His mother also expected to keep a watch over him, so that he did not run away from school to play with vagrant boys in the slum. She also mentioned that initially Durga Prasad had attended school regularly. But after a few months he started refusing to go to school. His mother who was keen to educate the youngest son said, "I do not think anybody got so many beatings. Everyday I used to beat him and drag him to school". Durga Prasad used to complain of stomach-ache, fever and used to sit in the toilet long past school time. "These are all actions, so that my mother did not drag him to school", his sister commented. When his mother insisted, he reluctantly went along but soon after ran away from the school. Finally his mother let him have his own way. After a few days his name was removed from the school rolls.

After being questioned several times about why he refused to go to school, Durga Prasad replied, "I do not like to go to school because everybody there calls me a thief"! On further probing he narrated his experiences at school. He did not like his new school because he did not understand his lessons and was afraid to ask the teacher. Some boys in the class used to steal erasers, pencils and chalks belonging to other children, from their bags. Sometimes they pocketed blades, sharpeners, pencils lying on the tables. They used to put the blame on Durga Prasad

and call him a thief. They used to hit him and bully him if he threatened to complain to the teachers. When he complained to the teachers about the culprits, she used to sometimes punish them. As if to take revenge, the boys continued to harass him during snacks-intervals or at lunch hours. They purposely insulted him by calling him a thief in front of other children. "I did not like all this. I used to cry and run away home".

Durga Prasad mentioned that, when he narrated these things to his mother, she reprimanded him for spending his time with friends instead of concentrating enough on his studies. According to him she used to ask "unless you had done something, why will they say such things?". He adds, "I do not like school and I am afraid to go". Thus for the past two years, he has refused to go to school and instead prefers to roam around on the roads with his friends.

For two years now, Durga Prasad had spent everyday, gambling with marbles and cigarette packs. Gambling had almost become an addiction with him and his friends. "When my mother is at home, she does not allow me to go around roaming, so I play with my friends in the slum itself. Sometimes they leave me and go away so I have to play alone". When his mother goes out for work, he takes the opportunity to go roaming on the roads but makes sure his mother does not come to know about it. Sometimes they go to public parks or watch movies. What does he think of his friends? "My friends are good boys, but my mother does not like me to play with them". "She may think they are like other bad boys in the

slum", he offers as an explanation. Who are the 'other bad boys'? There are some children who steal and fight and are always "getting themselves hurt. He narrated one incident. "Three boys had a fight over a game of marbles. One of them pushed away the other two boys and ran away with the marbles. After a few days, those two boys came and stabbed him". The mother added, "these small fellows see movies and learn these kinds of things. Their parents also do not seem to control them".

Durga Prasad got involved in many family affairs. Everyday his father used to come home drunk and argue with his mother and brother over family matters. Frequently there were serious quarrels between his parents, brothers and brother-in-law. His brother-in-law had ill-treated his sister and demanded money. Durga Prasad's family did not approve of these. Sometimes, Durga Prasad also got involved in them. Since he is a witness to serious fights, he has acquired the use of rude, abusive language, not befitting his age. He reportedly does not feel the need to respect his elders and often retaliates either by physically striking back or by hurling abuses, whenever his family members try to 'discipline' him. His mother mentioned that he had become very stubborn and refused to listen to even his father.

Durga Prasad is determined not to go to school. His mother is equally determined to get her child educated. She said that she is keen to see that he is not 'spoilt' further by his

association with his friends. According to her several, of his friends have habits (such as smoking, gambling) which "will make them good-for-nothing". His mother reported that she will again attempt to get him admitted to school but incase she does not succeed, she is keen to send him for training in 'mechanic' work or 'electrical work'. But Durga Prasad just wants to start working and earning money 'like a big man' but not go for any schooling or training. Where will he find work? "I will work as a labourer at construction sites, like my father does as helper in mechanic shop " he says. He wants to start earning money, no matter in what way.

ELUCIDATION

1. Family is financially self-sufficient.
2. Changed from Telugu medium to English medium in III class. Is a school drop-out. Discontinued in III class, 2 years ago, unable to cope with change in medium and because of unpleasant experiences in school.
3. Spends time in the company of friends, gambling, watching movies.
4. Gets involved, unnecessarily, in family affairs.
5. Stubborn, uses abusive, filthy language, which is unbecoming of a nine year old boy.
6. Determined not to go to school and wishes to take up a job and start earning money.
7. Mother is anxious to see him settled either in school or in training for a skill.

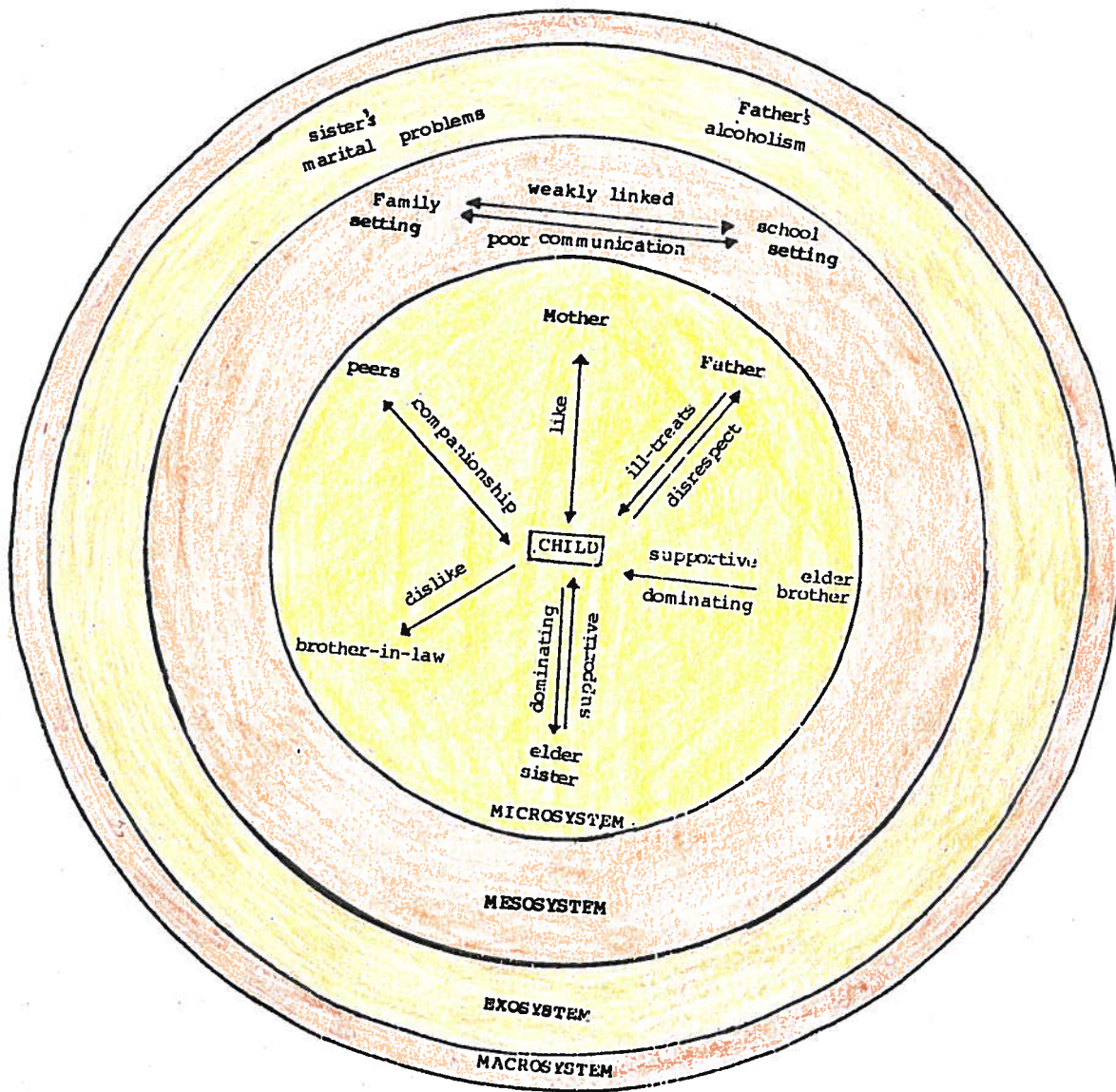


Fig.11: ECO-MAP- 1

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding description of the case and eco-map, the following ecological profile emerges -

Microsystem:

- * Activities involved in include gambling, street fights, watching movies, witness quarrels between family members, use of abusive language.
- * Interpersonal relations are positive mostly with mother and peers but negative with father and other family members.
- * No prominent role performance or expectation.

Mesosystem:

- * Most prominent ecosystem in this case which is marked by an important setting transition, and inadequate communication between the settings involved in the transition.
- * The transition from one school setting to another school was important since D.Prasad was unprepared for the change, which was turbulent.
- * There was lack of adequate communication between the family and school. Therefore no efforts were made to counter the unpleasant experiences in school.

Exosystem:

- * . Due to father's alcoholism and, sister's marital discords, tensions often prevailed in the family. Frequent quarrels between family members were witnessed by D.Prasad. This influenced him negatively since he has acquired such unsocial behaviours as use of abusive language, aggressiveness from such incidents.

Macrosystem:

- * No prominent macrosystem factors.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE**a. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)**

Chronological age	: 9 years 3 months
Verbal I.Q.	: 80
Performance I.Q.	: 87.7
Total I.Q.	: 89.4

An I.Q of 89.4 indicated that D.Prasad was below average in intelligence. He had higher performance I.Q scores than verbal I.Q. scores.

Figure (12) shows that D.Prasad performed at the average level in Block design but at below average levels in Comprehension, Arithmetic, Similarities, Picture composition and Mazes.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 9 years 3 months
Social age	: 9 years
Social quotient	: 86.5

S.Q. of 86.5 indicated that D.Prasad was average in social maturity.

Figure (13) indicates that D.Prasad was above average in self-help dressing, social direction and communications. He was at the average level in self-help eating and Locomotion. His performance was very poor in Occupation and Socialization.

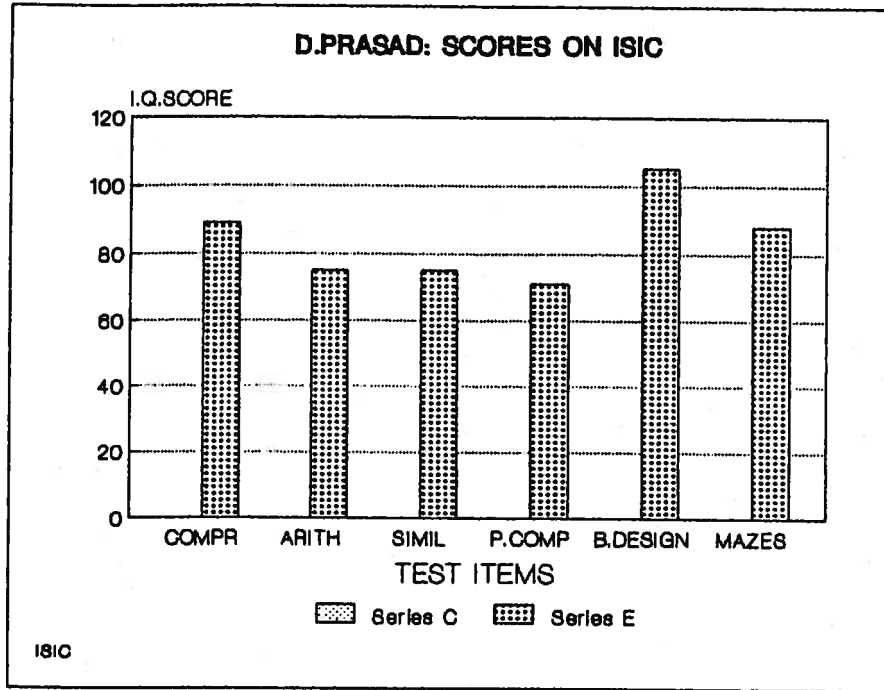


Fig. 12: Scores on ISIC - Case 4

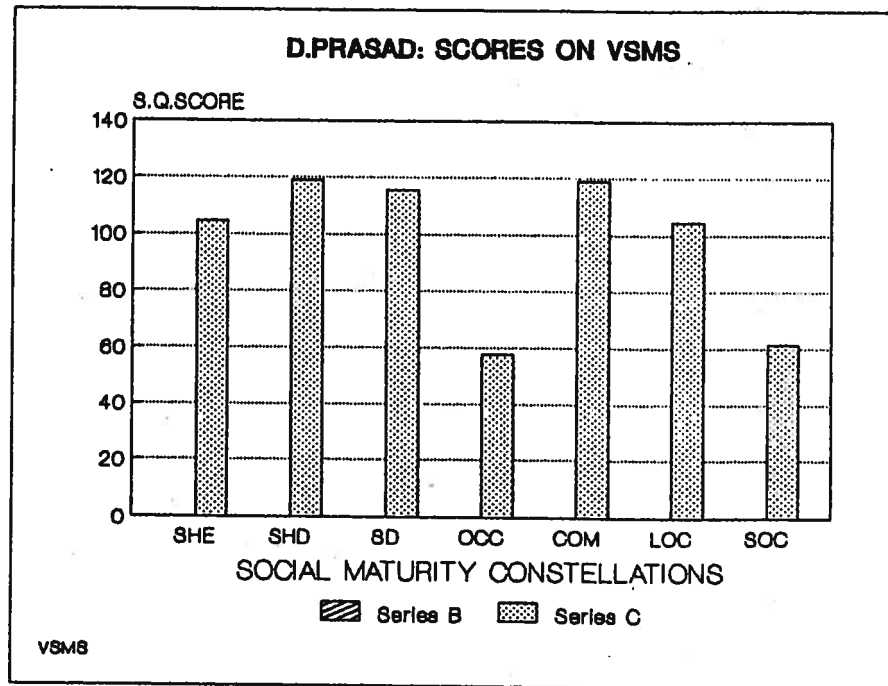


Fig. 13: Scores on VSMS - Case 4

DISCUSSION - CASE - IV

Durga Prasad's case brings into focus the nature of experiences in school as likely causes for vagrancy.

It is evident that Durga Prasad's mother was carried away by the commonly held opinion that English medium schools offer better watching than the Telugu medium ones. Wishing to give her son the best education, she ignorantly had him shifted from a Telugu medium school to English medium school, although the expenditure incurred on English medium education was more.

Durga Prasad was unable to cope with the change is evident. As a result, he could have been dull and inactive in his new school. This could have prompted his classmates to bully him. It obviously had serious repercussions. Durga Prasad had become apprehensive about going to school and unable to convince his mother he had used many tactics to avoid school. Finally he dropped-out of school, to lead a vagrant life.

Having dropped out of school, Durga Prasad was free to spend most of his time either playing around in the slum itself or roaming on the roads. It is evident that since there was nothing constructive to keep him engaged, Durga Prasad was easily drawn into/attracted to witness the happenings - arguments, fights etc, at home. Thereby he had picked up abusive language (which the elders frequently used), had become aggressive and stubborn. It is likely that this would not have happened if he was attending school or occupied with school work.

Apart from this, the experiences at school have harmed him in many ways, one of the most important being the aversion he has developed toward schooling and education. In such circumstances and given his young age, what kind of a future can be contemplated for him?.

This case also strengthens the often held view point that child care is not possible in very low socio-economic families. It is only when the family is economically self-sufficient, do parents consider educating their children or for that matter take any such progressive measures for child care. This point is obvious from the fact that Durga Prasad's eldest siblings are uneducated, may be because at that time the family was facing financial constraints. Whereas, at present, with both parents earning and the elder siblings contributing adequately to the family income, Durga Prasad's mother is keen to educate the remaining young children.

From the ecological perspective, the prominent ecosystem in this case is the mesosystem. First, because the transition from one school setting to the other was not smooth and secondly, lack of proper intersetting communication between school and family setting especially about events in the former setting. These have cumulatively led to vagrancy.

CASE - V

"I am going to run away from home", - 12 year old vagrant

Narsimha's family had migrated from Chevella in Rangareddy district of Andhra Pradesh. In Chevella his parents were casual labourers. They had migrated to Hyderabad because their house had collapsed due to heavy rain. After that his parents did not find employment for a long time. They also did not have sufficient money to build a permanent shelter for themselves. After coming to Hyderabad, they had stayed in several slums and had settled in the present one at Bandamaisamma slum two years ago. The family lives in a small permanent one room house in the slum. It is a large organized slum. Of the four children, Narsimha is the second child. He has a 16 year old sister, 7 year old younger sister and 3 year old younger brother.

Narsimha did not have the opportunity to go to school, because in Chevella he looked after his younger sister when his parents and elder sister went to work.

After coming to Hyderabad his youngest brother was born and then his eldest sister had got married. Narsimha's parents are casual labourers and earn approximately rupees 50-60/- each day. His eldest sister now stays with them because her husband had deserted her and married again. Now Narsimha is forced to stay at home to look after his two younger siblings.

Narsimha regrets that he does not have the opportunity to attend school to study. He mentioned that he feels sad when he

watches many of his acquaintances from the slum going to school. Infact he says he likes his friend Moin very much because he goes to school and tells Narsimha many things about schools. He also said that he does not like his sister and brother as he thinks they are responsible for keeping him from going to study.

After his parents leave for work in the morning, Narsimha spends his time playing with friends. His younger siblings follow him everywhere he goes. He is addicted to gambling with marbles, cards, empty cigarette packets and so on. Narsimha's friends mentioned that he is such an expert at marbles that many boys are apprehensive to play with him. They said "he wins more number of times than any of us".

Narsimha sometimes does household work. He fills water, sometimes cooks rice, and feeds his younger siblings. In the afternoon when his siblings are asleep, he goes around roaming on the roads, plays marbles at street corners or in public parks. Sometimes he goes along with his friend to watch movies. He usually returns home before his parents come home. After his parents return home, sometimes he and his friend go again to a nearby public park and stay there till late in the evening collecting liquor bottles. What does he do with liquor bottles? "Each liquor bottle fetches us two rupees. If we get 2-3 bottles, we earn a lot of money". With this money he watches movies, buys eatables for himself and, for most part, uses it for gambling. From where do they collect liquor bottles? "From the public park nearby" comes the quick answer.

Every time they get a chance, Narsimha and his friend Lingam go to the nearby public park. As it starts getting dark many men come to the park, drink liquor and leave the empty bottles around. The two boys collect these bottles and sell them. "We have to be there on time to pick the bottles otherwise some other boys and sometimes the 'chaukidaar' (watchman) may take them away", the boys mentioned. Therefore when the men are drinking Narsimha and Lingam generally sit some distance away from the group of men, waiting for them to finish. Initially they used to be afraid to sit anywhere near such groups. Later, they said, they had got used to it. Now when the men question them, they tell them that they want the empty bottles. The men generally ask them to wait for a while.

What do they do while waiting? "If it is not too dark we gamble with marbles otherwise we sit and listen to what the men talk". They added, "most of the time we do not understand what they talk. Sometimes one fellow talks about how he was cheated by someone or another man may tell about his problems at home or another one on yet another thing". When his mother questions him about his whereabouts he usually tells her that he had gone to play with Lingam, or someone else. "I do not tell the truth because she will either tell my father or stop me from going to the park", he said. Narsimha added, "I will not like it if I am stopped from going to the park. I get a lot of money by selling bottles. If I stop it from where can I get money. If I ask my father for money he beats me and my mother gives me only small amounts occasionally".

Narsimha's father is a severe drunkard. Everyday not only does he drink but also gives liquor to Narsimha's 3 year old brother! "I do not know why he does not. It seems he used to do like this for me too". He said that he had not got used to liquor because of its "bad" taste. Whenever Narsimha's mother tries to stop her husband from giving liquor to small children, she gets beaten and scolded. In a drunken state, he often picks up arguments with the neighbours which sometimes become serious. In such situations Narsimha intervenes. He said, "I hit my father at such times and bring him into the house". He added, "I do not like all these happenings, whenever I hit my father I usually start crying, seeing my mother and sister so helpless". Narsimha said that he does not like his father. He said, "my father does not allow me to either study nor does he find some work for me to do. If I mention to him about wanting to work, he gets angry and beats me". He said that he sometimes feels helpless when his father beats his mother and hurls abuses at his sister. He likes both of them because they give support and sympathise with him whenever he is beaten by his father. "They also give me money, but only a small amount", he added. He does not like his younger siblings because they complain to his father whenever they see him leaving the slum with friends, for playing. "They are the main reason for being unable to attend school", he added.

Narsimha's friend provides more than just companionship. "Lingam always supports me when my younger sister complains to my

mother", he said. Narsimha has several playmates but he said, only three of them were his friends - Moin, Piyas and Lingam. As Moin goes to school, and Piyas sometimes goes for work, Narsimha and Lingam spend most of their time together. Lingam is two years younger than Narsimha, but much 'smarter' than him. Lingam admits that he steals. He steals clothes from houses, bricks, iron rods, pipes etc from construction sites, metal scrap from mechanic shop and sells them to the "kabadiwala" (ragtrader). Narsimha had often accompanied Lingam and stood guard for him on several occasions. On one occasion, Narsimha's mother had noticed them both. She had then warned him against involving himself in such acts.

Circumstances have frustrated and made him hard cynical. He talks rudely to people and often behaves aggressively.

When Narsimha is asked about what he will do in future, the only thing he repeatedly answered is, "I will go away from here". What will he do after going away from home? He said, "I will work in a hotel or in a mechanical shop or do any work I can find, but I do not want to stay at home, here". He also added that now he was not very keen to go to school, although he still regrets at the missed opportunity. He said, he was only interested in earning money, and education for him is only a secondary thing.

ELUCIDATION

1. Belongs to a migrant family from Chevella in Andhra Pradesh. Migrated to Hyderabad after a natural calamity.
2. Parents are daily wage earners.
- 3 Did not have the opportunity to attend school because of responsibility to care for young siblings. Regrets at the missed opportunity.
4. Spends most of his time gambling with marbles, roaming around on the roads, public parks.
5. Father is a drunkard, beats and scolds wife and children often.
6. Has a friend who has delinquent tendencies.
7. Comes into contact with drunkards and other such persons who are bad influences on behaviour.
8. Determined to run away from home and find work to earn money.

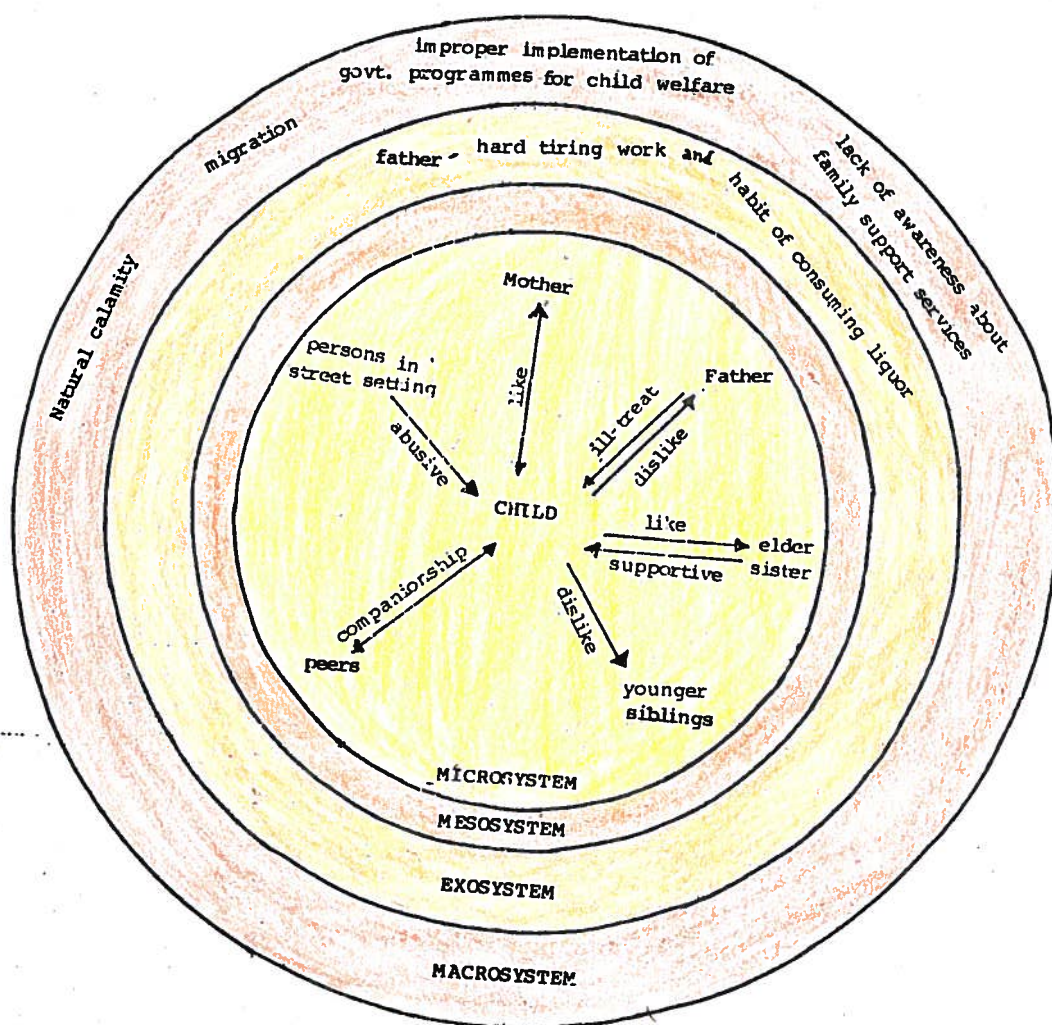


Fig.14: ECO-MAP- 5

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding case and the eco-map, the following profile of ecological environment emerges.

Microsystem:

- * Prominent role expected is of an elder sibling who requires to care for younger siblings.
- * Activities include household chores, gambling, watching movies, roaming in parks, witness to delinquent acts.
- * Interpersonal relations with mother and elder sister mutually positive while with father and younger siblings it is negative.
- * Transcontextual dyadic relations with close friend.
- * Behaviour of persons met on street setting (parks etc) are observed by Narsimha. Such behaviour could influence his own behaviour.

Mesosystem

- * Not a very prominent system in this case.

Exosystem:

- * Father's hard tiring work and the habit of drinking liquor creates tension in the family, resulting from ill-treatment and abuse of family members by father in the drunken state. These happenings in the family have frustrated and made Narsimha aggressive.

Macrosystem:

- * Prominent factor is the improper implementation of government programmes for children such as Balwadis and Creches. Second, but inter-related factor, is lack of awareness about (and motivation to use) such services which may be existent.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE**A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)**

Chronological age	: 12 years
Verbal I.Q	: 70.7
Performance I.Q	: 81.0
Total I.Q	: 75.9

An I.Q. of 75.9 indicated that Narsimha was below average in intelligence. He had higher performance I.Q scores than verbal I.Q. scores.

Figure (15) shows the Narsimha performed at below average level in Comprehension, Arithmetic, Picture completion, Coding and Mazes. His performance was poor in Information.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 12 years
Social age	: 11 years
Social quotient	: 91.7

S.Q of 91.7 indicated that Narsimha was average in social maturity.

Figure (16) shows that Narsimha is superior in occupation, above average in self-direction, average in communication and self-help dressing.

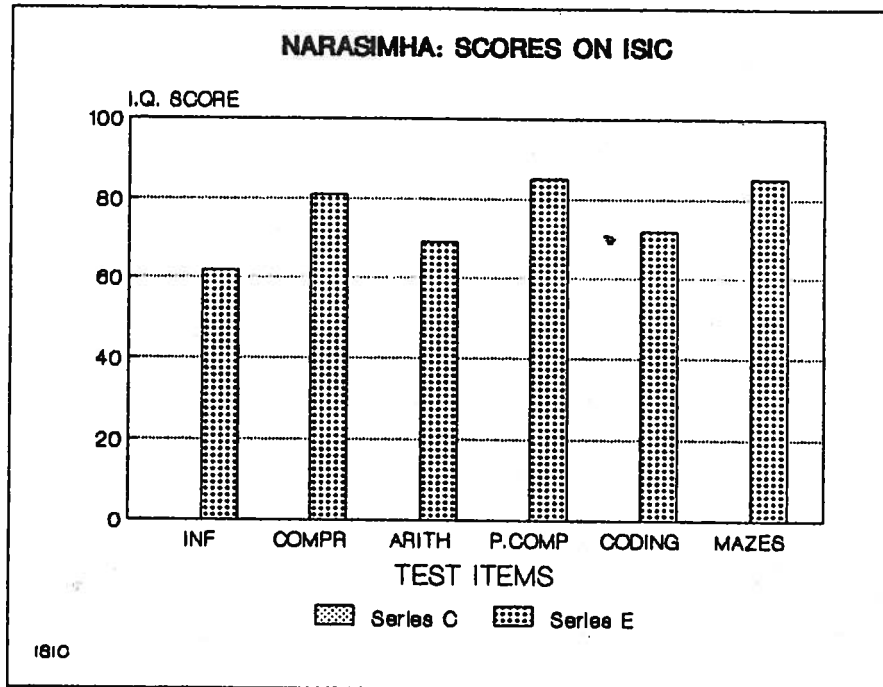


Fig. 15: Scores on ISIC - Case 5

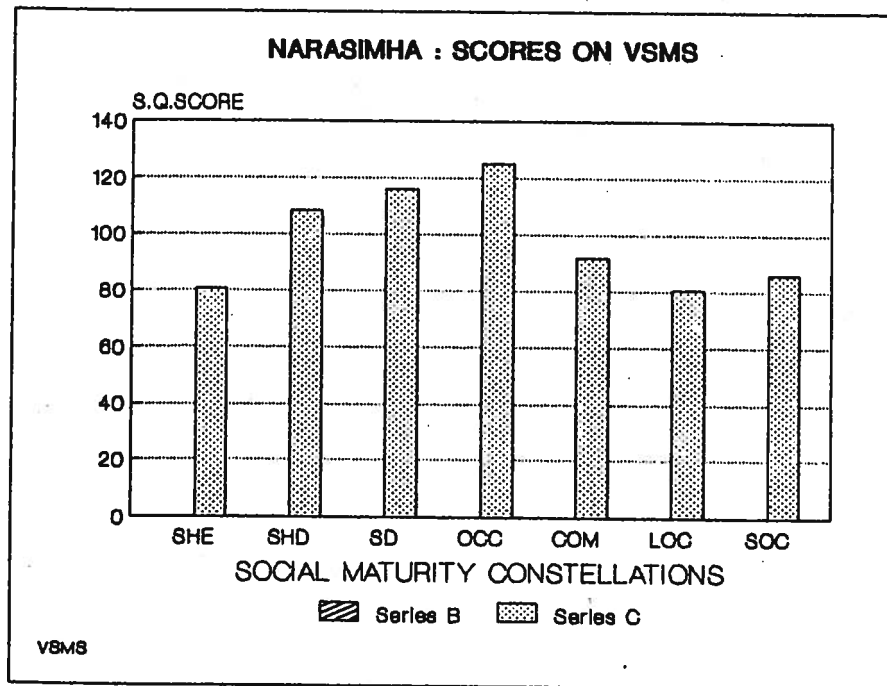


Fig. 16: Scores on VSMS - Case 5

DISCUSSION - CASE-V

Narsimha's case highlights the need for social support systems for families to function effectively. It is clear that care of siblings was the only reason that prevented Narsimha from attending school and thereby leading to his present status. Thus if he did not have such a responsibility, it is likely that Narsimha could have been in school. It is in this light that social support systems become prominent. If Narsimha's parents were aware as well as motivated to utilize the services of either the anganwadis or balwadis, Narsimha would have had the opportunity for school education. Therefore there is an immediate need to popularize, strengthen and make such support services attractive and accessible to the urban poor.

Another point that comes through with this case, is the importance of child's perception of his/her environment either as being abusive or not, rather than the real situation. It is evident that Narsimha is aware of the several opportunities denied to him and is clearly frustrated because of it. He is also conscious of the disturbing conditions prevalent in the family. It is obvious that Narsimha has perceived that he is being abused and ill-treated. This could be the reason why he is firm on running away from home, to escape to freedom. This view point is further strengthened when Narsimha's case is viewed in relation to the cases of the rest of children in the sample. During the investigation, the researcher had observed that almost all the children lived in conditions where they were being scolded,

beaten, over-worked, exploited and so on. But seven out of the nine children seemed to view such treatment as being a normal thing. It is therefore obvious that they did not perceive their environments as being abusive and hence did not give any indications of action similar to that contemplated by Narsimha.

If such a view point is accepted it could explain why thousands of children who live in such conditions do not break away from their homes to seek shelter on the streets. It could also suggest that only such a perception prompts children to leave their home in search of independence and freedom.

It is clear that Narsimha's friend Lingam is a bad influence on his behaviour. He has introduced/exposed Narsimha to several delinquent acts. If Narsimha does run away from home, given his association with Lingam and the prolonged exposure to drunkards (in the park) and other such experiences, it would not be unreasonable to assume that he would unhesitantly resort to delinquent acts. It would become an essential part of survival on the street. There is also the likelihood that unintentionally or otherwise, he will take up criminal careers. Therefore vagrancy has to be tackled effectively to prevent the future of a large number of children from being doomed.

From the ecological point of view, the most prominent systems are the microsystem and the macrosystem.

CASE - VI

"I liked this better than school" - 9 year old vagrant

Short, thin and lean 9-year old Tirupathi plays with marbles throughout the day. He wears dirty clothes. He said that he had been wearing the same clothes for about two months now. He does not have another set of clothes. His hands and feet show marks of injuries. When enquired about it, he said, "sometimes I fall down while climbing trees, or while running on the road. Sometimes I get hurt when I fight for marbles". The corners of his mouth show cracks indicating vitamin deficiency. His nails are dirty and hair is un-oiled and brown. Tirupathi presents the picture of a typical vagrant.

Tirupathi does not have a father. He had died some months ago, in January 1992. Tirupathi has three elder sisters and a younger one. He is the only son. His father was a mason and the family lived in their own house. After his father's death Tirupathi's mother and eldest sister started working as maid servants. The other sisters stay at home. But Tirupathi does not stay with his own family.

Tirupathi now stays with his uncle. He had come to stay with his paternal uncle's family, a few months ago. After Tirupathi's father's death his relatives had threatened to kill Tirupathi, over some property matters. Fearing this, his mother had left him in his uncle's house, atleast until the situation became better.

In Tirupathi's uncle's family there are six members - his uncle, aunt and their three daughters and one youngest son. The family also stays in their own house; which they constructed with a financial aid of Rs.3000/- from the Government. Since this loan was not sufficient, they had borrowed extra money from elsewhere and completed the small two-room house. Till recently they had stayed in that house but out of financial necessity they rented it out for rupees 400/- per month. They now live in a small shed on the terrace of this house.

Tirupathi's uncle's house is located in Domalguda area. The slum in which their house is located is an organized and authorized one, with all the basic civic amenities.

Tirupathi's uncle and aunt are casual labourers. Together they earn an income of rupees 45-50/- each day. They normally have work for approximately 3 weeks in a month. Tirupathi's aunt mentioned that the money was just sufficient for maintaining the family. They also have to clear away the debt, (incurred during house construction), partly with the rent it fetches.

Tirupathi's parents had got him enrolled in a school, near their house in Saidabad. But Tirupathi mentioned that from the beginning he was not keen on going to school. "I used to have a lot of friends with whom I could play. They also never attended schools. Only three of them went to study, rest of us played marbles and watched video", he said as a justification. Tirupathi's eldest sister who had come to see him at his uncle's

house had said, "he never used to listen to me. After my parents left to work he used to leave home for playing with friends instead of going to school. Tirupathi mentioned, "on the whole I must have gone to school only for 10 days". Did his sister not complain to the parents? "She used to tell my mother. In the beginning they used to beat me and force me to go to school. Later she herself had stopped complaining, I do not know why", he said.

Tirupathi's sister mentioned that her parents left very early in the morning and came back only in the evening. Most of the time they do not know what happened at home. She said, "many children in our slum (in Saidabad) are like that. Although their names are enrolled in schools, most of them do not attend. They group together in one corner and play marbles, or "chit-pat" (a game played with cigarette packets). Sometimes, if they have money, they lure each other to watch video films". Somewhere near their slum some men run a video 'parlour' where these small children are allowed to watch movies if they pay one rupee each. "I know that my father will beat me if he comes to know that I went to see a video, but my friends used to force me to come", Tirupathi mentioned.

Why was he not keen to go to school? "They do not teach anything there. The teacher does not come everyday. My friends told me this. All the children do whatever they want in class. Sometimes, somebody comes and make us stand on the bench and hit us with a stick. So my friends used to tell me not to go at all",

he replied. He said that they used to pull him away to play marbles. "I liked this better than school", he said.

Once Tirupathi came to his uncle's house in Domalguda, the situation was different. After sending him to Domalguda, Tirupathi's mother wanted him to be placed in some work, preferably send him along with his uncle and aunt. She said that she was hesitant because Tirupathi was small to withstand such hard labour.

In Domalguda, Tirupathi and his cousins stay at home when his uncle and aunt leave for work. Tirupathi does some household work while two of his cousins Lakshamma and Gangamma look after their 3-year old Durgamma, and 2 year old Sanjay. He fetches water every day from a nearby handpump and run errands for his aunt, while his two cousins generally did the cleaning and sweeping. After he finishes his household work Tirupathi plays marbles along with his cousins and friends, in the narrow by-lane leading to their houses. When his cousins are not around Tirupathi and his friends go to a large public park (some distance away from their house) for a bath near a pool. They also take this opportunity to pluck tamarind fruits which they later sell and get some money. Out of fear, he keeps such 'outings' a secret from his cousins. He said that if they come to know they will complain to their mother that he went roaming around leaving them alone at home. "Sometimes they complain that I have eaten all snacks without sharing with them, or they snatch

away my money", he complained. Whenever he gets small amounts of money, he prefers to spend it away on eatables for himself.

Where does he go roaming around, with his friends? Tirupathi said that they roam around on the roads watching cinema posters or sometimes go to see film shootings. When they go to parks, Tirupathi and his friends play marbles and occasionally watch adult men playing cards especially in the afternoon.

For a few days, Tirupathi and his close friend Narri had worked at odd jobs. They watered plants in a house in the nearby residential colony, every evening. The landlady paid each of them rupees 5/- per week, for the work. Similarly once in a while he cleans toilets for which he gets 2-3/-rupees. Tirupathi used to give the money to his aunt. He said, "I liked the landlady very much because she used to be kind and give us food to eat , sometimes, in the mornings".

Tirupathi's cousins especially Lakshamma who is one year elder to him, dominate him. They always threaten to complain about him to their mother. Tirupathi was observed to be hesitant to talk about his experiences in his uncle's family, especially when his cousins are around. Tirupathi said that he likes both his aunt and uncle. On other occasions he mentioned that his aunt beats him especially when his cousins complain. He was also afraid of her. Tirupathi's friend Narri revealed that there are days when Tirupathi goes without food. Tirupathi added, "the food which my aunt leaves for me becomes stale and unfit for

eating". At such times if he has money he manages to buy something to eat. Since he usually does not have much money, he remains hungry.

Narri said, "Tirupathi's cousins are not good. They always complain about him. I think they are jealous because he has money".

Tirupathi's friends are very supportive and sympathetic towards him. They are more than just companions. "Although they are afraid of my aunt, my friends always support me when my cousins complain", he mentioned. Whom does he like the most? "Everyone here is nice, especially my uncle. He does not say anything to me even if my aunt complains about me". But do not his cousins cause difficulty for him? He does not answer that question. Instead he said, I like my mother and youngest sister the most".

Tirupathi's mother comes to see him frequently. During every visit she tells him that after some more time Tirupathi could come back to his house. Tirupathi does not usually tell his mother about the conditions in his uncle's house. He does not like to do so but refused to give any reason.

Tirupathi does not know what he wants to do in future. He says, "I will do whatever my mother wants me to do.

ELUCIDATION

1. Does not have a father.
2. Was enrolled in a school but had attended it only for a few days.
3. Influenced by friends not to attend school; played with a group of friends and watched video films instead of attending school.
4. Presently stays with paternal uncle's family. Live in an authorized slum area, with all basic civic amenities.
5. Illtreated at home by aunt and cousins.
6. Is dirty, thin and has vitamin deficiency.
7. Plays marbles and roams around on the roads throughout the day.
8. Unsure about future aspirations.

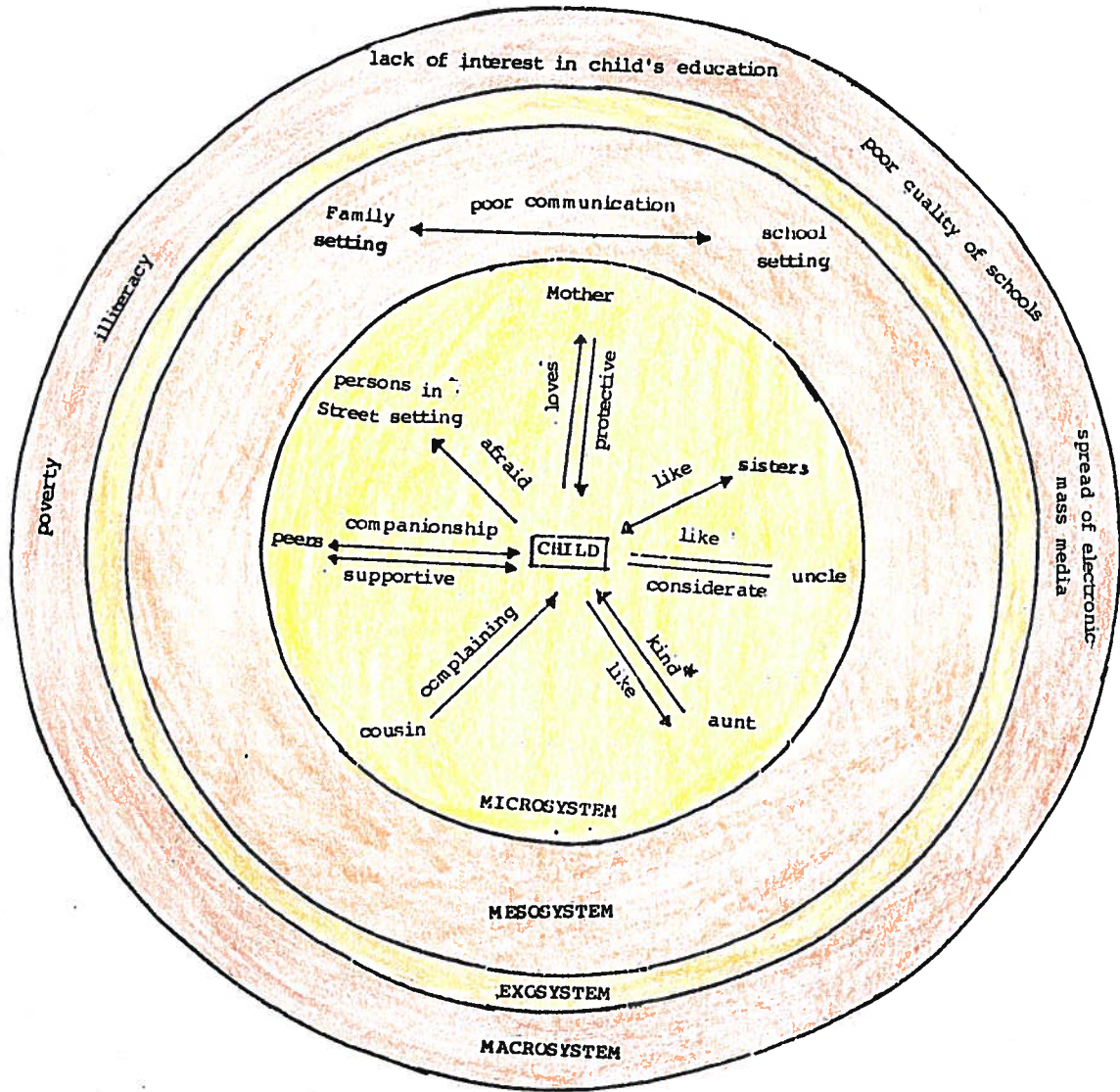


Fig.17: ECO-MAP - 6

Note: Maintaining ecological (*) mark indicates the child's perception although the investigators observation showed that the child was often ill-treated.

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding case and eco-map the following profile of the ecological environment emerges :

Microsystem:

- * Activities involved in included gambling, roaming around on the streets, and household chores.
- * Interpersonal relations with members of uncle's family and persons on the street were mostly negative. Relations with own family (mother and sisters), and peers was positive.
- * Change (transition) from own family to uncle's family.
- * No prominent role expectation.

Mesosystem:

- * Prominent microsystem (settings) were family, school, slum and street.
- * Lack of awareness in the family setting about events occurring in the school had resulted in Tirupathi leaving school and becoming a vagrant.

Exosystem:

- * No prominent exosystem factor.

Macrosystem:

- * Poverty, illiteracy, poor quality of schools, lack of parental interest in educating children, spread of electronic mass media have indirectly caused vagrancy.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE**A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)**

Chronological age	: 9 years 8 months
Verbal I.Q	: 72.0
Performance I.Q	: 70.0
Total I.Q	: 71.0

An I.Q of 71.0 indicated that Tirupathi was below average in intelligence. He had higher verbal I.Q scores than performance I.Q scores.

Figure (18) shows that Tirupathi performed at below average level in Arithmetic, Similarities and Mazes while the performances were retarded mildly in Comprehension, Picture completion and Coding.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 9 years 8 months
Social age	: 10 years 6 months
Social quotient	: 108.60

S.Q of 108.60 indicated that Tirupathi was average in social maturity.

Figure (19) shows that Tirupathi was superior in Self-direction and Occupation; above average in Self-help dressing and Communication; and average in Self-help eating, Locomotion and Socialization.

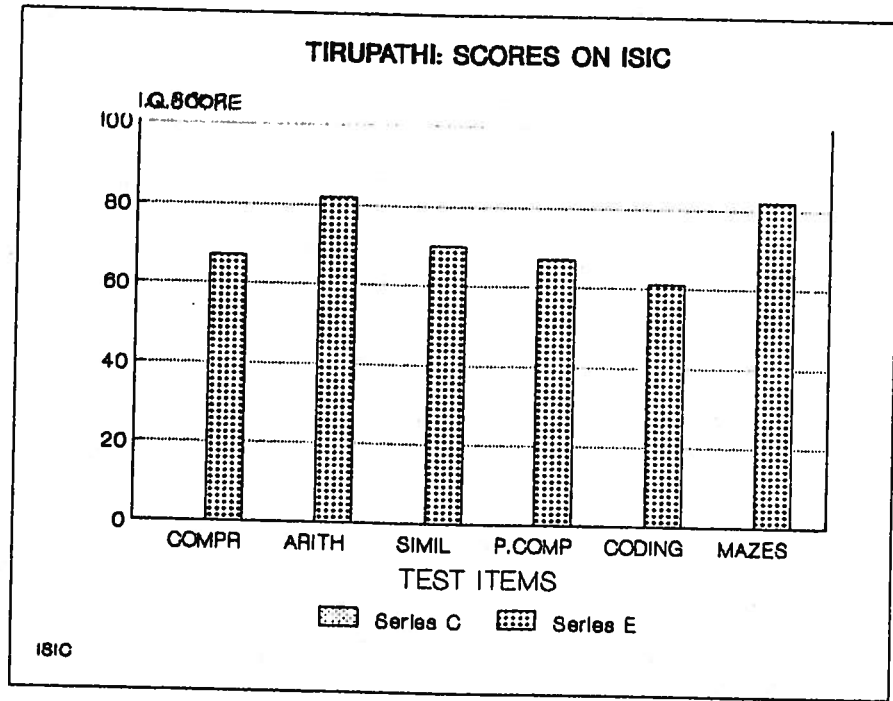


Fig. 18: Scores on ISIC - Case 6

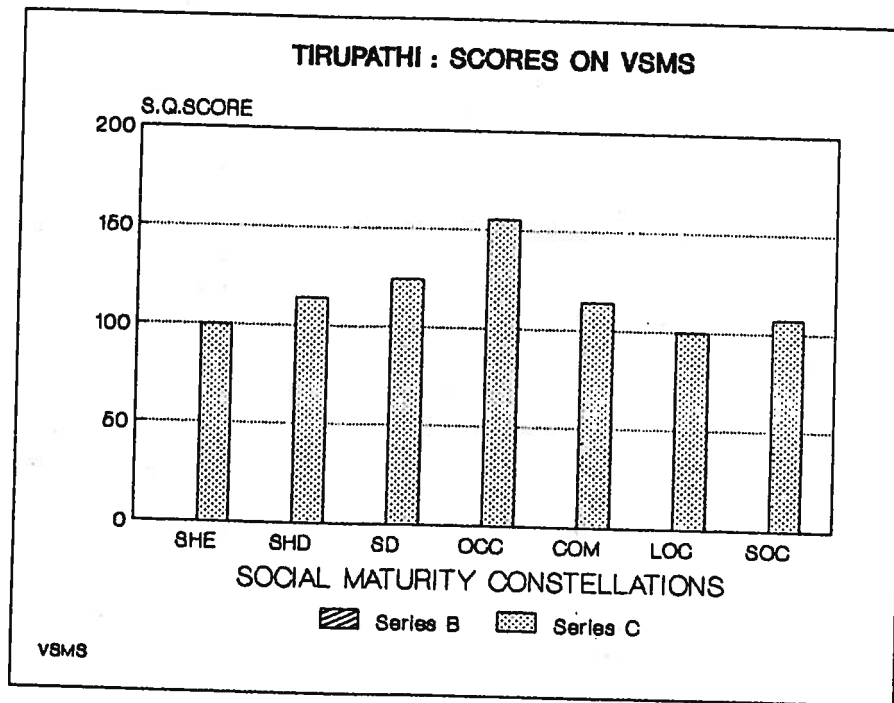


Fig. 19: Scores on VSMS - Case 6

DISCUSSION - CASE-VI

It is clear that Tirupathi was influenced partly by his friends, not to attend school. Secondly, the conditions prevailing in the school was also not conducive for Tirupathi and his friends to develop interest in studies. Therefore it is not surprising that such activities as watching video movies, playing marbles, enjoining with friends had attracted them more than school.

It can be seen that parents are also partly responsible for Tirupathi's behaviour. They were too involved in their occupations that they neglected him. From the researcher's experience, it is felt that, in Tirupathi's family, as in many other families with similar socio-economic background, Tirupathi was not sent to school with the aim of getting him educated. School ensured that he was not getting into bad company. For them school was a place where Tirupathi could spend his time till he was ready to be absorbed into the work force. This is clear from the fact that Tirupathi's parents did not make serious efforts to ensure that he attended school regularly, and had ultimately let him have his own way.

From development point of view, it can be said that the crucial period of childhood has been wasted and his intellectual development delayed. Due to his experiences in his uncle's house, he may be physically and emotionally effected.

If Tirupathi had attended school regularly, it could be hoped that he would have been atleast literate by now. Since Tirupathi is not sure of what he wants to do in future, he can still be helped to become a constructive and contributory member of society. Thus there is a need to provide appropriate interventions (preferably in the form of vocational training). For this the first step would be to identify such children. From the researcher's experience it is felt that parents could be convinced and motivated to allow their children to undergo appropriate intervention.

From the ecological perspective, the microsystem, mesosystem and macrosystem are prominent.



GAMBLING : THEIR WAY OF LIFE — DELETERIOUS FOR DEVELOPMENT.



CASE - VII

"I do not like to beg" - 10 year old begger

Ten year old Pochamma belongs to "Budhegajangams", a community originally of beggars by profession. Although most members of this community have given up begging, yet a large number of them especially women and children continue to follow the profession. There are many such Budhagajangam families in the Chintalbasti slum in which Pochamma lives.

Pochamma is the fourth child among the seven children in the family. She has four brothers and two sisters. One of the sisters had got married a year ago, at the age of 16. Pochamma's father is employed with the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad. His job is to gather garbage from the municipal bins and transfer it to the garbage disposal vans. He earns rupees 400/- per month. Pochamma's mother is a maidservant, and earns rupees 200/- per month. Pochamma's 20 year old brother is a daily-wage earner. His work is to white-wash houses. But such work is available only for a short period and is uncertain too. Therefore his income of about rupees 150/- per week is also irregular. Pochamma's 12 year old sister Ellamma used to do begging and ragpicking, previously. Later she had started accompanying her mother for work in the houses, whenever her mother was unable to go for work, Ellamma used to take her place. Her employer had insisted on Ellamma to give up begging and ragpicking. Her mother mentioned that the employer used to scold

Ellamma and her mother whenever she found her begging and ragpicking. Ellamma gradually stopped ragpicking and is engaged in baby-sitting at the same house. Pochamma's three younger brothers are 6 years, 5 years and 3 years old respectively. They spend their time playing around in the slum, or on the narrow by-lanes leading to their slum. The older of the three, generally accompanies Pochamma when she goes for begging and ragpicking.

Pochamma's house is dark and has only one room. The chintalbasti slum in which she lives is located in a busy market area. The conditions of the slum are deplorable. It has open drains behind the houses. There is a large garbage dump at the entrance to the slum. It does not have basic civic amenities like drinking water or sanitation facilities.

All the family members are illiterate. Pochamma also didnot have an opportunity for schooling. Until 2 or 3 years ago she used to often accompany her mother when she went for begging. Otherwise, Pochamma had generally stayed at home to look after her younger siblings, while her parents and sister went to work. Gradually she had started begging on her own.

Pochamma goes everyday in morning to beg for food from nearby houses. She comes back at around 9 O'clock. Since, her sister has to do babysitting for the whole day at her employer's house, the responsibility to help in household work is on Pochamma. After coming back from begging in the morning, she fetches water, cleans utensils, and sweeps the surroundings

before her mother returns from work. Sometimes she goes for fetching firewood . Pochamma also buys vegetables, broken rice, chillies etc. for the day. Although her mother does most of the cooking, Pochamma helps by cutting vegetables, cleaning the rice and so on.

In the afternoon, she has her lunch and then starts playing marbles either by herself or with some friends. Frequently she goes for ragpicking if she is not needed at home for helping in some work. Usually Pochamma's brother returns late in the afternoon, for lunch. At this time when her mother is asleep, Pochamma has to serve food to him.

In certain days of the week such as Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, Pochamma sits near temples in the evening to beg for money. On some auspicious days, she also gets food, especially when some people distribute food to poor people. Sometimes on festival days her mother accompanies her. On the other days, many neighbouring girls and women also beg near temples, so Pochamma accompanies them.

Pochamma earns 8-10 rupees when she begs in temples. She also goes for ragpicking once in 2-3 days, or whenever it is possible. She earns 5-10 rupees from ragpicking. Pochamma had started ragpicking after she watched many boys from the slum do it. Since it fetched money, she became interested in it, and started ragpicking.

Pochamma usually kept back 2-5 rupees for herself, without telling her mother. The rest of the earnings, she gives it to her mother. With the money, she buys "paan" and "ghutka" packets. She also buys guavas, biscuits and other eatables for her brother and herself. She prefers to spend all her money, but sometimes if 50 paise or 1 rupee remains, she hides it in the mud behind her house. She digs it immediately the nextmorning and spends it. "If my mother or brother come to know that I have money, they will beat me and snatch it away".

Pochamma says that, sometimes, she does not like to go for begging because generally people scold and behave rudely toward her.

Pochamma is afraid of her father and brother. Everyday he comes home drunk and usually creates trouble at home. Pochamma's mother said, "He just cannot help drinking (liquor). The work he does is tiring. If he has to forget the dirt and stench (of garbage) and the tiredness, he has to drink". She also added, "He drinks liquor with his own money. He does not give his salary at all. I have to manage in the house with what the children and I earn".

Apart from having to feed a large family, Pochamma's mother pays "chits" (unorganised form of chit funds) in order to save for "marriages of daughters and to clear some debts".

Pochamma's brother scolds her frequently, "for no reason at all". She said, "he does not like me to play with marbles, so he

scolds and beats me". Pochamma's mother also ill-treats her. She scolds and beats her frequently. Pochamma is afraid of her mother, but she said that she liked all her family members except her elder brother. She also said that she did not have any difficulties or problems at home.

Pochamma said that she did not have any friends as such. Whenever possible, she plays with a few children from the slum. "My father and brother beat me if I leave the house and go for playing. So as far as possible I play near the house itself".

Pochamma is restricted and too many controls imposed over her by family members. She lacks freedom, is submissive and meek.

What does she expect to do in future?. "I will also become a maid servant like my mother and sister". She does not want to study because her father would not agree. Regarding Pochamma's father one of the neighbours mentioned, "He is very short tempered and always beats the children. He will not send his children anywhere except for working."

ELUCIDATION

1. Belongs to "Budhegajangam" community which was originally of beggars by profession; lives in a over-crowded, dirty slum area, by the busy market side.
2. Illiterate; begs at temples and in nearby residential areas. Spends 3-5 hours begging and earns 8-10 rupees daily.

3. Performs several household chores in addition to begging.
4. Ill-treated at home by parents and elder siblings. Does not have many friends.
5. Does not like to beg because people often scold and behave rudely towards her.
6. Has such harmful habits as chewing 'ghutka', 'paan' etc.
7. Wants to pursue mother's occupation and become a domestic servant.

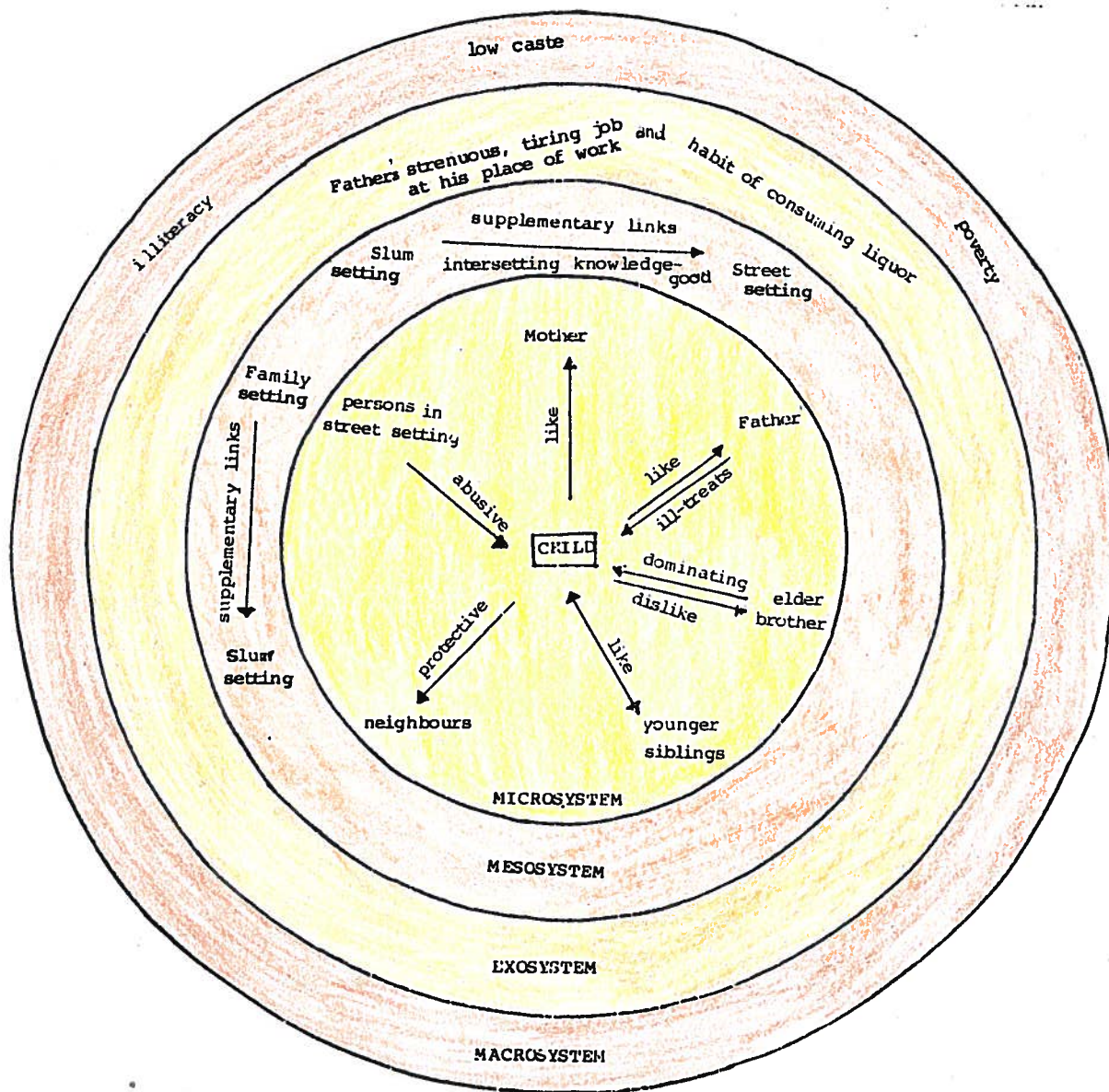


Fig.20: ECO-MAP - 7

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding case and eco-map, the following ecological profile of the environment emerges:

Microsystem:

- * Prominent role of contributor for economic survival of the family.
- * Activities include begging, household chores, and sometimes ragpicking.
- * Interpersonal relations with mother and younger siblings are positive; similarly with women from the slum, while with father, elder sibling and persons in street setting.

Mesosystem:

- * Women from the slum who engage in begging along with Pochamma, provide information about street setting.

Exosystem:

- * Nature of father's job and the habit of drinking liquor to overcome tiredness affects the family atmosphere. The father ill-treats the wife and children in the drunken state.

Macrosystem:

- * Poverty, illiteracy and the community to which she belongs have indirectly caused/prompted Pochamma to take up begging.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE**A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)**

Chronological age	: 10 years 2 months
Verbal I.Q	: 72.7
Performance I.Q	: 62.0
Total I.Q	: 67.4

An I.Q of 67.4 indicated that Pochamma is mildly retarded in intelligence. She had better verbal I.Q scores than performance I.Q scores.

Figure (21) shows that Pochamma performed at below average level in Comprehension and Arithmetic. The performance in Information, Block design, Object assembly and Mazes was at mild retardation level.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 10 years 2 months
Social age	: 10 years 3 months
Social quotient	: 100.80

S.Q of 100.8 indicated that Pochamma was average in social maturity.

Figure (22) shows that Pochamma was superior in self-help dressing, brilliant (140 above) in Occupation, above average in self-help eating, Communication and Socialization, and below average in Locomotion.

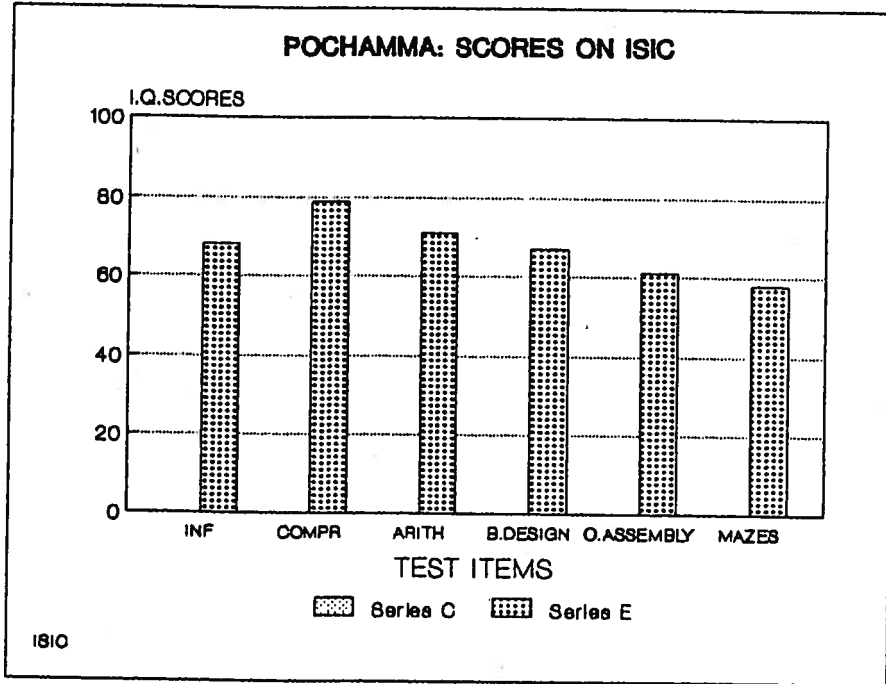


Fig. 21: Scores on ISIC - Case 7

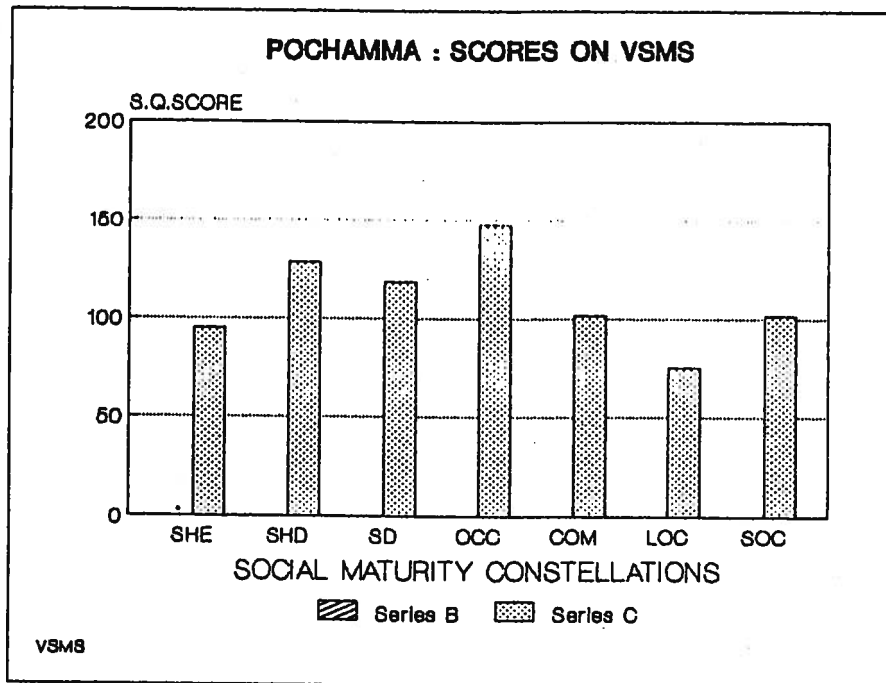


Fig. 22: Scores on VSMS - Case7

DISCUSSION OF CASE-VII

This case highlights once again the miserable conditions of female street children - both at home and on the street. This case typically shows how the female street child is burdened with work both at home and street. Similarly she is dominated by family.

It is obvious that economic necessity combined with the influence of family members, forced Pochamma to resort to ragpicking. It could also have been prompted by the community to which she belongs.

Being dominated and ill-treated by family members, and involving in begging which she does not like, affect Pochamma, make her feel insecure, submissive and meek.

The psycho-social profile revealed that Pochamma's I.Q was 67.4 (mild retardation). This could be the result of living in such deprived and intellectually unstimulating environment.

Pochamma aspired to take up her mother's vocation and become domestic servant. This reflects a grim prospect for her future and further deteriorates the chances of improving herself.

The prominent ecosystems in Pochamma's ecological environment are the microsystem and macrosystem.

CASE - VIII

Bearing the burden of debt - The 12 year old begger-ragpicker.

Padmavathi and her 10 year old brother Samelu do not live with their own family now. Padmavathi stays with her grandmother, and her brother in their uncle's (father's elder brother) house, both in the same Nirankar nagar slum. Very recently Padmavathi's parents and the rest of her siblings had left Hyderabad to other districts, for earning money. They have left Padmavathi and Samelu behind to clear a large debt.

Due to unemployment, and in order to make a living in the city, the family had migrated from Godavari district in Coastal Andhra Pradesh. Padmavathi doesnot have an own mother. She had died of Tuberculosis eight years ago. At that time, Padmavathi was 4 years old and her brother Samelu was only. Their relatives had convinced Padmavathi's father to marry again so that the small children could be looked after. Thus, he married a girl from close relatives family. Padmavathi has a 20 year old elder sister and a 10 year old younger brother. Her elder brother had died of Polio when he was still a child. Padmavathi revealed that her elder sister Lakshmi had got married and used to stay with her parents-in-law in Kakinada in Coastal Andhra Pradesh. Due to some problems she returned to her parents. Later she had eloped and married another person. The elders in the community had taken a strong objection to this and decided to impose a fine on the family as punishment. Her father had to

borrow money from his elder brother to pay the fine. To this day, the family pays rupees 10/- every day as debt money.

Padmavathi also has two step-siblings - a 7 year old sister, and a 3 month-old brother.

Padmavathi's father is a vendor. He sells framed pictures of gods and goddesses, artificial flower garlands and other such decoration pieces from which he earns approximately rupees 30/- per day. Padmavathi's step-mother stays at home to look after her 3 month old son. Like Padmavathi, her brother Samelu is also a beggar and ragpicker. Both of them together earn 30-40 rupees each day.

Padmavathi's father is a drunkard. He spends all the money he earns on drinking liquor. The family is virtually supported financially by Padmavathi and Samelu. The money they earn (30-40/- daily) is used for buying food and to clear the debt. To add to it, Padmavathi's father is away from home very frequently, for long periods of time. He usually went to the neighbouring towns to sell the goods and earn money.

The housing conditions are miserable. The small hut is precariously built. Inside the one room house but it is dark and space is insufficient for the family members to live in it. Therefore they usually sleep outside. The food is cooked outside the hut. Similarly washing clothes and utensils is carried on outside leaving the surroundings dirty and marshy. Thus the family lives in poverty stricken conditions.

Very recently, Padmavathi's parents and siblings (except Samelu) had left Hyderabad to go to other places to sell their goods and earn money. Padmavathi and Samelu had been left behind to clear the debt. Their parents had promised to return after some months.

Although she accompanied others for begging and ragpicking when she was very young (about 6-7 years) Padmavathi had stopped it for sometime. For sometime she had worked as a domestic servant. She used to earn 75 rupees per month. But after a few months her father asked her to stop working as a domestic servant and go for begging or ragpicking. "My father said that I can earn more money by begging and ragpicking rather than by working as a domestic servant", Padmavathi mentioned.

Padmavathi is involved in a unique form of begging called "Moorchapanthu". What is "Moorchapanthu"? Padmavathi was very hesitant to reveal that she indulged in Moorchapanthu. She had revealed the details only after her friends initiated the topic and pleaded her to talk. She was also embarrassed to admit that she was involved in such an activity.

Padmavathi explained about this unique form of seeking alms. "A small group of 4-5 of us decide on a residential area and each one does this 'act' independently. When we see some residents around, we immediately fall on the ground and act as though we have got fits. Then people pour water over us after which we 'recover', movingly narrate a story describing how our ancestors

were cursed to suffer from this 'disease' and thereby seek alms". After the 'act' the group meet at one common place, dry their clothes, share the money and leave.

Padmavathi added, "Moorchapanthu is very tiring and I feel exhausted on the days we do it". She also mentioned that it is done in the beginning of summer season, when the morning sun is not too hot, "otherwise, our backs will burn due to the summer heat". It is normally done 4-5 times each morning (between 9 am and 12 noon) and fetches each person about rupees 10/- daily.

Many such Moorchapanthu groups were found in the slum. Padmavathi and Samelu have been doing Moorchapanthu for the past 3-4 years. "We learnt it from our cousins, with whom we go everyday now", Samelu said. "I will stop going for Moorchapanthu after this summer because for girls, sometimes it becomes a problem with the clothes", Padmavathi added with a giggle.

When Padmavathi is not involved in Moorchapanthu she goes for begging and ragpicking. Everyday early in the morning, she goes begging for food along with her brother and sometimes accompanied by friends. Both of them eat the food they got, and started ragpicking. Padmavathi returned home between 10 O'clock and 11 O'clock, sorted out the rags into separate piles and went out to play with her friends who were also beggars and ragpickers. They used to play a lot of games with marbles, pebbles, sometimes "bommala pelli" (doll-marriage) or usually sat and talked to each other. "But we do not get much time for playing freely. Usually

there is some work or the other to be done. Either when it is too hot to go for ragpicking or when it rains heavily, we get lots of time to play", Padmavathi and her friends mentioned. After finishing chores like washing her clothes she used to eat lunch and go for ragpicking at 2 O'clock. She returned at 4 O'clock, sorted out the rags and sold the whole days collection. It fetched 15-20 rupees daily. On auspicious days and special occasions she and her friends go to the nearby Birla temple to beg for money. This was Padmavathi's routine when her parents were at Hyderabad.

After her parents had left, Padmavathi has no family, as such, to return to. "She does not return with us in the morning but spends the whole day on the roads", Sridevi, one of Padmavathi's friend added.

"These days I prefer to return only in the evening. When I feel hungry, I either beg for food or buy it if I have money", Padmavathi said. She pays the debt of rupees 10/- to her uncle, and gives a part of the money to her grandmother. Her brother, who now stays with their uncle, gives a part of his earnings to his aunt.

Thus Padmavathi spends approximately 10 hours outside the home, on the streets to earn 15-20/- rupees daily. After all the expenditure, she keeps rupees 5/- for her use. Padmavathi says that she does not like the street-life. She frequently gets injured during ragpicking. "Ragpicking is dirty. When I go

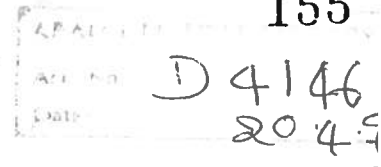
around alone on the roads usually boys harass and try to dominate. Sometimes people unnecessarily get irritated and scold when I beg for money", she explained as a response to what kind of difficulties she faced. She also reported that she was kidnapped when she was 8 years old. But she had managed to escape in a train and return home.

Padmavathi is very fond of her deceased mother. She frequently said, "I will get a tatoo of my mothers's name on my hand". She likes her father too because "he looks after me with care and takes me to a doctor when I fall ill". Padmavathi adds that when he comes home drunk, he beats his wife and sometimes the children and snatches away money for drinking liquor. Padmavathi dislikes her step-mother. "She is dirty. Neither does she keep herself clean nor the house or her children. Often she beats my brother, but rarely hits me because I retaliate, she often complains to my father about both of us", Padmavathi said. She added, "I usually complete my own work, give her the money and go away. I do not stay at home. I eat in my grandmother's house but not in 'this' house". But Padmavathi feels very protective and 'sisterly' toward her siblings. She protects and supports them when other children try to dominate them. She often gives money to her step-sister to buy eatables. Padmavathi feels that her grandmother is old and irritating. "She expects me to do all the household work", she complained. Padmavathi often picks up arguments with her grandmother who frequently tries to restrict her.

Padmavathi is disturbed at the present conditions at home and on the street. "I feel very bad and sometimes think of running away from home. But when I think of my father I stop myself. I feel that I may hurt him by running away", she narrates maturely. Does she discuss her difficulties and problems with someone?. "Such things do not happen. When something happens on the road, I usually come back and tell my friends. But whom to tell about my problems at home? Nobody can help our condition", she lamented.

"Sometimes this girl (Padmavathi) brings stolen goods!", one of the Padmavathi's friends suddenly mentioned. Obviously embarrassed and in a rage, Padmavathi retorted, "many others in this basti (slum) do such things". She went on to reveal that during afternoons she sometimes steals clothes, household articles and so on which are left outside. She does not think it is wrong to steal.

Padmavathi has several habits like chewing "zarda paan", and "ghutka". She is addicted to television and movies. Everyday she pays some money (50 paise or 1 rupee) to watch television in a house in the slum. She frequently goes to movies. Apart from indulging in such habits, Padmavathi spends her money on "going for cycling". "I love to do cycling. Whenever I find time I borrow a bicycle (for rent of 1 rupee per hour) and go cycling for a few hours". She also spends money on buying ribbons, hair-clips and such accessories. She likes to dress herself up "like the heroines in movies", Padmavathi once mentioned.



Padmavathi is very independent, mature girl who has been hardened by the circumstances. She behaves, talks and acts like an grown-up adult. She is not interested in studying. "What will I do studying?", she asks. "I will stop begging and ragpicking once the debt is cleared. After that I may work as domestic servant or do a job", she said but then added, "but it is my father's wish, what I do".

ELUCIDATION

1. Belongs to a backward classes family. Migrated from coastal Andhra Pradesh due to unemployment.
2. Motherless, but has a step-mother. Father is a vendor, who sells his ware in surrounding areas of Hyderabad.
3. Stays with grandmother (although temporarily) because parents have gone to neighbouring districts to earn money.
4. Has the responsibility to clear large debt. Engages in 'Moorchapanthu' (a form of begging) and ragpicking.
5. Begg for 4-5 hours, and spends most part of the day on the street. Earns 15-20 rupees daily.
6. Habituated to chewing "ghutkha", "paan", watching movies.
7. Uses abusive language, and engages in delinquent activities. Is stubborn, aggressive.
8. Experiences abusive incidents on the streets.

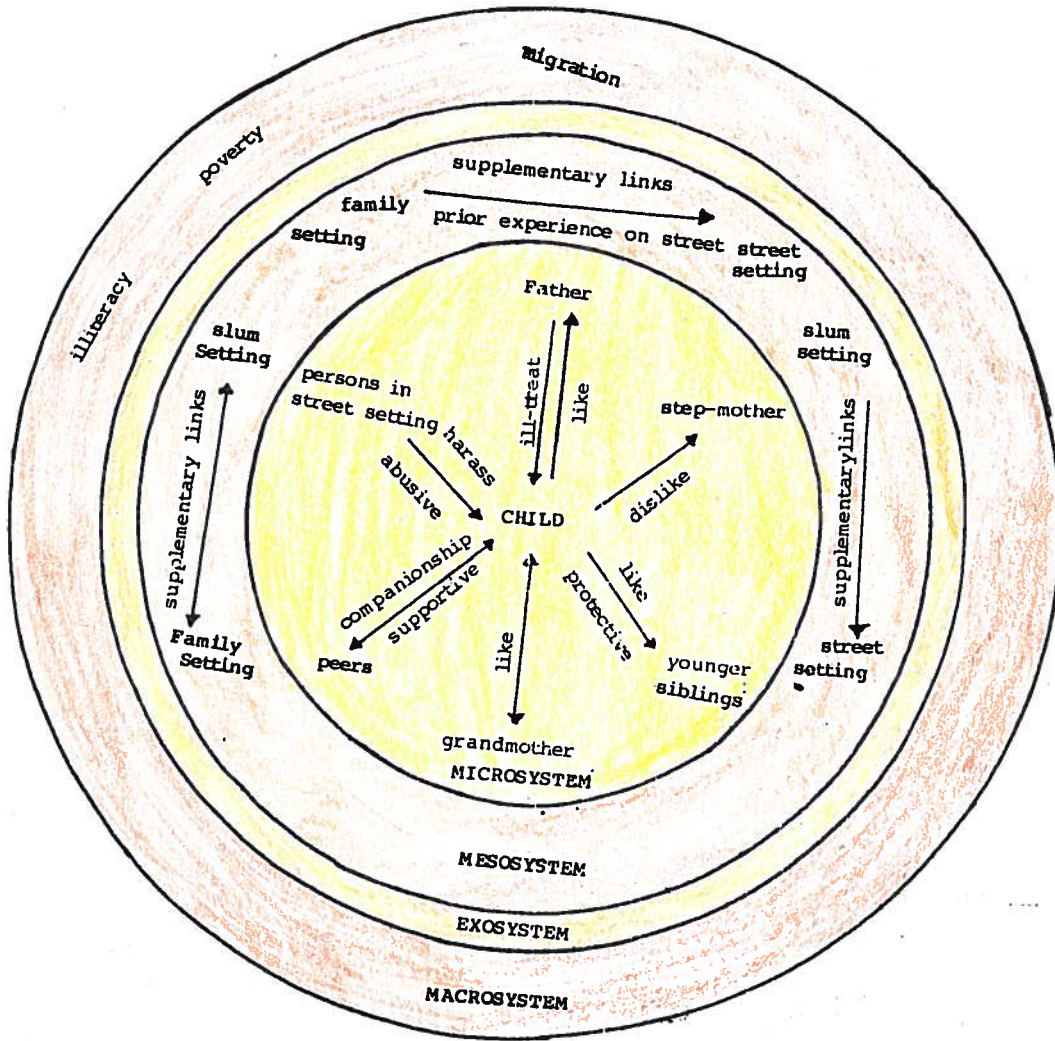


Fig. 23: ECO-MAP 8

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding case and eco-map, the following profile of the ecological environment emerges :

Microsystem:

- * Prominent role is of participant in economic survival.
- * Activities involved in include begging, ragpicking, indulging in harmful habits, delinquent activities, household chores.
- * Interpersonal relations are positive mostly with siblings and father and peers, but negative with step-mother, and persons on the street.
- * Transition within the family setting, since family members have been separated from each other, resulting in Padmavathi staying with grandmother.

Mesosystem:

- * Siblings, peers and some adult members in slums, who are also engaged in street activities, provide supplementary links between the three settings - family, slum and street. Apart from Padmavathi's own experience on the street, the supplementary links also serve as sources of information about street setting.

Exosystem:

- * Not a prominent system in this case.

Macrosystem:

- * Migration, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, cumulatively resulted in Padmavathi's involvement in street activity.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE**A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)**

Chronological age	: 12 years 2 months
Verbal I.Q	: 73.3
Performance I.Q	: 78.0
Total I.Q	: 75.7

An I.Q of 75.7 indicated that Padmavathi was below average in intelligence. She had higher performance I.Q scores than verbal I.Q scores.

Figure (24) shows that Padmavathi's performance was below average in Comprehension, Arithmetic, Picture completion, Block design and Mazes.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 12 years 2 months
Social age	: 11 years 4 months
Social quotient	: 93.20

S.Q of 93.20 indicated that Padmavathi was average in social maturity.

Figure (25) shows that Padmavathi was superior in Occupation, above average in self-direction and, average in self-help dressing and Communication.

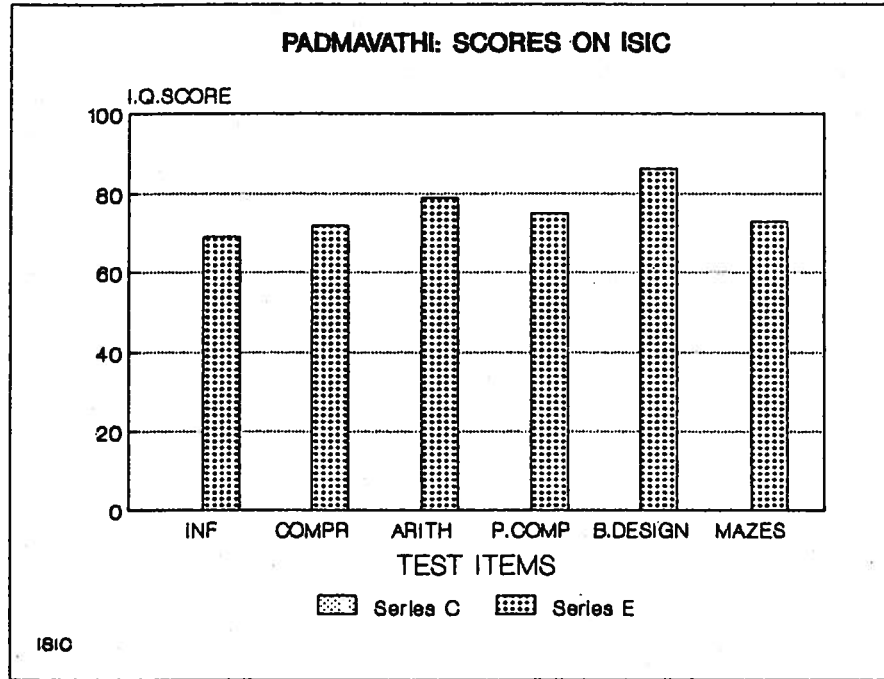


Fig. 24: Scores on ISIC - Case 8

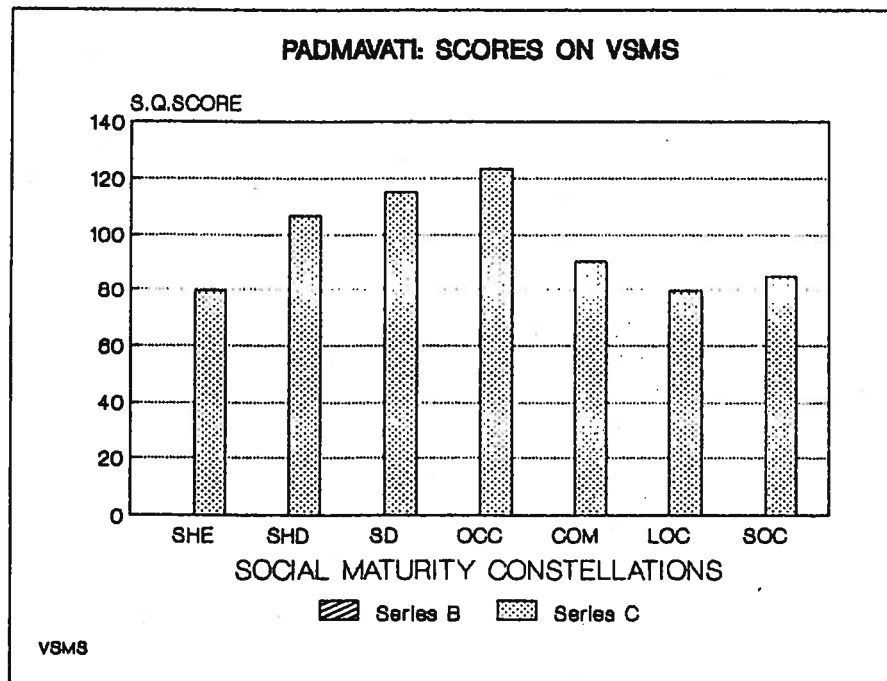


Fig. 25: Scores on VSMS - Case

DISCUSSION OF CASE - VIII

Padmavathi represents the case of a typical street child as far as the reasons, circumstances leading to the phenomenon and, the adverse affects of the experiences on the street are concerned.

It is obvious that poverty was the main cause for Padmavathi to resort to street activities, and the influence of parents and community (slum) in which she lives prompted her into begging and ragpicking. It is also evident that assurance of an income at end of day, and highly remunerative nature of begging and ragpicking forced parents and children to such activities.

Padmavathi had faced several abusive incidents on the street which could have affected her emotionally. Since she has been involved in these activities for a long time, she has gradually adapted herself to the harsh street life. She was observed to be bold, aggressive and dominating and used highly abusive language. Such unsocial behaviour which has developed obviously ensure survival on the street. She spends several hours a day on the street, mostly alone, which could make her vulnerable to abuse and exploitation.

Padmavathi was compelled to commit thefts and indulge in other delinquent activities to meet the economic needs at home. It was observed that she was embarrassed and hesitant to reveal that she indulged in begging and ragpicking. The oppressive situation at home and the abusive experiences on the street could

have affected her emotionally. She expressed the wish to run away from home to escape from such conditions.

This case thus, also highlights how poverty could cause disintegration in family, leading to virtual abandonment of children. Such 'broken' families could prompt children to drift away from home and seek survival on their own. If this happens in Padmavathis's case, the result would be disastrous, more so because she is a girl child.

From the ecological perspective, the microsystem and macrosystem are prominent in this case.

CASE - IX

"Earning money in the name of god" - 11 year old beggar.

Every Tuesday, Friday and Saturday, early in the morning Krishnaveni gets busy preparing to accompany her sister and sister-in-law. She wears fresh clothes, combs her usually unkept hair neatly, has a wash and puts vermilion on her forehead. She then arranges small figures of gods and goddesses, places flowers, vermilion, turmeric and incense sticks in a large round copper tray. Krishnaveni is then ready to go for "Jogibhiksham" with her sister and sister-in-law.

'Jogibhiksham' has roots in culture and religion, but it is now widely agreed that it should be viewed as a form of beggary since the original purpose and spirit of it are totally absent. The persons involved in 'Jogibhiksham' usually exploit the religious sentiments of people to collect money, by saying that they do not have sufficient money to go on a pilgrimage.

Many members in Krishnaveni's family and neighbourhood resort to this "earning money in the name of god" as some women called it. Krishnaveni's mother used to do it before and Krishnaveni had learnt it by accompanying her mother and sister.

Krishnaveni belongs to Mutharasu community and a migrant family with seven children. Two of the older ones (a sister and brother) are married but their families too, stay in the same house. Although the large family of 11 members stay in a small thatched hut as a single household, each family has its own

income. Krishnaveni is the fourth child and has 3 siblings younger to her.

Krishnaveni's father is a vendor of steel household articles, and her mother sells clothes in the slum. She usually buys them at a weekly shandy and sells them to the slum dwellers. Two of Krishnaveni's brothers are involved in ragpicking and begging. Apart from being involved in 'Jogibhiksham' Krishnaveni goes begging for money to public parks in the evenings. From all the sources the income of the family is approximately Rs.350/- - 400/- per week. Krishnaveni's elder brother sells plastic garlands, flowers vases and other decoration articles. Her sister-in-law is also involved in begging and sometimes ragpicking. Krishnaveni's mother does not permit her (Krishnaveni) to go for ragpicking but insists that she should beg for money. "She is growing up and it is not safe for young girls to do ragpicking. So I do not allow her to go for ragpicking. Instead of sitting at home, atleast by begging, she can get some money", the mother explained.

Krishnaveni earns 8-10 rupees and gives all her earnings to her mother who, she says, saves the money for Krishnaveni. Sometimes Krishnaveni gets money from her mother to spend on eatables. She does not have any habits like chewing intoxicants or betel nut etc. She goes to watch movies with other family members.

Krishnaveni does many household chores. She washes utensils, sweeps the surroundings and helps in cooking. Sometimes, in the afternoons, she helps her sister-in-law to make garlands of plastic flowers. When she gets time, she prefers to play with her friends many of whom are ragpickers and beggars.

Both her parents are drunkards and frequently quarrel at home. Krishnaveni is afraid of her father but likes him because "he gives money or asks her to keep the change whenever she buys tea or liquor packets for him". She is afraid of him when he comes home drunk, and scolds everybody. Krishnaveni's mother scolds and beats her frequently whenever "I do not do the work properly or feel lazy to do it". In spite of this Krishnaveni says that she likes her mother because "she does not beat me as much as Sridevi's (her friend) mother. Sridevi's mother beats her to death for small mistakes", and adds, "anyway she is my mother, so she will scold and beat me only when I am wrong", she justifies. "My brother does not like me to play around in the slum and often scolds me for it. All my brothers try to dominate me and my sister", Krishnaveni said. Her brothers often pick up arguments with her and beat her to show their dominance. Krishnaveni likes her sister-in-law very much. She often shares and discusses "many things" with her. "She is very affectionate and supports me when my brothers scold me", Krishnaveni mentioned.

Krishnaveni has many friends in the slum. "I play with them only when my brothers are not around", she said. But they do not

get much time for playing because her friends go for ragpicking and she has household work to do, if she herself does not go for begging.

Krishnaveni says that she does not face problems at home except that she 'feels hurt and cries' when her brother does not allow her to play and try to dominate. When she goes for begging, she usually faces people who get irritated and scold "if we follow them for long". One of her friends, Mary, who usually accompanies Krishnaveni for begging to public parks said amusingly, "if people give money we 'bless' them, but make fun of those people who walk away without giving money". Krishnaveni said that generally boys tease and follow them. She said, "at times they become troublesome and harass us by commenting and singing songs on us; especially when we are only 2 or 3 girls around". To whom do they complain about them?. "I usually tell my mother or sister-in-law, but what can they do. They ask us not to go out for a few days, that's all". Krishnaveni said that she has gradually got used to such things.

She does not know what she will do in future. "My parents will not allow me to go to school. Who will do the household work if I am away" she said and added, "we will not get the money I earn from begging".

ELUCIDATION

1. Belongs to a migrant family. Several family members are engaged in street activities.
2. Illiterate, no opportunity for schooling.
3. Goes for 'Jogibhiksham' and, begs for money in public parks.
4. Earns 8-10 rupees daily and gives all the money to her mother.
5. Dominated by siblings, ill-treated by parents and, harassed on the streets.
6. Unsure of future aspirations.

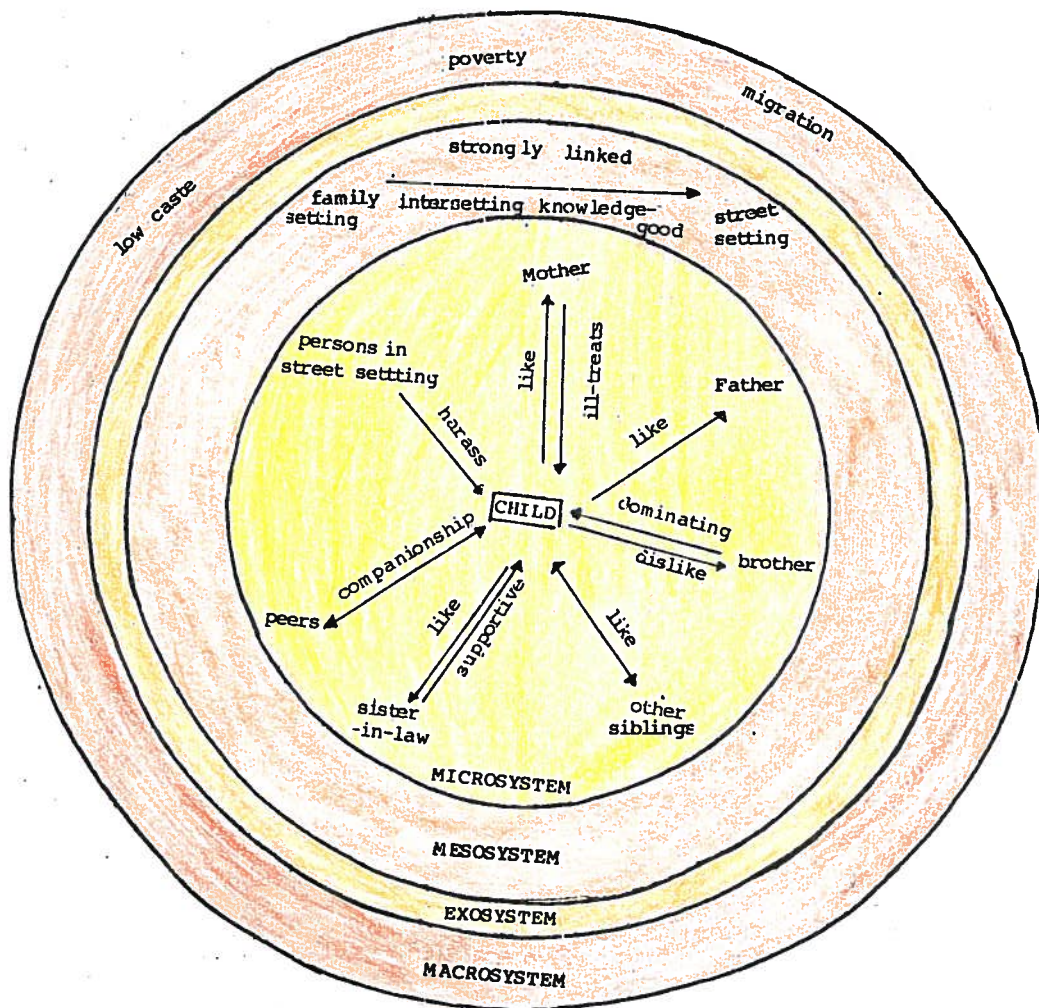


Fig.26: ECO-MAP-9

ECOLOGICAL PROFILE

From the preceding case and eco-map, the following profile of ecological environment emerges:

Microsystem:

- * Activities indulged in include begging (Jogibhiksham), household chores, and flower and garland making.
- * Interpersonal relations with most family members (except male siblings) and peers are positive, while it is negative with persons met on the street.

Mesosystem:

- * Family members who accompany her for begging provide strong links between family and street setting.

Exosystem:

- * Not very prominent in this case.

Macrosystem:

- * Poverty, migration caste/community, have caused Krishnaveni to get involved in begging.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE**A. Scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC)**

Chronological age	: 11 years 4 months
Verbal I.Q	: 72.0
Performance I.Q	: 82.3
Total I.Q	: 77.2

An I.Q of 77.2 indicated that Krishnaveni was below average in intelligence. Her performance I.Q scores were better than verbal I.Q scores.

Figure (27) shows that Krishnaveni performed at below average level in Arithmetic, Similarities, Picture completion, Block design and Mazes. Performance in Digitspan was at mild retardation level.

B. Scores on Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS)

Chronological age	: 11 years 4 months
Social age	: 10 years 6 months
Social quotient	: 97.10

S.Q of 97.10 indicated that Krishnaveni is average in social maturity.

Figure (28) shows that Krishnaveni was superior in Occupation, and Self-direction, above average in Self-help dressing, and average in Communication and Socialization.

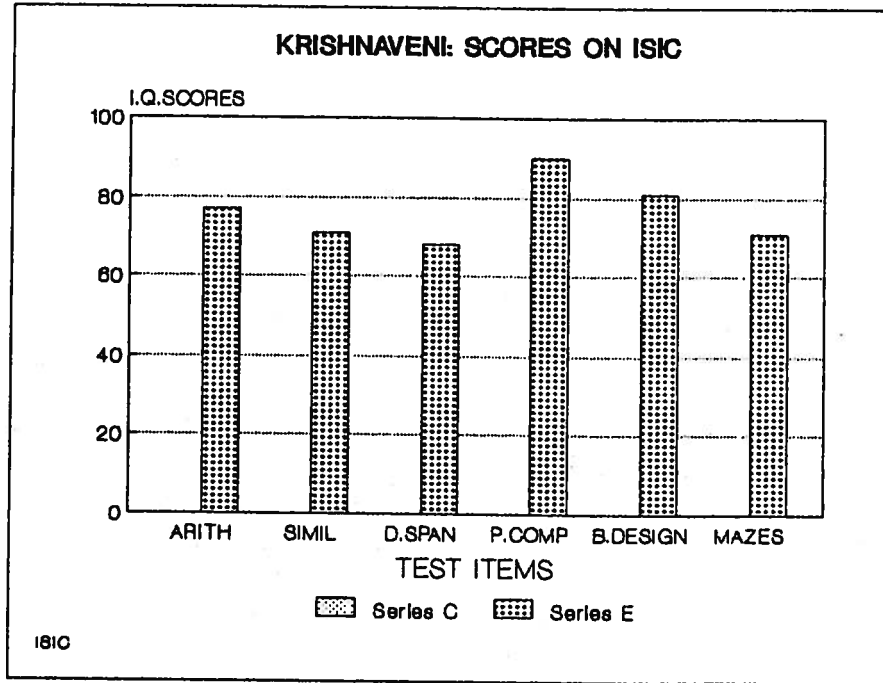


Fig. 27: Scores on ISIC - Case 9

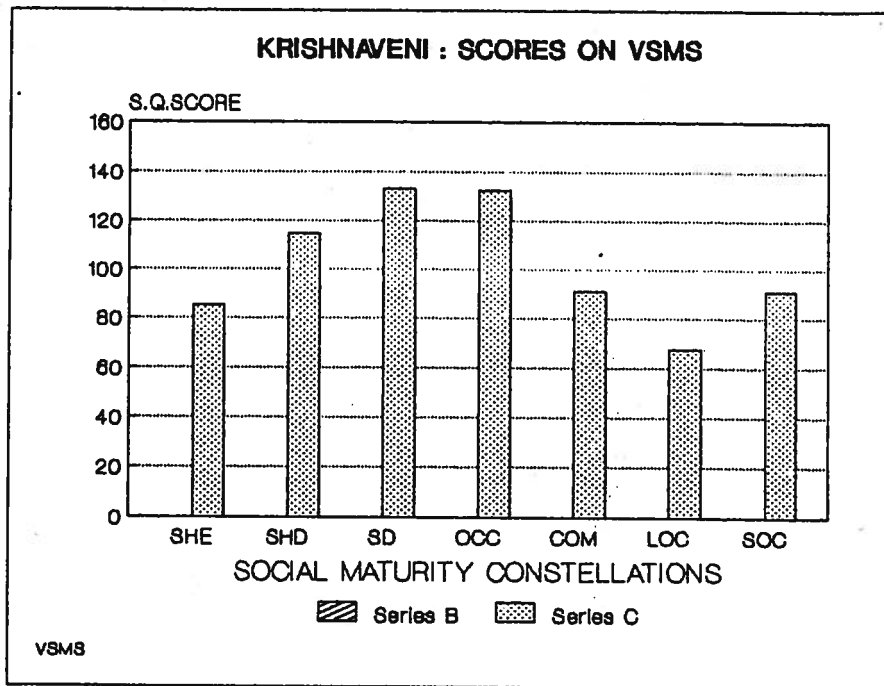


Fig. 30: Scores on VSMS - Case 9

DISCUSSION OF CASE - IX

The important fact that emerges from Krishnaveni's case is that, eventhough there are no dire economic needs, yet children are engaged in street activities. The reason for this becomes evident from the present case. It can be attributed to influence of community in which the family lives, where many members are involved in street activities. Indulging in street activities like begging (especially Jogibhiksham in this case) is an easy and relatively safe (since groups are involved) way of earning money. Therefore children are encouraged to resort to them so that they can earn money instead of being free at home.

Another important point that is evident from the case is that if such young, adolescent girls can be engaged in constructive activities (like training them in a skill) they can be prevented from resorting to street activities. This would not only prevent them from being exposed to developmentally dangerous experiences (exploitation, abuse etc) but would also provide an opportunity to improve themselves.

Thus from the ecological perspective the microsystem is more prominent in this case.



RESEARCHER ADMINISTERING I.S.I.C TEST - ITEMS
TO A SUBJECT.

RESULTS

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

The present chapter deals with the results obtained from the investigation. The findings of the study cover the areas included in the interview schedule (Appendix 1) and have been presented under the following sections.

- 6.1 Family background of street children
- 6.2 Personal background
- 6.3 Ecological environment
- 6.4 Aspirations and expectations
- 6.5 Psycho-social profile

The study is based on a sample of 9 street children comprising 5 boys and 4 girls.

Table 2: Distribution of children by Age and sex

Category	Street children			
	Boys		Girls	
	No.	Age (years)	No.	Age (years)
Rag pickers	2	9 10	1	11
Beggars	-	-	3	10 11 12
Vagrants	3	9 9 12	-	-
Total	5	-	4	-

Table 3: Family background of street children

Cases	Caste/ Community	Migration pattern		Family composition			Educational status		Occupation of family members		Total family income/week (approx.) (rupees)
		Migrant fam. Yes/No	Reasons for migration	Parents	Sibling	Total no. of members	Parents	Siblings	Parents	Siblings	
RAG PICKERS											
Yadamma	Voddari (Stone grinder maker)	Yes	Poverty, unemploy- ment, better pros- pects in cities	Both parents alive	5	7	Illiterate	Illiterate	Casual labour stone grinder making(father) Stone-grinder making(mother)	Ragpicking begging (sister)	300
Ianohar	Mutharasu	Yes	Landless, poverty unemployment, better prospects in cities	Father dead	6	7	Illiterate	Illiterate	-	ragpicking, helper in rag- trader shop (brother)	300
uresh	Budhega- jangan (beggars by profession)	No	-	Father dead	6	7	Illiterate	Illiterate	Begging occa- sionally (mother)	ragpicking, maide servant, begging(sister)	200
EGGERS											
ochamma	Budhega- jangan (beggars by Profession)	No	-	Both parents alive	7	9	Illiterate	Illiterate	Employed as scavenger(father) Maid servant, begging(mother)	begging, rag- picking (younger siblings)	300-350
admavathi	Mutharasu	Yes	Poverty, unemploy- ment, better pros- pects in cities	Mother died step-mother	5	7	Illiterate	Illiterate	Vending decora- tion articles (father)	begging, rag- picking (brother)	300-
ishnaveni	Mutharasu	Yes	Poverty, unemploy- ment, better pros- pects in cities	Both parents alive	6	10 (including sister & brotherinlaw)	Illiterate	Illiterate	Vending steel goods (father) vending clothes (mother)	ragpicking & begging (brother) vending (elder sibling)	300-400

Contd..

Cases	Caste/ Community	Migration pattern		Family composition			Educational status		Occupation of family members		Total family income/week (approx.) (rupees)
		Migrant fam. Yes/No	Reasons for migration	Parents	Sibling*	Total no.of members	Parents	Siblings	Parents	Siblings	
VAGRANTS											
D. Prasad	Madiga	No	-	both parents alive	6	8	Illiterate	2 siblings attend school rest illi- terates	Masonry(father) vending steel goods(mother)	Autodriver, past- cinema posters spraying pesti- cides (elder sibling)	400-500
larsimha	Forward caste	Yes	Natural calamity (shelterless due floods)	both parents	4	6	Illiterate	Illiterate	Casual labour (both parents)	Casual labour (sister)	400
irupathi	Forward caste	No	-	Father died (stays with 4 paternal uncle)	5(own) (cousins)	5(own home) 6(uncle's home)	Illiterate	Illiterate	Casual labour (uncle & aunt)	-	400

Table 2 shows that out of 3 ragpickers 2 were boys and 1 was girl. All the 3 beggars were girls and vagrants were all boys.

6.1 FAMILY BACKGROUND OF STREET CHILDREN

Family background of street children has been described in terms of the caste/community to which the families belong, the migration pattern, family composition, educational and occupational aspects of family members and income of the family (Table 3).

6.1.1 Caste/community of the families

Table 3 shows that 3 families were scheduled caste families (2 Budhegajangam, 1 Madigas) and 4 were backward classes families (Mutharasu). It also shows clearly that compared to vagrants, ragpickers and beggars belonged to scheduled caste and backward classes families.

6.1.2 Migration pattern

The migration pattern can be seen from the number of migrant families and the reasons for migration. Out of nine, five were migrant families. Of these five families four migrated to Hyderabad due to poverty, unemployment and for seeking better prospects in urban areas. One family migrated after a natural calamity.

Members of 4 families were engaged as agricultural labourers in the rural areas before migration. Apart from this one family also made stone grinders (Table 3).

6.1.3 Family composition

Five street children lived in full family units ie. with both natural parents and siblings. Three were fatherless families while one was motherless (but with a step mother). In one case, a fatherless child lived with uncle's family.

There were 6-7 siblings in 7 family while the family size ranged from 6-9 members in 8 families (Table 3).

6.1.4 Education of family members

In all the nine cases, the parents were illiterate and did not have any formal education.

It was also found that in 8 cases, the siblings were also illiterate. In one particular case (of vagrant boy) the siblings attended school (Table 3).

6.1.5 Occupation of family members

In 3 cases, fathers were engaged as casual labourers at construction sites and stone quarries. The other occupations were as mason, scavengers (employed with the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad) and vendors of plastic garlands, framed photographs of gods and goddesses and steel household articles.

Mothers were engaged as domestic servants, casual labourers and vendors, like the fathers. Apart from this, some of them were simultaneously engaged in making stone grinders, plastic flowers and garlands at home, or sometimes begging.

6.1.6 Family income

It is evident from the occupations engaged in by members that the income is obtained mostly either on daily or weekly basis. Therefore the weekly family income was estimated on the basis of the approximate daily earnings of family members.

The total weekly income of families of ragpickers was 200-300 rupees, beggars was 300-400 and vagrant children was 400-450 rupees (Table 3).

Although the above figures relate to the total earnings of family members it was observed that a considerable portion of these earnings were not available for family use (Refer to cases II, VII, VIII presentation). In some cases, the sample respondents kept aside a large portion of the days earnings for their own personal use (for buying eatables, watching movies etc) while in others the adult family members use their income for consuming liquor. Therefore only a small portion of the total family earnings actually reached the family purse. Within the available income, expenditure was incurred for food and in few cases for medication; or for clearing debts.

Table 4: Personal background of street children

	Educational status	Reasons/causes for ragpicking/begging/vagrancy	Hours spent on street	Daily income (rupees)	Access to earnings	Spending pattern	Savings	
							Yes/No	reasons for not saving
RAG PICKERS								
Yadamma	no schooling	Economic necessity no other work available. Influence of friends and parents	5 hours	8-10	Parents	eatables	No	not safe, siblings may snatch away
Manohar	no schooling	economic necessity easy and convenient influence of friends	9 hours	10-15	Mother & self	eatables, movies, indulging in habits	Occasionally	not safe
Suresh	no schooling	economic necessity no other work available	7-9 hours	10-15	Mother, self, cousin (sometimes)	movies, eatables	Occasionally	mother may take away or cousin may snatch away
BEGGERS								
Pochamma	no schooling	influence of parents economic necessity	3-5 hours	8-10	Parents & self	eatables, indulging in habits	Occasionally	family members may snatch away, not safe
Padmavathi	no schooling	economic necessity influence of parents, friends	4-5 hours (at Moor-chapanthu)	15-20 (from ragpick-ing beg-ging)	Parents & self creditors, grandmother (sometimes)	eatables, dress accessories movies, indulging in habits	Occasion-ally	not safe
Krishnaveni	no schooling	easy and convenient way to earn money	4-5 hours (Jogi-bhiksham)	8-10	Parents	eatables, dress accessories	Occasion-ally	not safe

Contd..

	Educational status	Reasons/causes for ragpicking/begging/vagrancy	Hours spent on street	Daily income (rupees)	Access to earnings	Spending pattern	Savings	
							Yes/No	reasons for not saving
VAGRANTS								
D. Prasad	school drop out	unpleasant school experiences. School drop-out	3-4 hours	-	-	eatables, marbles	Occasionally	not safe
Narsimha	no schooling	care of siblings	5-6 hours	Sometimes 3-5 from selling empty liquor bottles (weekly)	-	eatables, marbles, movies	Occasionally	not safe
Tirupathi	no schooling (enrolled in school but did not attend)	death of father, dislocation from family	6 hours	Sometimes 2-3 for doing odd jobs (weekly)	-	eatables	No	-

6.2 PERSONAL BACKGROUND OF STREET CHILDREN

Personal background of street children is seen in terms of their educational status, the reasons for being on the street, number of hours of work, their daily earnings, savings and so on (Table 4).

6.2.1 Educational status

All the ragpickers (3), beggars (3) and one vagrant child did not have opportunity for schooling. Regarding the other 2 vagrants, one was a school drop-out while the other, although enrolled in school did not attend it (Table 4).

6.2.2 Reasons for being on the street

Reasons for being on the street can be known from the reasons for resorting to rag picking and begging, or for leading a vagrant life. For 5 street children (3 ragpickers and 2 beggars) economic necessity, compounded by the influence of parents and friends (in 4 cases) and non-availability of other work options (in 2 cases) prompted them to street activities as ragpicking and begging. Two children also found such activities an easy and convenient way to earn money.

Regarding vagrant children, dropping out of school, death of father and thereby dislocation from family, and need to care for younger siblings have caused them to lead vagrant lives (Table 4).

6.2.3 Hours of work and income

The number of hours spent on the street (for street activities only) ranged from 5-9 hours (ragpickers) and 3-5 hours (beggars). Vagrant children spent 3-6 hours on the streets and in the slum premises.

Regarding income, 2 children earned 10-15 rupees each day while 3 earned 8-10 rupees daily. One child earned 15-20 rupees since apart from begging she also engaged in ragpicking.

Boys spent more time (average 7 hours) on street activities compared to girls (average 5 hours) and consequently earned more income (Table 4).

6.2.4 Access to earnings

The question of access to children's earnings was applicable to rag pickers and beggars only but not to vagrants. This was because vagrants did not have any particular income as such. Thus in all the 6 cases (3 ragpickers, 3 beggars) parents had access to the childrens earnings. While in 4 of the cases the children also retained some money with them for (personal use), in 2 cases (both girls) parents had complete access.

The amount of money kept back ranged from Rs.2 to Rs.10. Two of the girls who reportedly gave all the earnings to the parents, revealed that they would get 50 paise or one rupee whenever they asked for it. 'Other' person included slum leaders

(refer case III) and grand mother and creditors (refer case VIII). Similarly vagrant children also got money from their caretakers for spending (Table 4).

6.2.5 Spending and saving pattern

(a) Spending pattern : All children spent money on eatables, 4 of them for indulging habits such as chewing betel leaves, 'ghutka' (chewable intoxicant) so on, and for watching movies. Two girls spent money also on buying dress accessories.

(b) Saving pattern : Except 2 children, who did not save, the other 7 children (including vagrants) reported that they saved money only occasionally. Most of time they spent all the money.

One boy saved with a rags dealer, while another in his shirt collar, where nobody could take it away. Out of 3 girls who saved 2 reported that they kept the money preferably with themselves. One of them hid it in the mud behind her house.

On the question of why they did not save frequently, all of them reported that the money would not be safe, as either the parents or the siblings would snatch it away for their use.

If at all savings are made it is used for watching a movie (in 4 cases), buying clothes (for festival) (1 case) and dress accessories (2 girls). It was observed that most of the time, money was saved for a very short period (1-2 days) (Table 4).

Table 5: Activities street children engage in

Cases	Household responsibilities	Activities other than household tasks	Habits
RAG PICKERS			
Yadamma	helping in cooking, fetching water, care of siblings, collect fuel wood, cleaning washing, run errands.	Playing with friends, sorting, selling rags.	
Manohar	None in particular; run errands	indulging in habits, gambling, roaming on streets with friends. sorting, selling rags	Chewing 'ghutka', betel leaves betelnut powder, gamble, watch movies.
Suresh	fetching water, fuel wood, run errands	Play with friends, gambling with marbles, begging for food. sorting and selling rags.	Chew betel leaves, betel nut powder, watch movies, gamble.
BEGGERS			
Pochamma	helping in cooking, fetching water, care of siblings, run errands, cleaning and washing	sometimes play with friends	Chew 'ghutka', betel leaves, betel nut powder, gamble.
Padmavathi	fetching water, collect firewood, cleaning and washing	Play with friends, go around bicycling whenever possible	Chew 'ghutka', betel nut powder, betel leaves, watch movies.
Krishnaveni	helping in cooking, fetching water, cleaning and washing	spend time with friends, make decoration articles	-
VAGRANTS			
D. Prasad	run errands;	roaming and playing in/round slum, parks; gamble	gambling, watching movies
Narsimha	care of siblings, fetching water, help in cooking, run errands	gamble with friends, roam around on streets, parks, accompany friends for stealing or collect liquor bottles	gambling, chewing betel leaves, betelnut powder, watch movies.
Tirupathi	fetching water, care of siblings, run errands.	play around in slum, roam on roads, parks with friends, gamble with marbles.	gambling

6.3 ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF STREET CHILDREN

Ecological environment has been described in terms of the activities of the child (including household responsibilities and habits engaged in), the persons with whom the child came into contact, family and street atmosphere, and difficulties/problems encountered by the street child (Tables 5, 6 & 7).

6.3.1 Habits

(a) **Kinds of habits :** It was observed that 6 children (5 boys and 1 girl) had the habit of gambling), 5 of them were habituated to watching movies, chewing betel leaves ('paan') and betel nut powder ('supari'). Three children also chewed 'ghutka' (chewable intoxicant). Two children (both girls did not have any such habits).

It was found that street children consumed approximately one 'paan' and chewed a packet of 'ghutka' and/or 'supari' daily.

Except gambling, it was found that other habits were less prevalent among vagrants (Table 5).

(b) **Persons from whom habits are acquired :** All the children reported that they acquired the habits by observing their peers, adults in the slum and street, and other children and adults in the street setting who indulged in similar habits.

6.3.2 Household responsibilities/activities

The household responsibilities of street children included fetching water (7), helping in cooking, cleaning and

Table 6: Atmosphere within the family setting

	Family atmosphere		Opinion about the behavior of		
	Incidence of alcoholism	relations between parents	Father	Mother	Siblings
RAG PICKERS					
Yadamma	No	quarrel frequently	like but afraid	scold and beat but kind; like her.	like but sometimes very dominating
Manohar	Father	*used to quarrel frequently	-	like	like, kind
Suresh	Father	*used to quarrel frequently	-	like, kind	dislike elder siblings
BEGGERS					
Pochamma	Father, siblings	quarrel frequently	beats & scolds; afraid but like	scold & beats; afraid but like	elder siblings scold, beat, dominate. Younger ones-kind
Padmavathi	Father, grandmother	quarrel frequently	beats and scolds when drunk; afraid but kind otherwise	dislike (mother)	like
Krishnaveni	Both parents, siblings	quarrel frequently	beats & scolds, afraid but like	scolds & beats; afraid but like	Younger siblings are kind; likes elder siblings, dominate, scold, beat; afraid.
VAGRANTS					
D. Prasad	Father, siblings	quarrel frequently	beats & scolds, dislike	scolds & beats but like	dislikes when dominating
Narsimha	Father	quarrel frequently	beats & scolds frequently; dislike	like	dislike younger sibling. Elder sister-supportive
Tirupathi	Father None in uncle's family	-	father dead. uncle - kind	likes mother aunt-scolds & beats but likes her	like siblings & cousins. although some

washing (4), collecting firewood (4), caring for siblings (4) and running errands (1). It was observed that girls were more involved in household tasks than boys (Table 5).

6.3.3 Family atmosphere

Family atmosphere is described in terms of the relations between father and mother and incidence of alcoholism among family members (Table 6).

(a) Incidence of alcoholism among family members

In the case of 6 families the fathers were drunkards. Only in one case, both the parents were alcoholics. The other members mentioned were elder siblings (2 cases) and grand mother (1 case). It was reported by the children that sometimes mothers also consumed liquor especially on special occasions like marriages or death ceremonies. On such occasions, sometimes children were also allowed to drink liquor as it was a custom.

(b) Relationship between parents : In eight families, parents quarrelled often at home. Incidents of wife beating frequently over matters of wages, drinking (liquor) and regarding children were common.

(c) Opinion about family members : By opinion about family members is meant what the street children feel about the family members and their behaviour towards them.

Regarding mothers, 7 children liked their mothers, although they were scolded and beaten (in 4 cases) by the mother

and were afraid of her (2 cases). Only in one case the child did not like the mother as she was a step parent.

In the case of fathers, 6 children reported that they were beaten and scolded by the father, were afraid (4 cases) of him and 2 children disliked him. Four children also liked their father.

Four children reported that they liked their siblings but an equal number disliked them. Some reported that siblings were dominating (2 cases), scolded and beat them (2 cases) and therefore were afraid of them (2 cases) (Table 6).

6.3.4 Atmosphere outside the family setting

Atmosphere outside the family setting can be seen through the people with whom the street children come into contact within the slum and while on the streets, by virtue of their status as ragpickers beggars or vagrants (Table 6).

All the children reported that they interacted everyday with their peers and adult neighbours within the slum. Ragpickers reported that they met other adult ragpickers at the ragpicking site and met the same ragdealer each day. Apart from this beggar children and vagrants generally met children of their own age group indulging in similar activities and, general public. It was observed that in 2 cases (a ragpicker and a vagrant) that peers showed delinquent tendencies. In 2 cases, the youth of the slum involved in anti-social and violent activities.

Table 7: Difficulties/problems of street children

Cases	Difficulties/problems		Whether problems are discussed	Persons with whom probs. are discussed
	At home	On the street		
RAG PICKERS				
Yadamma	Work tiring, disturbed at poor economic condition	Physical injuries, harassment	Not specifically. Sometimes	tell mother
Manohar	disturbed at poor economic condition, frequent quarrels at home.	Physical injuries, dominating adults, street-fights, indicated under false charges.	Not problems but discuss experiences	discuss among friends
Suresh	ill-treatment by elder siblings,	Physical injuries, dominating adults, street fights, indicated under false charges of theft	Not specifically sometimes.	discuss with friends
BEGGERS				
Pochamma	No difficulties as such, but domination by elder siblings	ill-treating and harassing adults	No, but sometimes tell mother	Mother
Padmavathi	disturbed at poor economic conditions. No difficulties/problems.	physical injuries, harassment by adults, street fights	Not specifically	Friends
Krishnaveni	ill-treatment by family members, domination by siblings; no difficulties	harassment and ill treating adults	Sometimes	mostly friends but sometimes sister-in-law, mother
VAGRANTS				
D. Prasad	quarrels between family members	street fights, physical injuries	Sometimes	elder brother, sometimes mother
Narsimha	quarrels at home between parents	street fights, dominating and harassing adults	No	Friends
Tirupathi	ill-treatment by farm mems. but as such no difficulties	physical injuries, dominating adults, street fights	Not specifically. Sometimes.	Friends

6.3.5 Difficulties and problems of street children

Difficulties and problems of street children are presented as difficulties/problems at home and the street, and persons with whom problems are discussed (Table 7).

Responses to above questions were received only after the respondents were further probed.

(a) **Difficulties/problems at home :** The difficulties/ problems faced by street children at home (2 cases), ill-treatment by family members (3 cases) dominating siblings (2 cases) and poor economic conditions (3 cases). It is interesting to note that although many children reported many of the difficulties listed, 4 of them also said that they did not face any difficulties as such (Table 7).

(b) **Difficulties/problems on the street :** The difficulties faced by street children on the streets were physical injuries (in 6 cases) street fights/ brawls (6 cases) dominating and harassing adults (8 cases) and being indicted on false charges (2 cases) (Table 7).

(c) **Persons with whom problems are discussed :** If at all, they discussed their problems (especially street experiences) five children discussed them with peers. Four children also approached their family members but only occasionally (Table 7).

Table 8: Aspirations and expectations of street children

Cases	Opinion about present status	Give up present status for better opportunities		Aspirations	Confident of achieving aspirations	Expectations for welfare
		Yes/No	Reasons for not giving up present status			
RAG PICKERS						
Yadamma	No response	No	Parents will not permit	Pursue parent's vocation.	unsure	food, clothing, financial assistance.
Manohar	Happy, content	No	would not get similar remuneration in other jobs, habituated to rag-picking, would not forego friends, freedom.	seek employment as helper in hotels, tea stalls; or rag trader shop; casual labourer.	unsure	food, clothing, financial assistance
Suresh	Unhappy, but accept	Yes	only if similar remuneration is ensured.	casual labourer, seek employment as helper in hotels, offices.	unsure	food, clothing, vocational training, financial assistance
BEGGERS						
Pochamma	No response	No	Parents will not permit	Maid servant	unsure	food, clothing, financial assistance
Padmavathi	Unhappy but accept	No	Father will not permit since this is more remunerative	Maid servant, seek employment.	unsure	food, clothing, financial assistance
Krishnaveni	Unhappy but accept	No	Parents not permit	unsure	-	clothing

Contd..

Cases	Opinion about present status	Give up present status for better opportunities		Aspirations	Confident of achieving aspirations	Expectations for welfare
		Yes/No	Reasons for not giving up present status			
VAGRANTS						
D. Prasad	Unhappy, but accept	No	Prefer to do a job rather than education or training	Pursue parent's occupation (masonry, vending), casual labourer, employment in mechanic shops, electrical shop.	unsure	vocational training (as expressed by parent)
Narsimha	Unhappy, but accept	Yes	-	seek employment in offices, hotels, mechanic shop.	unsure	vocational training
Tirupathi	No response	No	mother will not permit	unsure	-	food, clothing

6.4 ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Aspirations and expectations can be seen from the opinion of street children about their present condition, their willingness to give up the present status, aspirations for their future and the expectations for their welfare (Table 8).

(a) **Opinion of street children about their present condition :** Five street children were unhappy about their present conditions while only one street child was happy and content. Three children were unsure and did not respond.

(b) **Willingness to give up present status :** Willingness to give up present status (as ragpickers, beggars, vagrant) here is meant whether the street children would leave their present life, if given better opportunities for education, vocational training and so on. Seven street children (all 4 girls, 3 boys), out of nine, were give up their present status for better opportunities. Only 2 were willing to give up their present status.

(c) **Reasons for not willing to give up present status:** Five street children stated that parents would not permit them to avail of better oportnities and thereby were unwilling to give up the present status. The other reasons included "habituated to present conditions of freedom" (1 case) and "would not forego friends" (2 cases) and that they would not get an equally remunerative jobs (3 cases) two vagrants reported that they were interested in job but not in education or vocational training.

(d) Aspirations : All street children were sure that they would give up their street activities in future. Three of them hoped to pursue parental occupations (stone-grinder making, casual labour, masonry, vending, or as maid servants). Four children hoped to seek employment (as helpers in hotels, mechanic shop). Two were unsure of their future aspirations.

It was observed that, although many have given their future aspirations all of them were unsure of achieving what they aspired.

(e) Expectations : Expectations here, is meant what the street children expect from government or other agencies for their welfare.

Six children expected clothing and seven of them food assistance, and five expected financial assistance to families. Only two children expected vocational training facilities.

Respondents reported certain conditions if they were to avail of vocational training facilities. The conditions were that the vocational training centres should be located nearer to their place of residence and secondly that they should be given a good remuneration. One respondent was willing to avail training facilities only if other friends would also join it.

6.5 PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN

The psycho-social profile of the street children has been described in terms of Intelligence Quotients (IQ) and Social

Table 9: Distribution of children by IQ scores

IQ range	Full scale IQ			Verbal IQ			Performance IQ		
	Total N=9	Boys N=5	Girls N=4	Total N=9	Boys N=5	Girls N=4	Total N=9	Boys N=5	Girls N=4
50 - 70	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1
70 - 90	8	5	3	7	4	3	8	5	3
90 - 110	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-

Quotients (SQ), as obtained from scores on Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC) and Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS) respectively.

6.5.1 Intelligence Quotients (IQ) of street children

Table 9 shows that out of nine children eight were below average (70-90), and one was found to be average (90-110) in intelligence. Out of a total of 9 children one girl was found to be mildly retarded. A greater proportion of boys had higher IQ scores as compared to girls.

Eight children had higher performance IQ (PIQ) scores (89%) as compared to Verbal IQ (VIQ) scores (78%).

Table 10: Mean IQ scores on verbal tests by sex

Verbal Tests	Total	Boys	Girls
Information	66.8	65.0	68.0
Comprehension	72.3	72.4	72.0
Arithmetic	76.4	77.2	75.5
Similarities	72.3	76.7	71.0
Digit span	68.0	-	68.0
Mean IQ	75.3	78.2	71.8

Note : Blanks (-) indicate omission of item during pro-rating

From Table 10, it is clear that boys performed better in overall verbal tests.

Children obtained higher mean scores on tests of Arithmetic (76.4), Comprehension (72.3) and Similarities (72.3) when compared to Information (66.8) and Digit span tests (68.0). The overall performance of the children in verbal tests was below average, the mean Verbal IQ being 75.3.

Table 11: Mean IQ scores on Performance Tests by sex

Performance Tests	Total	Boys	Girls
Picture completion	79.8	81.0	77.7
Block design	84.0	92.5	79.8
Object assembly	60.5	60.0	61.0
Coding	66.5	66.5	-
Mazes	77.9	84.8	69.3
Mean IQ	77.70	80.5	74.2

Note : Blanks (-) indicate omission of item during pro-rating

Results in Table 11 show that Performance IQ scores of boys is comparatively better than girls.

Higher Performance scores were observed on Performance tests of Picture completion, Block design and Mazes when compared to those on Object assembly and Coding tests. The performance of boys was better than girls in Picture completion, Block design and Maze tests.

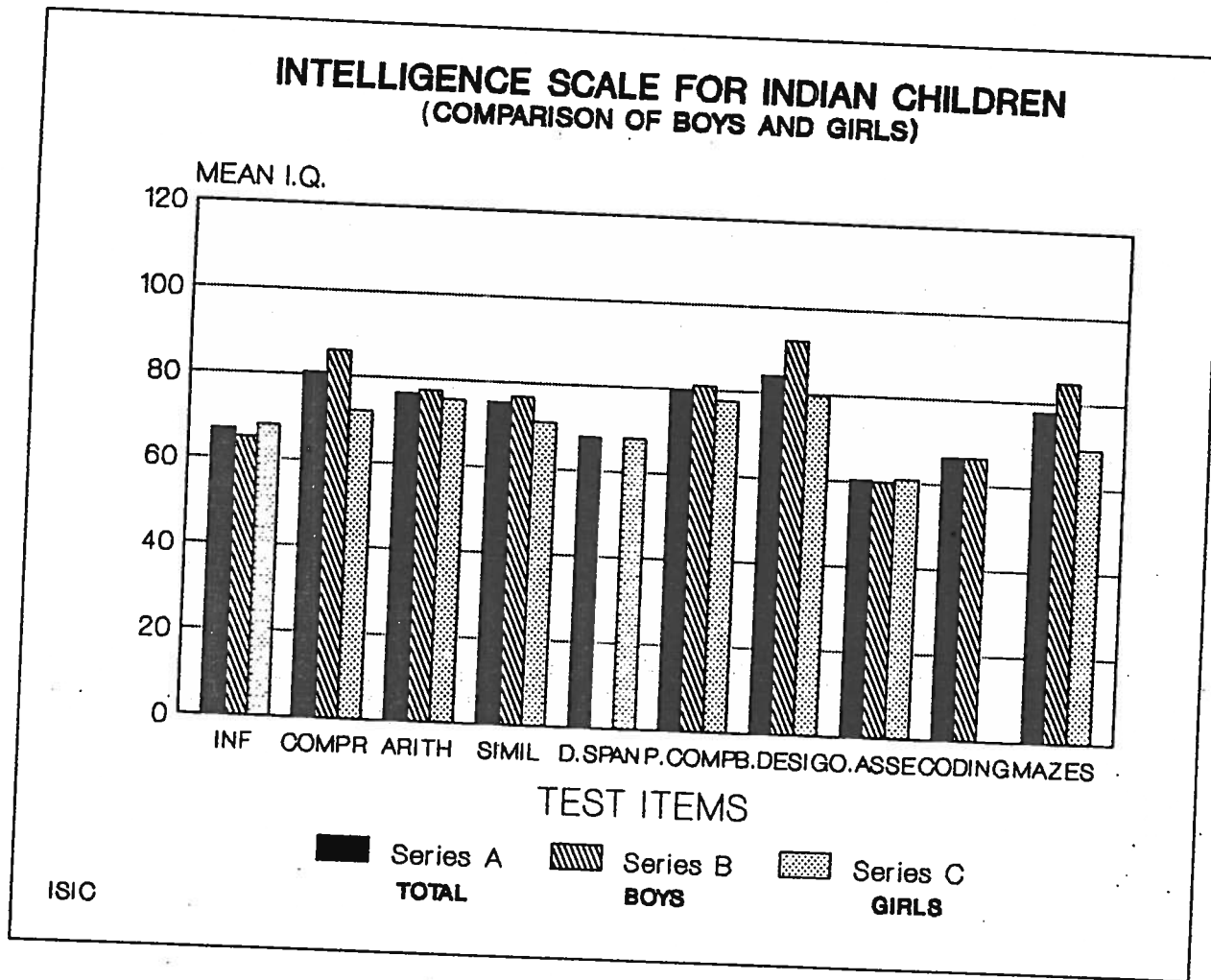


Fig. 29: Comparison of IQs between boys and girls

6.5.2 Social Quotients (SQ) of street children

Table 12: Distribution of children by SQ scores

S.Q. range	Total N=9	Boys N=5	Girls N=4
70 - 90	1	1	-
90 - 110	8	4	4
Total	9	5	4

Table 12 clearly shows that eight children were at average level in social maturity. Among the 9 children, only one boy was found to be below average in SQ scores. All the girls had achieved social development required of their age.

Table 13 : Distribution of children by SQ scores in social maturity constellation

SQ range	Social maturity constellations						
	SHE	SHD	SD	OOC	COM	LOC	SOC
50-70	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
70-90	4	-	-	-	-	3	2
90-110	5	2	1	2	6	4	6
110-120	-	5	4	-	3	-	-
120-140	-	2	4	4	-	-	-
Above 140	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

Table 13 shows that all children were average or above average in major social areas of SHD, SD, OCC and COM; while a negligible proportion were slightly below average in SHE, LOC and SOC.

Table 14: Mean SQ scores on social maturity constellation by sex

Social Maturity Constellation	Total	Boys	Girls
SHE	82.7	96.9	85.5
SHD	111.2	116.5	116.3
SD	110.9	124.6	118.3
OCC	128.3	109.2	134.1
COM	94.1	109.3	95.3
LDC	73.8	96.9	72.7
SOC	88.4	92.5	92.4
Mean	92.2	99.4	95.6

On the whole boys obtained higher scores (99.4) in different social areas as compared to girls (95.6) (Table 14).

It is clear that boys performed better in SHE, SD, COM and LOC and reverse was true in OCC. In areas of SHD and SOC, both boys and girls obtained similar SQ scores.

Table 14 also shows that girls were below average in LOC, SHE, average in COM, SOC; above average in SHD and SD and superior in OCC. The boys were average in SHE, OCC, COM, LOC, SOC; above average in SHD and superior in SD.

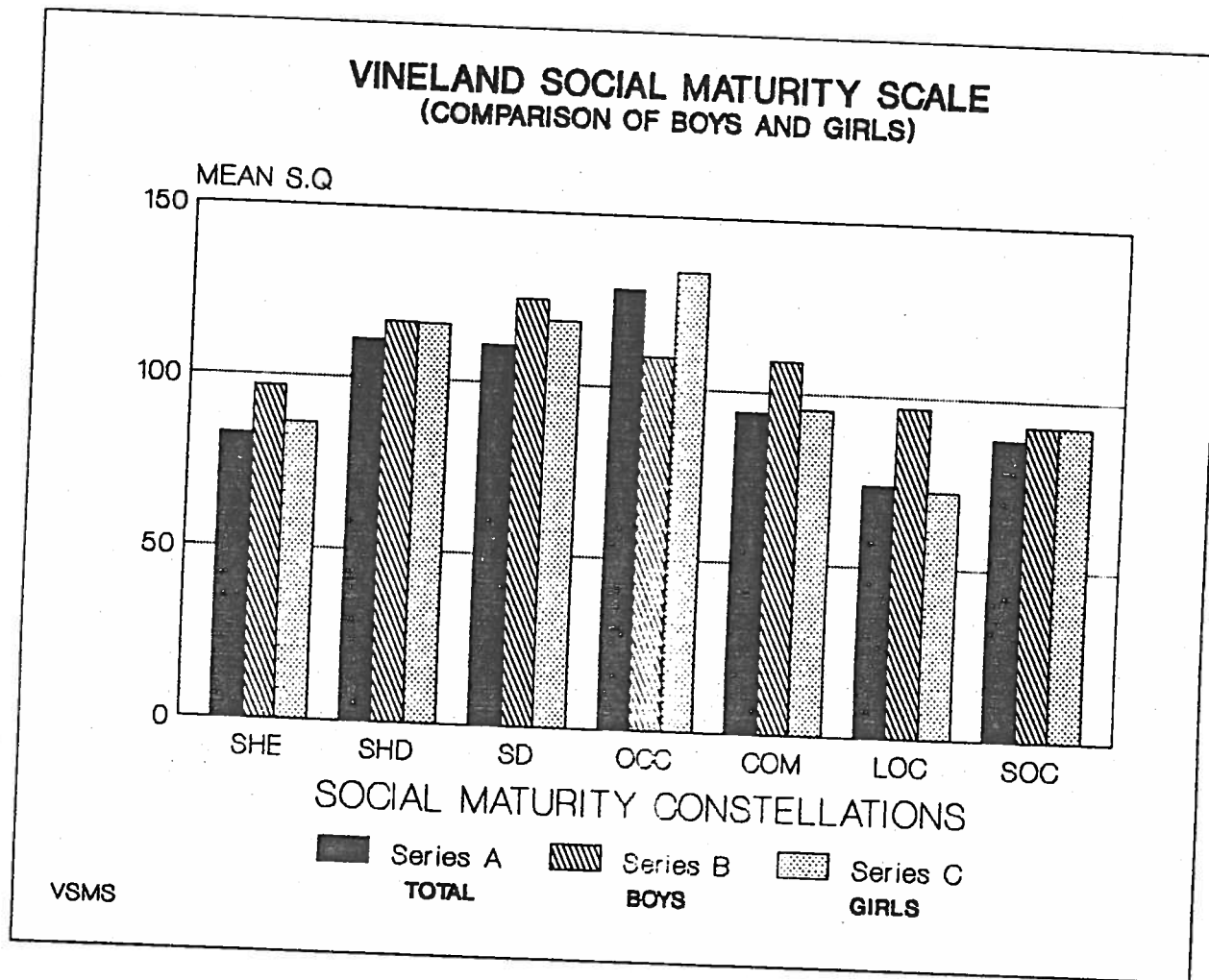


Fig. 30: Comparison of SQs between boys and girls

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER - VII

D I S C U S S I O N

The findings of the investigation have been analysed critically and discussed in terms of comparison between the three categories of street children (ragpickers, beggars and vagrants), what the findings suggest and their implications for the future development of street children. The discussion has been presented under the following sub-headings.

- 7.1 Family background of street children.
- 7.2 Personal background of street children.
- 7.3 Ecological environment of street children.
- 7.4 Aspirations and expectations of street children.
- 7.5 Psycho-social profile of street children.
- 7.6 Street children : The ecological perspective.

The findings of the study showed that almost all beggars were girls while all the vagrants were boys. D'Lima and Gosalia (1992) in their study on street children of Bombay also reported that mostly girls were involved in begging. The finding that all vagrants were boys would indicate that girls, inspite of not attending schools, are engaged in household tasks and therefore do not roam around on the roads, unlike boys in the same situation. Apart from this, girls are not inclined to move around on the road-first, because of cultural restrictions and second, due to the risk involved in doing so.

7.1 FAMILY BACKGROUND OF STREET CHILDREN:

The family background of street children was studied in terms of the caste to which families belonged, the migration pattern, the family composition, educational and occupational aspects of family members and their income.

The results of the study revealed that majority of the respondent families belonged to either scheduled caste or backward classes. It was observed that among the three categories of street children, in comparison with vagrants, most of the ragpickers and beggars belonged to such backward and scheduled castes. This would imply that children from backward classes and scheduled caste families unhesitatingly resort to such activities as ragpicking and begging, because of their already low social status. Whereas, in the other communities or upper castes (as in the case of vagrants), families would not allow their children to resort to such activities because of social stigma attached to the activities. Instead they would prefer to place their children in jobs as construction labourers, or in hotels or mechanic's shops as helpers and so on, to supplement their family income in the face of economic constraints. In such families, therefore, before they are absorbed into child labour, the children tend to lead a life of vagrancy, which could again be a temporary phase.

The present study revealed that majority of the families, especially those of ragpickers and beggars, were migrant families. The important reasons for their migration were poverty

and unemployment in rural areas and better prospects in cities. The study replicates the findings of Rao (1989) that a significant majority of street children migrated to the cities to find a livelihood as against compulsive poverty at home. It is clear that quest for survival dominates the reasons for migration. This aspect becomes more clear when viewed in relation to the nature of occupations in which the families were involved in rural areas. Majority of the families had reported that they were engaged as agricultural labourers. This bears out what is widely agreed about the impoverishment of agricultural sector in rural areas and the hope that industrialized cities hold out for them. It indicates, as also noted by UNICEF (1992) that the root of the problem is in the rural areas itself. The imbalances in development (between rural and urban areas) manifests in widespread unemployment and poverty causing rural families to migrate to urban cities (refer to Case - I).

From cases I, II, VII it is clear that the living conditions of these families are poor. It was observed that the slums in which ragpickers and beggars lived were over-crowded, unsanitary and lacking in basic, essential amenities. It indicates that when rural families migrate to urban cities, they squeeze into the squatter areas and pavements and contribute to the ever-growing population of urban poor, posing health hazards. In the case of vagrants, the slum conditions and housing facilities were better than the other two categories. This

finding further strengthens what has been said earlier about the better social status of families of vagrant children.

This present study has revealed that most of the children live in full family units - including both mother and father and siblings. The family composition revealed that these children came from large families comprising of 4-9 children. Similar findings were reported by Balanon et al (1988) in a study of street children in Phillipines. An interesting finding of the present study was that three families were fatherless. From cases II, III, VI it was clear that indirectly father's death had created a re-orientation in the family. This forced the children to take the responsibility of earning for the family. Since the responsibility of earning and supporting their family is greater for the children whose fathers are not actually present in their day-to-day lives, it is likely that they resort to street activities such as ragpicking and begging. This could be because such activities not only provide immediate remuneration which is necessary in the present situation but also because these activities do not require a capital or initial investment.

As far as education of family members is concerned the study revealed that both parents of all the respondents were illiterate. Similarly, in majority of the cases the siblings were also illiterate and had no formal schooling. Viewing these results in relation to the occupations of the family members will be more meaningful. The study revealed that most of the family

members were engaged as casual labourers while the rest usually were self-employed. During the investigation, it was observed that in general, while adolescents and adult members were engaged as labourers, the occupation of children in the families differed from ragpickers and beggars, and vagrants. In the former cases, the other children in the families and sometimes elder siblings were also involved in ragpicking and begging. Whereas in the case of vagrants, while young children either went to school or stayed at home, the elder siblings were employed.

This could be viewed as a 'trend' and usually be expected to have some bearing on the aspiration of the street children (which has been discussed later in the chapter).

The findings in general, indicate two things. First, that the kind of occupation the family members are involved in do not require specific skills. Second and more important is that employment is in the unorganised sector. This shows that while the parents have some work options, these options are in fact limited. Due to illiteracy and no schooling, many parents are confined to jobs that offer less opportunities for earning more. Similarly, since most of the employment was in unorganised sector, the availability of work is uncertain and insecure. Their earnings fluctuate from day-to-day, depending upon the availability of work, the competitions for employment and their own physical stamina. On the whole the findings indicate the constraints that most families of street children face in attaining some degree of economic sufficiency. Thus the

implication for children is clear - what planning can such parents do to ensure better growth opportunities for their children?.

Regarding the incomes, the results revealed that most families earned between 200 to 400 rupees per week. This would be considered a sizeable income. But it was evident that given the large families and irregular and uncertain nature of the income, the poor economic condition of the families would become obvious. Chaudhary (1992) also reported that most of the families of street children in Pakistan belonged to poor and low middle class families and lived on the verge of poverty line. Especially from cases II, VII, VIII it is clear that several items of expenditure (other than for food and clothing) demand a large portion of the income. These include expenditure for clearing debts, drinking liquor, medical treatment, so on. Thus what is actually available for the family use is comparatively less and insufficient to meet the family needs. Thus this study suggests, that, given the large families and insufficient incomes, the presence of street children can be seen as a way of coping with economic difficulties. The low and irregular incomes affect the quantity and quality of food intake and make the family members especially children vulnerable to malnourishment and health hazards.

7.2 PERSONAL BACKGROUND OF STREET CHILDREN:

The personal background of street children was studied in terms of their educational status, their reasons for being on the street, number of hours of work, their daily earning and savings.

Regarding the educational status of street children, the present study showed that majority of the children had no opportunity for schooling. Only one respondent (out of nine) had formal schooling upto the second standard and had later dropped out of school. The reasons for non-enrollment in schools is clear from all the cases. From the reasons, what became most obvious is that most families did not seem to think that educating children was necessary. This is especially true in the case of girls (refer to cases I,VII, VIII,IX) where, they were tied down either by household responsibilities or by cultural considerations which do not encourage girl child's education. Balanon et al (1988) also reported that there were more girl street children who had no schooling than boys. If this is indicative of a trend it may ruin any hope of future equality for this female child, ruin the chances of her surviving children for education. It may be a sad state of affairs for the society at large.

Non-enrollment in schools could also be attributed to the illiteracy and ignorance of the parents themselves. Secondly, children join the adult family members, early in life, for its economic survival and therefore lose the opportunity for

schooling. Shroff (1991) noted that due to socio-economic pressures, children of urban poor find themselves active participants in the survival of the family. This was found to be particularly true with ragpickers and beggars. Thirdly, and more obvious in the case of vagrants, it is likely that parents are too involved in their struggle for earning for the family that children's education does not become an important consideration (refer case IV, VI).

With regard to school drop-outs, cases IV and VI could provide better understanding. From the former case it is obvious that parents have preference (sometimes not without reason) for school with English Medium rather than the regional language as medium of instruction. From the latter case, it is clear that even if parents desire to send their children to school, the quality of schools make it unattractive and would discourage children from attending schools. Related to this would be the influence of friends and other attractions as videos (especially in the present times when such electronic media have become widely and easily accessible) which could indirectly result in vagrancy. The implications are obvious. Even if the child had attended school, the results of schooling do not persist long after he/she has dropped out. Therefore, he/she becomes equivalent to a child who has not attended school at all. In both cases, intellectual and cognitive development is affected (which has been discussed in detail under psycho-social profile, later in this chapter). Thus neither attending school, and

sometimes waiting to be enrolled in work, vagrant children are most vulnerable to bad influences.

Presence of street children is widely attributed to economic survival of the family. This study has not only supported such findings but has further revealed some more reasons. Majority of respondents revealed that economic necessity forced them into ragpicking and begging, while an equal percentage also said it was due to the influence of friends. The other reasons included "easy and convenient way to earn money" and "no other work was available". Pallipuram (1991) from a study on ragpickers of Bangalore reported that the reasons cited for taking up ragpicking included "no other job was available", "easy way to earn money", influence of companions and parents. The findings clearly indicate that family and the community to which the children belong, play a greater role in initiating them into such street activities, (refer to case II, III, VII). Although results revealed that economic necessity was the main underlying factor, it was interesting to note that this may not always be true. From case IX, it was clear that although there is no dire economic compulsion, children continued to resort to such activities because it would always fetch more money. This argument is further strengthened by the fact that a number of school-going boys were found to indulge in street activities as ragpicking (refer to case III). In this context this could be attributed either to habit or to the reason of utilizing the free time to earn money.

Street children spend greater part of the day on the streets. The study revealed that the time spent on ragpicking was approximately 7-9 hours, while in comparison beggars spent 3-5 hours begging. These findings are in accordance with those of a survey conducted by Social Welfare Directorate, Government of West Bengal (Mukherjee, 1992). The difference in the work hours could be due to the fact that ragpicking can be done throughout the day. Whereas in the case of beggars (all the beggars in the sample were girls) the findings would suggest two things - first, since girls have the additional burden of household work, they return from begging earlier. Second, begging is remunerative only on certain days and on particular occasions. This could also be the reason why many beggars also indulge in ragpicking, in order to earn more money.

The findings also revealed that boys spent more number of hours on the street than girls, and subsequently earned more money. This could also be because, boys cover longer distances to pick rags than do girls. Similar findings were reported by Aggarwal (1989) and Subrahmanyam (1991) from a study on girl ragpickers.

In the case vagrants, who spent 3-6 hours roaming around and in the company of peers, the present study revealed that such a period provides them 'opportunity' to indulge in delinquent behaviour and exposes them to equally harmful influences.

Since all the respondents stayed with their families, the question of who has access to the child's income becomes important, especially in the case of ragpickers and beggars. The present study revealed that majority children give a part of their earnings to parents and retain the rest of it. This finding is obvious since economic necessity was the main reason for most children taking up ragpicking and begging.

Similar to the findings of Aggarwal (1989) and Subrahmanyam (1991), this study revealed that compared to boys more number of girls gave their entire income to parents.

The study had revealed that majority of children (including vagrants) spent the money on eatables. The other things for which they reportedly spent their earnings were watching movies, buying marbles and for indulging in such habits as chewing "paan" and "ghutka". Girls also spend money on buying ribbons, bangles and so on.

All the children reported that they saved money only occasionally, but preferred to spend it away. Similar findings were reported by D'Lima and Gosalia (1992) in their study on street children of Bombay. It is reasoned that since they do not have any proper saving facility they are forced to spend all the money. Similar observations were made by Mukherjee (1992). The result is that they spend money for the sake of spending, unaware of the kind of habits they form in the process.

7.3 ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF STREET CHILDREN:

Ecological Environment has been studied in terms of the activities of the child (including household responsibilities and habits), the person with whom the child came into contact, family and street atmosphere, difficulties/problems encountered by the street child.

The activities in which individuals engaged themselves have an important bearing on their development. In this context, the habits, roles and responsibilities carried out by the street child become important. The present study revealed that most children indulged in such habits as chewing 'paan' (betel-leaf), 'ghutka' (a chewable intoxicant), gambling, and watching movies. Sravanthi (1992) also reported that street children indulged in bad habits. Except gambling other habits were found to be less prevalent among vagrants. This would be because vagrants had less/no money with them for spending, compared to beggars and ragpickers. In general it indicates that street children have habits which are hazardous to their growth and development. They are likely to create health problems which would ultimately hamper their physical and psychological development.

The present study revealed that many children also involved themselves in household chores. It was observed that in comparison with boys, girls were more involved in household tasks. It is reasoned that since parents were occupied with earning for the family, children would be required to either

help in or do the household tasks. This finding has its implications especially for the girl street child who is at a greater disadvantage because of the extra burden of household chores. Due to household responsibilities, in addition to her work on the street, leave her very little time for leisure and recreation, which is essential for children at this stage of life to develop their potentials for all-round development.

The family atmosphere was studied in terms of the incidence of alcoholism among family members and the type of relationship between parents. The present study revealed that in majority of the cases fathers were drunkards and in a few cases, other family members such as mother, brother, grandmother were also reported to consume liquor. The study also revealed that parents quarrelled often and there were frequent incidents of wife beating. These two findings become relevant when viewed in relation to the nature of occupations of parents and the prevalent economic conditions of families. It could be argued thus - the type of work the fathers do is strenuous and therefore, they drink liquor to 'overcome' the tiredness. Thus the father may beat the child in the drunken state, which amounts to ill-treatment of the child and consequently its bad effects on his/her emotional development.

Observations in the study showed that usually fathers spent their entire earnings on drinking liquor. Thus it reduced the income actually available for family use. From the point of view

of economic conditions, it indicates wasteful expenditure on part of the families.

According to Conger et al (1992), objective economic conditions such as unstable work are related to parents' emotional status and behaviour. The economic pressures are associated with depression and demoralization of both parents, which are related to marital conflict and disruptions in skillful parenting. These disruptions in each parents' child-rearing behaviours have adverse consequences for adolescent development. Therefore given the kind of economic conditions and familial atmosphere it is likely that the developmental implications for these children, on the threshold of adolescence, will be hazardous.

The present study indicated that majority of the children were ill-treated by their father and mother. The study replicates the findings of Subramanyam and Sondhi (1990) who reported unsatisfactory interpersonal relations of the children with family members. The children also reported they were frequently dominated by elder siblings. In spite of this, it was interesting to note that many children especially girls, liked their father and majority liked their mothers. It was also observed that there was more abuse than admitted. This finding could be interpreted in two separate, yet interrelated ways. First, because so much is taken for granted that many ways of physical abuse have become accepted as usual ways of treating children, who in turn have internalised this sort of treatment. Secondly according to Lewinian theory (Bronfenbrenner 1977), the

percieved should be viewed as more important than the actual. Therefore it is likely that these children do not percieve the behaviour of the family members towards them as abusive. Hence, although the respondents reported that they were beaten and scolded, most of them felt that their family members were kind and so on. Stating the implications of such a finding may be difficult, but cases V and VII provide better insight. In both the cases it is clear that the respondents had percieved their environment as being abusive, thus they have expressed the intention of running away from home. This could imply that once the children begin to percieve such abuse, there is a threat to their emotional development and personality development. It is unlikely that rest of the respondents will take a long time to reach a stage where they perceive their environment as abusive. This is reasonable, considering the fact that in both cases V and VII, the respondents were 12 year-old while all the others were younger.

Several studies (Madan, 1992; Pinto, 1992; Karkhanis, 1992) have indicated abusive family conditions as reasons for children running away from home. From the present study it is evident that inter-personal relationships were poor, and abusive conditions prevail in the families. Therefore, it is likely that once these children percieve abuse, they could run away from home.

The atmosphere outside the family setting can be seen through the persons with whom the street children come into contact, within the slum and while on the streets by virtue of their status as ragpickers, beggars and vagrants. Many of these persons, apart from the family members, form an important part of the child's microsystem. Since, this system immediately contains the child, it can be said to have a direct influence on the child's behaviour and development.

Within the slum, the results showed that children mostly interacted with their peers and adult neighbours. The influence of peers on the street child's behaviour (as shown by all the cases) has both positive and negative impact. The peers were influential in taking up street trades, in acquiring bad habits, in leaving schools, and in some cases exposing the children to delinquent behaviour (especially in the case of vagrants). But on the otherhand, they were also reported to provide companionship and support in times of need.

From all the case presentations it can be seen that membership in peer groups provides not only companionship but also a medium for learning some ways of street life. Their influence is not confined only to leisure activities but can also encroach upon the children's work. The reason for such a strong influence of peer group can be due to 2 reasons - first, because the peers are also engaged in the same activities as those of these children. Second, the time spent together is greater. Since the family conditions of street children are disturbing and

tension-ridden, these children could mutually seek and find companionship, emotional support and security from their association with peer group.

On the contrary when peer groups show deviant, delinquent or antisocial tendencies, the street child may also acquire them in the long run (if not already acquired), which would be developmentally hazardous for the child. The present study revealed that one vagrant child often accompanied his friend when he committed thefts (case V) and one beggar often resorted to stealing (case VIII).

The results of the present study revealed that the other persons with whom the children usually interacted everyday were the adults/youth in the slum. It is clear from cases II and III that youth have profound effect on these children. They are widely accepted role-models. It was revealed during the investigation, that the youth in the slum indulged in violence, and other antisocial activities as eve-teasing and black marketing. Constantly being in the company of such persons could prompt the street children to adopt such ways as gambling, use of abusive language, using violent means to tackle problems encountered on the streets. UNICEF (1992) points to deteriorating social environment as cause for delinquency. In other instances, adults in the slum have reportedly, ill-treated and abused the children.

Once on the street, the street children come across other children who are indulging in similar activities (raggletagg, begging or vagrancy). It is obvious from the type of interactions (usually in the form of hurling abuses at each other, street fights etc) that these children learn certain ways of street life from them.

From cases IV,V, VI it can be seen that by the virtue of their status, vagrants are exposed to dominate adults, gamblers and drunkards, who could have a bearing on their own behaviour.

The opinion of the general public about street children is widely known. The study revealed that the general public were "unkind" and often irritated with these children, especially beggars and vagrants. This could be because of the perception of the public that street children are rogues, thieves and delinquents (ICCW 1989), and therefore they tend to look down on these children with a harsh and intolerant attitude.

Thus it is clear that apart from the being abused on the streets, the street children are also maltreated at home.

The present study revealed that violence was common in street child's life. From cases I,II,III,IV it was obvious that street children saw a lot of violence and were often victims themselves. When viewed in relation to habit of watching cinema and how the violent ways depicted in it are imitated by children, it becomes clear that cinema only serves to reinforce such violence. Panicker (1990) also reported similar findings and

noted that if some of them grow up to be thieves, it is the adults who have to be blamed.

In this context it would not be without reason to assume that there is all likelihood that many children may take up criminal careers when they grow up. These findings have implications for the child's future. As has been pointed out by Deol (1990) that "when juveniles at large are not getting conducive environment for proper breeding, one could easily visualize what help these youngsters would get for their rehabilitation after their long or short criminal careers".

The data is limited to gauge the extent of harm such experiences inflict on the young minds. However, it can be suggested that prolonged exposure to such persons and experiences would effect the social, emotional, moral and in general the personality development of street children.

In the case of the girl child, the vulnerability for exploitation and abuse increases manifold.

With deprivation and neglect that characterize their lives, street children are expected to be able to identify a multitude of problems. The present study revealed that on the home front, the children have such difficulties as scoldings and beatings by family members and poor economic conditions, quarrels at home etc. It was interesting to note that although many children reported several difficulties listed, some also said that they

did not face any difficulty. This could be attributed to what has already been said about children not perceiving their environment as abusive. Secondly, it could indicate preoccupation with immediate survival such that it does not do any good to see problems or seek solutions.

Regarding problems on street the study showed that physical injuries, street fights, dominating and harassing adults (from the street setting) were the major problems. Similar findings were reported by Panicker and Nangia (1992) in their study on working and street children of Delhi. These findings would indicate that children have a realistic assessment of what they are up against on the street. Thus they would adopt ways and attitudes of behaviour which would ensure their survival on the harsh streets.

The present study revealed that inspite of having difficulties, street children did not discuss them with anybody as such. This finding could be attributed to what has already been said about the hopelessness of pondering over problems or seeking solutions. But in case they did discuss and seek advice, they mostly approached family members (mostly mother) and friends - for tackling such problems as harassment or street fights.

On the whole the findings could also mean that since assistance from others (especially family members) may not be readily forthcoming and neither do they have the resources, the street children relied more on their own efforts rather than

others for solving problems. Another reason could be that since the interpersonal relationships between family members was poor, the children did not feel free or confident about seeking their assistance or advice.

7.4 ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS:

The aspirations and expectations of street children were studied in terms of the opinion of street children about their present condition, their willingness to give up the present status, what they aspire for the future and the expectations for their welfare.

The opinion of street children regarding their present condition and their willingness/unwillingness to give up their present status would indicate, to a certain extent the direction of their future aspiration. The present study revealed that majority of street children were unhappy about their present conditions, but accept it. This is mostly because of the hardships they face on the streets especially the ragpickers.

An interesting finding of the study was that, inspite of being unhappy, majority of the children were unwilling to give up their present status (as ragpickers, beggars and vagrants), for better opportunities. "Parents will not allow" was the main reason cited for their unwillingness to join in vocational training centres or schools. The other reasons were, "habituated to present life" and "would not get similar remuneration in other

jobs". This finding indirectly confirms that economic considerations are a priority in their families.

The study revealed that some street children aspired to pursue parental occupations whereas an equal number sought employment as helpers in hotels or mechanic shops. Two of them were unsure about their aspirations for future. Similar findings were reported by Rao (1989). On the whole the findings could indicate that street children are not fully aware of the avenues they could seek for bettering their prospects. This could again be because, the street children seldom get a chance to contemplate about their future.

The fact that all the respondents were not confident of achieving their aspirations, could suggest the need for providing guidance and counselling to them in order to rejuvenate their chances for better development.

7.5. PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROFILE OF STREET CHILDREN

The psycho-social profile was assessed in terms of intelligence (IQ) and social maturity levels (SQ).

The present study indicated that majority of street children were below average in intelligence. The boys performed better than girls in both verbal and performance tests. This could be mainly due to lack of adequate intellectual stimulation and opportunities for learning experiences, in their environment hence hampering optimal cognitive growth. It would also be due to the lack of schooling or other such opportunities for education.

Given the nature of the environment in which they are developing it is expected that street children will show high social maturity levels. The present study supported the view point. Majority of the children had average and above average levels of social maturity. Majority of them were superior in Occupation (OCC) and at the above average level in self-help dressing (SHD). This is true, because these children become independent and learn to be responsible for themselves from an early age. Socialisation and communication required the ability to read and write, identify with an organised social group (such as local club etc), for which these children do not have the opportunity. Therefore their performance in these social areas was not as high as observed in the social areas of occupation (OCC) and self direction(SD).

7.6. STREET CHILDREN : THE ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The discussion preceding this sub-section has been interpreted from the ecological perspective, to make the contexts and processes of development very clear at each environmental level. From the eco-maps and ecological profiles, it is evident that specific factors in the ecological environment have influenced street children to develop in certain characteristic ways.

7.6.1. Microsystem:

The main elements of this system are the pattern of activities, roles and the interpersonal relations experienced by

the developing person in a given setting. From the present study it is evident that the main settings common for all street children are family, slum community and street.

It is clear from the ecological profiles that the main activities carried on by street children include household chores, ragpicking, begging, sorting and selling rags, roaming around, gambling, indulging in habits.

As far as roles are concerned, the prominent role played by street children (especially ragpickers and beggars) in their families is that of financial contributors. The finding that economic survival of most families depended on the children further proves that these children are expected to play adult roles. From the ecological perspective, these roles are important for several reasons. The placement of a person in a role tends to evoke perceptions, activities, and patterns of interpersonal relation consistent with expectations associated with that role, as they pertain to the behaviour both of the person occupying the role and of others with regard to that person (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The findings of the present study are consistent with such an argument. The household responsibilities they perform, the street activities they engage in to earn money, and the adult-like habits (gambling, chewing intoxicants) indicate that they are expected to play adult roles. The good social maturity scores further strengthen this. It is important to understand that although such role expectations are

a function of the microsystem, it has its roots in the higher order macrosystem - in the whole sub-culture where a broad consensus exists about the economic value of children and the adult role expectations of them. This itself could partially explain the presence of street children.

Considering the nature of activities the street children are involved in and their experiences in accordance with the role performance, development is likely to be affected especially if continued over a long period of time.

The present study revealed that mutually positive relations exist between street child and mother, sometimes siblings, and peers. Mutually negative relations exist with father, slum youth and other persons who are met on the street. Interpersonal relations especially such (positive or negative) dyadic interactions produce powerful developmental effects especially when given the reciprocal nature of a dyad. It is in this context that the negative behaviour exhibited by street children has to be understood. When persons (either father, elder siblings, slum youth etc) behaved aggressively, or ill-treated and abused the child, the street child reciprocated by developing ways of behaviour which enabled him to cope with such persons. Since such behaviour, developed in the course of reciprocal interactions, also tends to be carried over to other times and places and resumed in other settings in future (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), it becomes permanent affecting social and personality development.

The present study revealed that street children learnt the street activities or acquired harmful habits from peers. The strong emotional support which characterize their relation supports the primary dyad which provides scope for learning and for development - either in positive or negative ways (unsocial, delinquent acts).

The poor physical facilities, large families, inadequate incomes, improper health and nutritional conditions and such other manifestations of poverty which characterize the setting in which street children are active, also influence behaviour.

Thus it is clearly evident that the microsystem is the most prominent eco-system in terms of being conducive not only to initiation into street activity and developmentally harmful behaviours, but also sustaining it. This suggests that welfare efforts be focussed on the family and slum community to retard the phenomenon.

7.6.2. Mesosystem

Mesosystem is characterized by inter-relationships between the different settings in which the child is active. In this respect, the inter relation between the family and street, and family and slum are more important for street children. The study revealed that apart from the child, peers, siblings and sometimes adult members of slum are also engaged in street activities. Thus while the child provided the primary link, the others

provided supplementary links between family, slum and street settings.

Such links are important because they provide information about the street setting to the family. From the study it is evident that such information was crucial as it enabled the street children (especially ragpickers and beggars) to expect and prepare for the harsh situations on the streets. It thus made not only the transition from one setting (home) into the new setting (street) smooth, but also helped them to cope with such situations in future. The present study has shown (from case I) that when prior knowledge about the street is absent, the abusive experiences on the street could prove harmful to the child's social and emotional development.

From the study it was also clear that when parents are unaware about the other settings in which the child is active, it could have serious consequences. This has its significance especially for those children who become vagrants because of problems at school.

It is interesting to note that although parents are aware (from the children and other slum dwellers) of the conditions of the street, their children continued to be engaged in street activities. This finding could be attributed to the role (and role-expectations) played by these children - as financial contributors and adult like behaviour expected of them, that is to be able to cope with difficult situations.

According to Bronfenbrenner(1979) development is enhanced as a direct function of the number of structurally different settings in which the developing person participates in a variety of joint activities. This is because it requires the developing person to adapt to a variety of situations and people in settings with different background factors. From the present study it is evident that the settings, the people and the tasks in which a developing street child is engaged are almost similar, characterized by illiteracy, ignorance and abuse. Since the present study has also shown that the I.Q. of street children was below average, it is argued that these children have limited scope for improving cognitive competence and social skills, in such conditions. They only retard the child developmentally rather than enhance it. Therefore the implication of such a finding for street child's welfare is clear. Programmes which provide for involvement and interaction of the street child with persons (social workers, vocational trainers etc) from different backgrounds (age, education or social class) could serve to enhance development. Such programmes could be offered through welfare centres for street children where facilities for a variety of activities, counselling and guidance could be carried on to contribute to positive development and upward mobility.

Another important finding of the present study has been that transcontextual dyadic relations and enduring interpersonal relations are maintained with peers and sometimes siblings. Since the capacity of a person to profit from a developmental

experience will vary directly as a function of the number of transcontextual dyads in which he/she participates (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) it becomes imperative to provide intervention programmes for groups of street children from same slum rather than concentrating on individual children.

7.6.3. Exosystem

This system consists of one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by what happens in that setting.

The present study revealed that strenuous work of fathers at their places of work and incidence of alcoholism among them to be the most important exosystem factors. The fathers were generally engaged in manual labour which was strenuous and tiring. In order to relieve themselves of the strain, they consumed alcohol. The incidence of alcoholism has a 2 fold effect on the family - first, it burdens the already poor economic condition of family since the fathers, instead of giving their income for family use, entirely spent it on liquor. This wasteful expenditure is partially responsible for the poor economic status and thereby necessitating children to work. Second, in the drunken state the fathers usually ill-treated the children and beat wives for more money. Thus tension in the family would affect the emotional developments of the children. Similarly the stressful

experiences of siblings at their places of work caused quarrels among siblings.

The positive exosystem factors have been the school experiences of peers of street children. In two cases of the present study, peers have created an interest in street children to pursue education and to improve their status in general.

7.6.4. Macrosystem

To understand the larger context within which the phenomenon of street children occurs, and its developmental implications, an examination of the macrosystem factors becomes crucial. From the present study it is clear that large families, illiteracy, poor jobs, insufficient incomes have caused economic hardships and greater participation of children in the economic survival of family. From the ecological perspective these factors have roots in more complex phenomenon prevalent in society. As far as street children are concerned, these are the imbalances in development between rural and urban areas (causing migration), natural calamities, the beliefs about child-care (demands for adult-like role expectations, considering child's education as economically unviable), improper implementation of Government programmes for welfare of families, uncurbed violence in communities, low social status of women and so on. It is revealed that these features are common at all the three lower environmental levels. These factors are manifested in the lower

order systems in several ways and thereby hold out direct or indirect implication for the street child's development.

Lack of interpersonal relations due to prior occupation of both parents and children, with earning, deprives them of several stimulating experiences. This is reflected in the below average I.Q. scores of street children in the present study. But the role expectations by the community in which they live, has prompted the street children to grow up to 'adult' roles made them more self-reliant (as reflected in the good social maturity scores) all of which is also reflected in their wish to take up parental occupations and eagerness to earn money.

Another important consequence is the low aspirations, expressed by the street children in the present study. This could have been mediated by the low socio-economic status and virtually no opportunities for exposure to newer avenues.

Given the impoverished conditions, and beliefs prevalent at the sub-cultural levels (the community in which they live and belong), the high adaptability to their environment shown by the street children could be superficial. That is, these children lack the skills and capabilities to function effectively outside their environment. Thus could hamper their chances of successfully progressing and improving themselves. It is in this respect that the I.Q. scores of street children should be viewed and efforts be made for providing intellectually stimulating experiences.

Another important point is that almost all the macrosystem factors are beyond the control of the families of street children. The responsibility to correct these factors lies solely with the Government. Otherwise, these factors will probably continue to persist into the child's future and undesirably maintain the phenomenon.

Thus it is concluded from the present study that several factors at each of the four environmental levels have served not only as causes for the phenomenon, but also as both causes and contexts for hampering the all round development of street children. It is emphasized that several of these factors have to be tackled at the societal (macrosystem) level by the government before positive changes could be expected at the familial or community (microsystem) levels.

Major conclusions drawn from the present study are as follows:

1. Mostly girls are involved in begging while only boys are vagrants.
2. Most of the ragpickers and beggars belong to scheduled caste and backward classes families. Most families were migrant families with poverty and unemployment dominating the reasons for migration.
3. Most street children belong to large families, whose members are illiterate and employed in unorganised sector. The weekly income of families is between Rs.200-400/- which is insufficient due to large family size and expenditure.

4. Majority of street children are illiterate and have no opportunity for schooling.
5. Economic necessity is the main reason for ragpicking and begging. Unpleasant experiences in school and care of siblings are main reasons for vagrancy.
6. Girls spend less time at work on the street compared to boys and consequently earn less than boys. In addition to work on the street most of the street children have household responsibilities.
7. The family atmosphere in which street children live is marked by high incidence of alcoholism and wife-beating. The interpersonal relationship between family members is poor.
8. Street children face several difficulties at home (quarrels at home, ill-treatment) and on the street (physical injuries, street fights, harassment) but most children do not consider them as being problematic.
9. Microsystem factors (nature of activities, adult-role expectations, interpersonal relations with persons in family, slum and street) and, macrosystem factors (imbalances in development, caste, poverty, improper implementation of Government programmes) are prominent for not only initiating the street activities and affecting behaviour and development but also in sustaining them. Similarly mesosystem and exosystem factors are also mainly

responsible for street children to develop unsocial behaviour.

10. While some children aspire to pursue their parental occupations, the others seek employment. All of them are unsure of/not confident of achieving their aspirations. They expect food, clothing and financial assistance for their welfare.
11. Street children have below average I.Q levels and average social maturity levels. Boys are slightly better than girls in intelligence and social maturity.
12. The girl street children are more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse than the boys.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF STREET CHILDREN

1. Work with families and communities (in the slums) to educate their members and create awareness about childcare.
2. Strengthen and extend poverty-alleviation programmes.
3. Strengthen, and create awareness among people about the existing support services - Urban Basic Services, Balwadis, ICDS programmes.
4. Conduct non-formal education classes for street children (within the slum premises).

5. Organise vocational training centres and other rehabilitation programmes where counselling could also be done for street children.
6. Recreational and educational facilities can be organized for street children through setting up of child welfare centres in the slums.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Similar studies could be conducted on a larger sample.
2. Studies could be conducted covering other areas of development - social, emotional, moral, personality so on.
3. Several factors (identified by the present study) in the ecological environment could be empirically tested.
4. Detailed studies on girl street children could be conducted to specifically know their conditions.
5. Comparative studies between pavement dwellers and slum children, and street children with and without families could be conducted.
6. Each ecosystem could be separately studied in detail.
7. Intervention studies could be conducted to know the affect in improving the I.Q of street children.

SUMMARY

CHAPTER - VIII

S U M M A R Y

The term street children is applied to those who are engaged in multifarious activities on the streets of big towns and cities. They have adopted the street either as their abode or a source of livelihood or both. Whether they maintain ties with their families or not, these children are inadequately protected, supervised and directed by responsible adults. The target of the present research study have been those street children who are living in the slums (with support of family), with particular emphasis on those involved in street activities. There are several factors which cause children to take to the streets. The nature of their activities on the street is likely to have deleterious effect on the street children's behaviour and development.

Research data on this recent phenomenon of street children is inadequate and limited to only a few aspects. Since a thorough understanding of the phenomenon is necessary to undertake any welfare measures, the present research was formulated to study the problem from manifold perspectives. The following were the objectives of the study -

1. To assess the family background of street children.
2. To study the ecological environment of street children and consequently construct an eco-map for each individual child.

3. To assess the cognitive and social maturity characteristics of street children.
4. To find out the future aspirations and expectations of street children.

Materials and methods

Case study method was adopted for the purpose of the present study. The Ecological Approach to human development (given by Urie Bronfenbrenner) formed the broad theoretical framework for the study. From the ecological perspective, the ecological environment is conceived as a series of nested and interconnected structures namely - Micro-, Meso-, Exo-, and Macro systems each with distinctively different elements and properties.

The sample consisted of 9 children (9-12 years)- from each category of ragpickers, beggars and vagrants. They were purposively chosen from 5 slums in Hyderabad city. The tools and techniques for data collection included an interview schedule developed for the purpose of the study. It was pretested on a small sample and modified in the necessary manner. It was used to collect data, from the street children on family background, personal background of street children, their ecological environment and aspirations and expectations. The other tools were Malin's Intelligence Scale for Indian Children (ISIC) for measuring intelligence, and Indian adaptation by Malin of the Vineland Social Maturity Scale (VSMS) for social maturity. Informal observations were also made. Person such as parents,

siblings, peers, neighbours were also interviewed to supplement and confirm the data.

Frequencies were calculated for data obtained through the Interview Schedule. Means were tabulated for scores obtained from ISIC and VSMS. The data has been presented in the form of detailed case studies consisting of eco-maps, and ecological and psycho-social profiles for each individual child.

Important findings of the study

1. Mostly girls were involved in begging while only boys were vagrants.
2. Most of the ragpickers and beggars belonged to scheduled caste and backward classes families. Most families were migrant families and poverty and unemployment dominated the reasons for migration.
3. Most street children belonged to large families whose members were illtreated and employed in unorganised sector. The weekly income of families was between Rs.200-400/- which was insufficient due to large family size and expenditure.
4. Majority of street children were illiterate and had no opportunity for schooling.
5. Economic necessity was the main reason for ragpicking and begging. Unpleasant experiences in school and care of siblings were main reasons for vagrancy.

6. Girls spent less time at work on the street compared to boys and consequently earned less than boys. In addition to work on the street most of the children had household responsibilities.
7. The family atmosphere in which street children live was marked by high incidence of alcoholism and wife beating. The interpersonal relationship between family members was poor.
8. Street children faced several difficulties at home (quarrels at home, ill-treatment), and on the street (physical injuries, street fights harassment) but most children did not consider them as being problematic.
9. Microsystem factors (nature of activities, adult role expectations, inter personal relations with persons in family, slum and street) and macrosystem factors (imbalances in development, caste, poverty improper implementation of government programmes) were prominent for not only initiating the street activities and affecting behaviour and development but also in sustaining them. Similarly mesosystem and exosystem were also mainly responsible for street children to develop unsocial behaviour.
10. While some children aspired to pursue their parental occupations the others expected to seek employment. All of them were unsure of/not confident of achieving their

aspirations. They expected food, clothing and financial assistance for their welfare.

11. Street children had below average I.Q. levels and average social maturity levels. Boys were slightly better than girls in intelligence and social maturity.
12. The girl street children were more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse than the boys.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX - I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Name of the child
2. Sex of the child
3. Age of the child
4. Ordinal position of the child
5. Present status of the child
Ragpicker / Beggar / Vagrant
6. Locality in which the family is staying
7. Caste/Community
8. Family composition

S.No.	Name	Relationship with child	Sex	Age	Educa -tion	Occupa -tion	Income per week
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-
9. Does your family originally belong to Hyderabad? Y/N
 10. If not, from which place did your family migrate?
 11. What are the reasons for migration.
 12. Did you ever attend any school? Y/N
 13. If not, what were the reasons?
 14. If yes, upto what standard did you study?
 15. Why did you leave school thereafter?
 16. How do you feel on discontinuing your study?

17. What is your daily routine (from early morning upto night?)

Activity	Time

18. What are the household jobs you take up?

19. Does anyone in the family help you with these jobs?

20. What is your opinion about the behaviour of the following people toward you -

a) Mother

b) Father

c) Brothers

d) Sisters

e) Friends

f) Anyothers

21. Are your mother/father/both alcoholics?

22. Do your parents quarrel with each other frequently at home?
Y/N

23. Do you have friends?

S.No.	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation

24. Do you feel accepted by your peers? Y/N

25. a) If yes, what makes you feel that you are accepted?
(give reasons)
- b) If no, what makes you feel that you are not accepted by
your peers? (give reasons)
26. Why did you take up ragpicking/begging?
27. How do you spend your leisure time?
28. How much do you earn per day?
29. Who has access to your earnings?
- a) Yourself b) Parents c) Anyother (specify)
30. If you have access to your income, how do you spend it?
31. Do you save certain amount of money? Y/N
32. If yes, where (or with whom) do you save and approximately
how much money?
33. How do you propose to use your savings?
34. With your earnings, are you able to meet the daily needs for
- a) Food Y/N
- b) Clothing Y/N
35. If you feel unwell or become ill, whom do you approach?

36. Do you have any of the following habits?

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| a) Playing cards | d) Smoke ganja |
| b) Smoke bidis, cigarettes | e) Drink liquor |
| c) Chew betel leaves | f) Any other |

37. From whom/where did you acquire these habits?

38. Were you ever caught by the police? Y/N

39. If yes, for what reasons.

40. Did you ever indulge in petty thefts, pick-pocketing etc?
Y/N

41. Who are the people you generally meet everyday?

S.No.	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Place of meeting
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42. What are the difficulties/problems (if any) you face

a) At home

b) On the streets

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43. Are you happy/unhappy about your present life? Give reasons in either case.
44. With whom are you very close?
- a) Family member (specify)
 - b) Peers
 - c) Any other
45. With whom do you discuss your problems?
46. Whom do you generally approach for advice and why?
47. What are your future aspirations?
48. If you are given facilities for education or vocational training or jobs, would you leave your present life. Y/N
49. If no, state your reasons.
50. Are you confident of achieving your aspirations? Y/N
51. What kind of assistance would you seek?
- a) Shelter
 - b) Food
 - c) Clothing
 - d) Educational opportunities
 - e) Financial help
 - f) Vocational training
 - g) Any other