



UNIVERSITY OF
NORDLAND

MASTER THESIS

MOVING CHILDREN: TEMPTATION AND HARDSHIP OF STREET LIFE.

**-A study of children in urban street and current interventional challenges
in context of Nepal**

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Abstract

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Title: Moving children: Temptation and hardship of street life

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This study tries to listen the life story and experience of children who has crossed different process of being full time street children in the street of Kathmandu, Nepal. The query in this study were related to how livelihood activities, such as children condemned to work in city, family migration to city, role of transition person, less resource in outskirts' livelihood, could influenced as a factor of initiating children process of being full time street children. This process was further investigated on children's coping mechanism to fit them in new environment by utilizing Burnoberener's ecological model theory. Seeing the process of leaving home through livelihood and ecological model illuminates that children came in contact with different minor factor, has potential to push them in their most common destiny of being street children.

The finding of the study demonstrated street children present situation has shaped through different nascent process that has been influenced by environment and livelihood aspects, and its evolving factor lies in both home and street space. The investigation was made with qualitative method based on semi-structured interview with key person working on street children and present street children as informants. It also included participant's case study and observation method to obtain data while conducting three month field visit to the Thamel street of Kathmandu. The conclusions that were reached were that the children living in the street has come through different space in search of better place to find. Their strive of finding better place other than street further encourage by presenting better assessment without overlooking 'role of supervision' and 'trust' that might produce effective intervention.

Result also concluded that children willingness for finding better place has been demines as they engulfed into the 'temptation and hardship of street life' due to the lack of effective assessment that can be strengthen by increasing level of trust and supervision from the side of social worker.

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List of abbreviation

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CWIN	Child Workers in Nepal
I/N/GOS	International/non/ Governmental Organization
UN	United Nation
CPCS	child protection Center and Services
ILO-IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
SWB	Subjective Well-being

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CHAPTER-1: INTRODUCTION

Twenty first century presents a hostile face to millions of children in most of the south-Asian country, like Nepal. The issue of street children is critical and crucial in present context of Nepal. Different socio-economic aspects have caused rapid increase of children in the major cities of Nepal. It is visible that “recently settled conflict in the country has contributed to the high rise in street children in the capital city of Nepal, Kathmandu (CWIN, report 2009).

Cheng and Lamd (2009) concluded children living street life, children has been facing many ‘tough’ situation; their journey from home to street relatively resulted from children’s negative and positive effect as they deal with new environment. It is plausible to understand positive (pull) and negative (push) effect on children and their interaction with environment. It is also important to examine how and why they shaped and being shaped by new space, especially, in process of deciding to leave home, or stay in street (Bangstone, 2001). Though, ‘convention of the rights of children’ stress on respecting children autonomy as their right to be ‘agent of change in their own life’. But, Noam Schimme (2006) has rejected this right of children autonomy in context of street children. He argued that autonomy cannot be exercise until it fails to secure children’s social and economical rights such as, food and shelter. A child’s eventual decision to leave home often paved the way to investigate role of environment and livelihood behind their action (Panter-Brick, 2002).

To understand children action and their consequences behind their decision, research suggests that one have to understand dialectical relation between home and street environment. Noam Schimel(2006), has pointed out that both home life and street life are deprived by children basic needs, in which children circumstances of poverty and abuse commonly lies in both space

1.1 Background

Nepal is small country located in the south region in Himalaya and between India and China. The total population is estimated to be 28 million (Population Reference Bureau, 2010, 8). According to World Bank quality of life outside capital city is significantly poor and unequal. In rural areas, people were ten times poorer than Kathmandu. CWIN repots revels that trend of migration to urban areas especially; Kathmandu has increased because of children and family aspiration to develop upon their deprived condition (2009). Above mentioned, social,

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cultural and economical domain of Nepal has been significantly influenced street children phenomenon (Khalid, 2009). Only in Kathmandu, approximately, 900 to 1200 street children are estimated (CPCS report, 2008)

The United Nation estimates the street children population in the world is approximately 150 million with the constant increasing number (Hosny et al; 2007). Children depend on street capital for their survival exists in almost all urban area of developing countries. Asian Development Bank has stated “Asia-pacific region is only home to nearly half the world’s children, among them large number of street children living in extreme poor condition” (ADB, 2003). UNICEF views street children’s situation in, “difficult condition which children work and live” and intervention cannot address their problem sufficiently that cause growing number of children in the street of Nepal. Although, UNICEF has stated that “children have the right to survive and developed; from their views to be represented and action concerning them to be taken in their best interest” (UNICEF 2009:II). But in the current context of Nepalese street children are not only “among the most physically visible of all children, they are also among the most disadvantage group of children”, but also devoid of “almost right embodied in the United Nation convention of the right of children (UNICEF, 2005).

Though the condition of poor street children is hostile, but in recent year assessment to uplift their condition has held remarkably. Some notable practices and policy from the side of government and the joint venture of INGOs, NGOs and CBOs has left some optimistic note to get assessment effective. In 2002, organizations working with the street children have formed a network entitled “street net” to address the emerging problem of street children in consolidated manner (retrieved from CWIN-nepal.org).

1.2 Children Participation in Nepal

Children’s participation is widely accepted changing approach in research method during this recent year. After James and Prout introduced a “new paradigms’ in children research, it has been widely taken to the project and intervention for children all over the world. this shift-paradigms is also applicable to the Nepalese context because there is need to see children as “social actor shaping as well as being shaped by their circumstances”(James and prout, 130),so while having assessment with street children, different deterministic aspects should not overlooked and always need to search for the possible action oriented

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intervention by adhering or participate the children in research or project for better solution. Previously, assessment on children through the eyes of adult did not adequately address their situation. So, participatory approach came as alternative action-based method to recognized children as subject in any research rather than mere object of empowerment. Thus, this approach help to valorize children in center for the understanding of their own problem and acknowledged children as actor to speak ‘in their own voice’ and capable to present their views and experience vividly. So this approach is to “involve all children more directly in research can therefore rescue them from silence and exclusion” (Priscilla Alderson, 243).

In context of Nepal, participatory approach is new but applicable in many ways, but because of insufficient understanding and practical immaturity only few of the research and project has held under this method. It is remarkable that some of the reputed organization has already taken this approach and presents effective output in assessment in street children project. Regarding participatory approach on the Nepalese organizational program Save The Children mention “understanding street children as passive victims fails to address the complexity of their situation. In not recognizing the opportunity as well as the problem of street children life, organizations have been unsuccessful in providing viable alternative” (report 2010).

Recently introduced approach is progressive shift in children and effective in many ways but it has also number of practices difficulties as well. Taking this approach without comprehension and knowledge, it is not necessarily will produce remarkable output. It is always depends on careful observation and participatory data collection techniques that help to avoid exaggeration and misinterpretation in program and research which is the present challenges and difficulties in street children intervention in Nepal.

Participatory approach is relevant and effective in context of Nepal where most of the service provision project ends up without any visible changes in street children life. Most of the time, practitioner do not adequately know about the best interest for street children. Research comparing different group of children in Nepal shows that street children have better nutrition status than children living in slums or children in impoverished rural areas (Baker 1993). This result shows service provider not only fails to address the children’s most pressing needs but also seems to waste of valuable recourses. So, many street children not interested to participate on the service provider project because of their inappropriate project intervention and vague understanding towards the children’s phenomenon. Moreover, most of

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the research and project in Nepal still unable to carry the current child right and regard them as being “natural, passive, incompetent and incomplete” (James, Jenks and Prout 1998:6); is one of the major perceptible challenges for effective intervention. This ideological existence in Nepalese researcher and worker is further clarified by the above Baker’s report on children for not understanding their pressing needs.

It is obvious that street children are one way or another stuck to the street. Street is mean for opportunity for survival and earning and cause of poverty, conflict, weak political inclusion, and economical condition and also no option ground to survive. Lack of understanding to this different factor for children being on the street and neglecting children perspective to the situation can be taken as major obstacles and challenges for effective intervention. So the participatory approach is effective alternative tools to work with the street children in Nepal.

1.3 Intervention and its challenges

Over the past decades, INGOs, NGOs, GOs attention has focuses on the poor and street children in Nepal. But still street children have forced to remain a largely forgotten and marginalized group and remain no more than footnote for government and organizational priorities. This attitude towards the intervention provides ineffective result in Nepal where for “national and international NGOs, street children have become, both mythically and actually, big business” (Judith Ennew, 170). Though, there are many organization has been actively participate and focusing on street children intervention and project but their philanthropic intention is hard to anticipating because of the other organizational motives of money making business and put the image of philanthropic organization on susceptible to the individual and international level. If we look at the previous literature and the project result on street children is presented their pathetic condition repeatedly and only few organizations can success to design participatory intervention program for effective result.

In present context of Nepal, street children intervention become challenging because of their condition of being devoid of almost all child-right agenda which is drafted in the UN convention on the right of children. They are seems to devoid of ‘general principal’ of UN where “ protection against discrimination is denied to street children, who are stigmatized by the street children image, which causes the public and state agents (esp. police) to view them as unsocial and amoral(Articles 2).And, Street children’s rehabilitation and reunion center and program is good in number in major cities of Nepal but “ programs to rehabilitate them

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are almost always under-resource and there have been few attempts to systematize or evaluate the work that is carried out, mostly by non-government organization(Article 20).

No doubt, Street children in Kathmandu valley are living in pathetic condition but some of them choose street and ran away from the near district home like Dhading, Kavre and other out-skirt of the valley. So run away children are most of the street children in the major city of Nepal. In this context, rehabilitating them is effective intervention for any project and program. CRC further highlighted “that family will be the main provider and the obligation of the state is to support this function” (article 9). In this article CRC has encourage the street children with the support of family reunification and adaptation but the lack of participation of the street children effective output is still to find. Though, many organizations in Nepal have been trying to rehabilitate them but transforming them seems not so easy because most of the time children are force to back on street. It is their extreme poverty that halt the effective family re-unification intervention because family themselves compelled to force their children in street to earn and survive. Poverty, non-participatory approach and the organizational behavior to shows children as numbers in their annual report become major obstacles. Instead of organizational non-profit action on intervention, children situation become ‘child-industry’ and their misery are beneficial ground for continuation of the pseudo-philanthropic activities is one of the major obstacles in Nepal.

These challenges are of different level from street children problematic definition to the practitioner lack of understanding to their situation. The category of street children is not still obvious. Categorizing street children is difficult task because “children playing on the street within their own communities are not street children even though they are disadvantaged and may be particularly vulnerable to violation of their rights”. So it is not practical to view all children in the street as street children so they are sometimes more appropriate to call them as ‘children out of place’.

Many practitioner and professional argue that working with street children is most challenging than any other intervention and project because Nepalese street children are without of almost every human right. They are living in lack of civil and political rights. Their tendency to move different places creates more challenges to intervene effectively. Street children right on name, nationality and identity are denied to many street children. Not only they have no birth certificate or registration documents, but also have no mean of obtaining any (article 7 and 8).

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The number of obstacles and challenges in any assessment on children is visible in third world countries like Nepal, where most of the intervention ends up without further target and plan. In Nepal, number of program and project has been conducting by children welfare organization but few of them only shown to be some logical end for intervention. It seems most of the program and practitioners not adequately address street children problem and working with traditional approach with vague theoretical understanding on them. Their project and research are similar as Judith Ennew remarks, “research about street children is generally poor quality and media outputs, which are misinformed, vary from glamorizing to victimizing” (179). Moreover, organization, human rights activists are seems to exploits the history of street children for their personal benefits. Sometimes their works are limited and only emphasize their vulnerability and exaggerate their weakness and busy to make them pathetic victim rather than actual focus on uplifting activities. Due to the number of careless and profit-motives organization, intervention are limited to the “extensive publicity” about them and indulge in making street children as more powerful image for charity. Still, interventions tend to be made “on the basis of arbitrary information by well-intention people, without children’s view into account. (Judith Ennew, 180).

Though the purpose of intervention in its purest sense, is “to achieve an effect, to produce change, to achieve and outcome”(Nigel Horen, 250), but the present situation of Nepal in intervention cannot remarkably carry this notion because of the poor approach, nation’s unstable politics and children’s own socio-cultural aspects.

1.4 Motivation of the study

Number of researches on street children revolving around the children’s situation of substance use and alcoholism (CPCS, 2001) and sexual abuse (CWIN 2001). There are limited academic contribution that focused on cooperative study between children home environment and present street life. Most of available studies on street children are seemingly engaged in defining their cause and condition. Recent report of CWIN (2010) has focuses on sexual abuse of street children, including exploring children attitude, behavior and practices of street life. Likewise, research carried by Save The Children Norway (2004), reveals in context of Nepal, male are commonly perceived as perpetrators rather than victim. Hence, street boy’s sexual abuse encountered does not come out in study. Similarly, leading NGOs and INGOs has also analyzed street children phenomenon in relation to dysfunctional family and on poor livelihood. To be more precise, above mention production of street literature have

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been demonstrated children's adverse condition in home environment and pathetic condition in street. They have been encountering maltreatment in both home and street. Children are bound to endure 'allostatic load' (Worthman and Panter-Brick, 2008) in home and have been facing sexual abuse and exploitation as perpetrator and victim as well (CWIN report, 2010). Moreover, the study has also argued that children condition in both environment is alarming but effective result from interventional effort is yet to be achieved (Save The Children, Norway, 2009).

From the above study, main focus of the earlier research has been entangled on highlighting the result of being street children and concluded it as lies in home environment or in street culture. Hence, effort is being used in rehabilitate children through social worker supervision. However, the literature ignored children's constant effort to be in better space (home and street) and its reciprocal effect on children action. And the supervision role in process of stimulates children in different space. It is therefore, important to gain comparative understanding from both environments by exploring children action of valorizing one place to another. Having these views, this study intended to understand children process of shifting environment (home or street) by bringing both factor and its dialectical relation between spaces. Along with, previous experience of working with children is source of motivation for understanding this study.

1.5 Limitation

In this study, children position in process of shifting their environment is set in the focus. The material from field report with informants and key person is utilized in the study to show what factor has influenced children action of moving other space, or supervision can influenced in children decision process.

As describe earlier, this study attempts to understand children migration process and role of supervision by locating Thamel Street of Nepal. This means, topic will utilized empirical data in context of Nepal. However, research from other countries has used to gain deeper understanding street children globally (Panter-Brick, 2002). It is my limitation in study that above mention data cannot represent all other children and in other context. Limited informants and social worker are the source of information, hence presented in specific context.

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I have chose to focus on children livelihood and environment as influencing tools to show their action and skills. Material on home environment is restricted because it has been taken by the present perception of children on narration. Hence, it focuses on children version of home environment rather than attempting to study home itself.

1.6 Research objective

The aim of the study is to investigate children's position between temptation and hardship and their interaction within their chosen spaces. In process of children's movement towards streetism, this study explores those potential factors that constantly push and pull children between two spaces (home and street). Ennew and Swart-Kruger (2003) pointed mobility of street children can be understood by their movement between difference place, i.e., spatial and temporal aspects by identifying as coping strategies, identity development and transition to other livelihood forms. Having acknowledged this, the study tries to shed light on children's perception on their current situation of street life that is shaped by factors related livelihood and environment.

1.7 Contribution of the study

This study intended to contribute to the literature on the street children by exploring their temptation and hardship of street life. In this matter, this research will present discussion on the condition of the street life and the contextual factor to lead on that particular phenomenon. This study trying to compare children before (domestic life) and after (street life) in order to gain adequate knowledge about the factor that lead them in that situation. Children's pre and post-domestic life will be analyzed by those factors that pull and push to better understand the consequences of street life in Nepal. As mention earlier, the majority o studies present street children phenomena as the result of extreme poverty and sexual exploitation in both before and after they enter into the street life. This study, therefore, adds knowledge on this topic by providing children dynamic perception on their street life and regards their current situation as both opportunity and compulsion. Likewise, this study attempts to get logical understand on the dual perception of children's life by evaluate it with social theories. So that it will provide deep knowledge on their life.

Moreover, study may contribute for social work activities, effective interventional knowledge, and law enforcement provider, national and international organization. In sum study may

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presents useful knowledge to academicians, researcher, student and other interested party on street children assessment.

1.8 Research questions

What factor makes children move towards other space?

How children rest in street environment in process of adjusting themselves in street capital?

What is the key for achieving effective intervention and why it is challenging?

1.9 Organization of thesis

Upcoming parts of the study on street children are structured in following ways: chapter 2 presents literature on street children covering children definition and purpose and cause of street children phenomenon. Chapter 3 covers theoretical work. I will introduce Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory and livelihood approach as major tools in term of analyzing study. Chapter 4 covers methodological work to shaping study in present form and explain how this study has been conducted. Including data collection and analyze.

The empirical part of the study is presented in chapter 5, 6, and 7 respectively. Chapter 5 focuses on providing understanding on street children of Nepal by disusing how and why it happens, process of living home and the process of end up in the street. Chapter 6 mainly selected for children life in street. It discussed children position between temptation and hardship of street and their coping mechanism. Chapter 7 tries to understand interventional challenges and achievement.

CHAPTER-2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 General introduction

This chapter tried to present a general understanding of the thesis objective, i.e., ‘street children’ and review the literature studying street children in Nepal. First chapter will define street children as term and followed by discussing the purpose and factor leading children in street and the risk they are facing. The last two sub-chapters focus on interventional efforts and discuss on degree of child involvement on organizational assessment.

2.2 Who are street children?

Generally, Street children are those for whom the street becomes their real home then their family. Street children are like other children forced to live in street. Who is a Child? Then, the definitions of childhood vary from country to country and, indeed, region to region. The bulk of the countries view childhood in terms of chronological age, while others consider socio-economic factors in determining childhood (World Bank 2003). The Convention on the Rights of the Child includes a standard international definition of a child. This denotes children as humans under the age of 18 years, to whom all human rights conventions apply, taking into account the special circumstances regarding age, but emphasizing their humanity and rights, including respect for their person, privacy, and identity. The ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor follows the CRC: “A child includes anyone under the age of 18, with no exception.” Although the term street children passed into common use in the 1990s, the term was used in reference to urban centers in Europe as early as the 19th century. The meaning and definition of street children is contested among academics, policymakers, practitioners, politicians, and the general public. Individuals and groups have their own preferred definition. These different definitions are important for several reasons. For policymakers and practitioners, the meanings given to street children define their response in terms of the law, its implementation, and services provided. The perceptions of street children held by the general public may or may not influence the nature of official policy and professional welfare interventions. But the attitude of the public is important for the nature and success of responses. The children who are visible on the street, begging, and who may be popularly perceived as typical street children, are often imagined to be homeless, desolate, and separated from parents (or imagined to be devious, hardened little criminals). However,

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their circumstances are generally far more complex. Street children may or may not be living with parents and they may or may not be living with or supervised by adults. They may or may not return to some sort of home or shelter most nights. Many are working, often in dangerous or exploitative situations. They may be in conflict with the law. Street children constitute a dynamic population, shifting as Street children's major problem is their unnatural growth and life stage because they are deprived of childhood condition. Match views childhood in term of two "views of childhood are seen as immutable and universal and on the other, childhood seen as socially contextual and variant over time and space" (168). So, the street children become more vulnerable when they are excluding from normal childhood progression in society. Because of the lack of good upbringing their psychological development seems different. For example, Jean Piaget founder of development psychology says "action and behavior of children to hierarchical, genetically base development stage that all children, everywhere, go through (21). Likewise, other developmental psychological James and Prout takes different view on childhood psychology indicates the relative nature of childhood is a social construction "distinct from biological immaturity... neither natural nor universal feature of human group but appear as specific structural and cultural components in many society" (1997:8). In this sense, human development is not natural rather social construction so street children deprived from the pattern of maturity and needed cultural components. That childhood formation is further understood through the category of street children. According to the Balldan facts street children can be divided into three categories.

- 1 Children on the street: This category has home and most of them return to their family at the end of the day. Most earn a living themselves and their family by begging on working.
- 2 Children of the street: Children who have no option other than street. They have chosen the street as their home and a place to seek shelter, livelihood and companionship. They are in contact with their family occasionally.
- 3 Abandon children: these children have severed ties with their families and are entirely on their own.

On the other hand, According to Benitez (2003:107), "there is no universal definition of 'Street Children' and several interpretations are in common use - - -". This is because the phenomenon arises as a result of these children being 'abandoned' by or themselves 'abandoning' their families and homesteads. The concept can thus be further divided into

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street-working children i.e., those who have homes to which they return at night but stay on the street as a means of sustenance, begging or engaging in petty trading and sometimes other vices.

Underlying the use of the term is a sense of children being out of place in a particular Context; and that context depend upon local ideas of childhood and expectations of children's development and behavior in particular. Street children generally do not attend school but they do work. They may not be registered or have official identity, they may not receive any public education or health care, they may be harassed by police, have no opportunity for recreation or play, and certainly are not consulted in matters that affect their daily lives. "Street children's lives are even more complex than this set of negative connotations would suggest. Many street children display a wide range of skills, competence, knowledge, and resilience in dealing with everyday life. In addition, they may be better nourished than their peers who live in poverty in rural areas" (Baker 1996 on Nepal)

The idea of street children as children "out of place" gives rise to a broad spectrum of Potential meanings and associations that better express the vulnerable circumstances of street children and the risks to which they are exposed. The breadth of the issue then becomes apparent, and suggests why more specific definitions have been attempted. At the root of the definitional problem is a desire to make an intervention, the aim of which may vary on the part of organizations, projects or individuals, from "saving" children, to realizing children's rights, or to a more punitive attempt to put children back "in place."

2.3 Why children come to live in street?

With the available studies, the main reason of children seen in the street are focused on the purpose and factor leads children to be a street children. As stated earlier, poverty and survival necessity taken to be a prominent factor for children to leave home and end in street life. However, the study conducted by Andrew West has pointed number of other purpose compelling children to live in street. Some of this purpose including discrimination, domestic violence, arm conflict and natural disaster, drug, schools, family dysfunction and internal and cross border migration, homelessness and other related factor.

Larsen (2003) has stress on the two major decisive factors that lead children to the street as it centered to the poverty and responsibility. Effect of poverty can be seen as child labor in the form of breaking rocks, weaving carpet, domestic services, begging, catering in the hotel and

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teashop, pottering, bus conductor, rickshaw pulling and prostitution. This all form of child labor, he pointed as the consequences of countries exploitative socio-economic and political reality. Furthermore, the similar studies have shown that children's poor condition not only forced them to live street life but also provide sense of career opportunity to survive.

Likewise, other studies have also demonstrated that armed conflict and rural migration as the current cause for converting children as street survival in Nepal (Andrew West, 2003). In fact, casual factor for street children has been studied by CWIN (2010) has presented the cause in two main category- initial cause and immediate cause. The initial cause to pull children in street can be mentioned in the form of pressing needs such as poverty, family violence, and poor economic situation still rank as the higher cause of migration to the street (CWIN report 2010). While immediate cause related to the experience of living in street and exercises of wild freedom sticks them to come out from the street. Getting children out from street become harder (CWIN coordinator).

Similarly, Fucai Chenq & Debbie lam (2010) has places those above cause of street children into two dimensions, i.e., push and pull factor. The push factor of street children denotes street attraction and freedom causes them to aspire to come in street. And the push factor related to their poor family condition and their domestic violence in the home. children's appreciation of their freedom in street life is a major attraction of street on them. But to include factors together Cheng & Debbie (2010) says, happiness and freedom and other positive effects coexists with sorrow, loneliness and other negative effects. Likewise, family own encourage to go street for earn pushes children remarkably and ready to drop school easily. Many parents take the attitude that children are better off working than having idle time on their hand (Filho & neder, 2001). On the other hand, as a result of their exposure to degraded and abusive family and economic needs youth and presented as surrendering to the 'temptation of the street' (De Maura, 2002).

2.4 Street children in Nepal: general condition

The growing number of children in all major cities of the world is one of its critical and alarming conditions in the present era. Nepal is also facing high degree of street children problem as any other developing countries have been facing in these last decades. In Nepal, out of the total population 50% are children below the age of eighteen. There are 2.6 million

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children who are engaged in different sector of child labor in Nepal. It is estimated that at least 40,000 children are bound to child labor (ILO-IPEC 2003 & CWIN 2003).

Kathmandu is the major city of Nepal and regarded as major shelter for street children around 700 to 800 street children came from different other rural and sub-city near location(CWIN 2003). Children are from different mean compelled to throw them in the street of other city as well and become victim of different circumstances. The problem they faced in their daily life is homelessness, exploitation, mental, physical and sexual abuse, health problem coercion and exploitation by adult gang. These growing numbers of street children problem can be understand by the different factor that is rooted in its history, aftermath of civil conflict, socio-culture and extreme poverty.

The unstable political condition of present and the deteriorate society from the recently settled conflict is one of the historical factor makes the children to land on the alien street of the major city. Furthermore, the present crisis in economic, social and political condition of Nepal forced many poor children to rest on street. Failure of the current political governance and various internal conflicts including Maoist insurgency hugely affected on the growing number of children in street day by days. Children who are affected directly or indirectly from the poverty and family problem obliged to choose street as a further opportunity platform and habituate to live in out of childhood condition. In most of the cases, children decide to live their house and chose to live in the street because they can enjoy their full freedom out there but simultaneously they encounter serious problem to combat. They are compelled pick the garbage, hawking goods, picking rags and bagging among other. one the one hand, they are expose to serious hazard like sexual abuse, exploitation, criminal activities and drug addiction and in other hand they completely devoid of standard childhood and marginalized in society. They are not only devoid of childhood philosophical upbringing but also encounters “facts that children have to seek an income on the street and that their families are unable to provide sufficient overall support to keep them from living on the street are extremely symptoms of the widespread social neglect of the most vulnerable groups.(CRC, articles 26). Those children are outside the childhood and at the same time marginalized by the society to be grown up in the stigmatized condition. The way society perceive and their reflection on other further discourage their present situation; outcast them from the society and aloof them on their own predicament. Present street children in Nepalese society are more vulnerable because their presence in the street is regarded as “groups or community [...] who

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deviates” from the mainstream social condition and “becoming a symbol of the group and perform of certain clownish function (Goffman 156)

2.5 What challenges do street children facing?

Previous body of literature demonstrate that how children has been facing hardship and violence from various psycho-social and physical impact (Save the children, 2002). Their risk of street life links from stigma to ecological mark up. One example of stigma particularly in Nepalese context is that street children are considered ‘society member think these children are violent, uncontrollable and have no emotion. They perceive these children are thieves, robbers, drug addiction and terrorists (From the thesis submitted by Pretti Basnet). This stereotypical ideology viewed children as marginal and out of society. Similarly, this stigmatized situation leads to the other physical abuse and tortures.

In case of Nepal, their physical abuse and violence seemingly generated by public, police, elder street children and tourist (Coordinator of CWIN). Likewise, Doly (2002) and Subedi (2002) states, ‘street children in Nepal are sexually exploited by elder street children , foreigners and the general public. They faced beaten, raped and exposes to pornography. Because of their vulnerable existence they do easy target for abuse. Because of the lack of strong rules and regulation against pedophiles also worsen their street encountered to the abuse and exploitation. Comparatively, boys are seen in street in compare to the girls are not facing those condition rather they indulged as domestic servant or work in restaurant and as sex worker in night club. Children in street have also been victim of several life threatening diseases such as malnutrition, HIV positive as Aids. Street children life is therefore, become extreme for living their normal childhood and force to live life in violence and unconditional pressure of work and responsibility in early childhood life.

2.6 Studies on street children condition and intervention

According to the study of CRC (1996), number of circumstances that street children engulf in the street harsh condition. Nonetheless, for to make intervention effective they purpose a set of principles to implement a set of framework into practices. They argue that the main reason for not getting effective intervention for street children is the ignorance of two predominant principles: protection and participation. However, children’s participation in organizational programme has been increasingly effective nowadays (CWIN coordinator). CRC presents

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protection as one strong reason that allows children to seek intervention. Relationally, weak participation points on not involving them in decision making is one reason why many children who are forcibly returned to their families are “back on the street before the bus that took them home” (CRC, 1996).

Another study conducted by CWIN report (2010), highlights sexual abuse as worst condition on street children and also harder to intervene on them. This study focuses on exploitation and earn to survive as root providing sexual activities for cash or in kind of gift due to the efficiency with which they can earn money in contrast to other income generation method (CWIN report 2010). It can be argued that intervention on street children must needed legislation cooperation “close in age exception” by providing support and rehabilitation services rather than juvenile justice system.

The study conducted by Andrew west (2003) is seemed to be more holistic in finding children condition and intervention progress. According to the study, children mentality of having street as opportunity is major challenge for interventional success. He states without sending children home forcefully, several steps can be effective requires to bring children back from street such as provision of temporary accommodation while they are in street, alternative care and appropriate training to consume street capital for their livelihood.

CHAPTER -3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter aims to present concepts and theoretical framework of the thesis. In previous chapter two main research questions arise to examine the street children condition of being in street and how and why they make street to provide their need. The thesis main aim is to investigate why street become temptations for children to come back and what are the practical and interventional challenges to assist children. Hence, this theoretical framework will elucidate the street children's socialization process and growth through the theory of ecological model. This study tries to investigate children's before and after entering into the street so that it will be able to clarify the main findings about growing popularity of street life among children in Nepal. As a social worker, our main quest on this research is revolving around the street children's understanding of their actions and experiences of street life in the form of positive and negative aspiration. In order to answer this question, this chapter is oriented towards the possible apprehension of children phenomenon; their action and practices by explaining possible theory that fits to present their life perspectives. Therefore, some relevant concepts and theory according to its thematic persuasion are presented as livelihood, ecological model of Berneruvernt, Goffman's stigma, social construction, Resilience, self image and identity.

3.1 Theory of Livelihood-Main concept

As mentioned earlier, this study is to understand children living condition and how they manage to survive in the street. For this reason, livelihood is one of the major concepts of this thesis to examine why children have been increasingly in street in street life. Chamber and Conway (1992) stated that 'livelihood comprises capability and assets (including both material and social relation) and activities required for a means of living. Accordingly, livelihood plays a crucial role to understand what factors lead one individual to choose particular time and space. On this view, it can be argued that livelihood is one of the applicable tools in my study that analyze individual choices and their obligations behind their actions.

Moreover, Ellis(2000: 10) argued that livelihood comprises assets (natural, physical, human, finance and social capital), the activities and the access to these (mediated by institution and social relation) that together determines the living gained by individual or household. Hence, livelihood approach often includes the concept of social capital; a way to

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create different assets, activities and entitlement that enable people to make living. Assets can be understood as stocks of capital through which particular individual or group of that specific place utilized it and take it as a mean of survival or to maintain current wellbeing.

Here, childhood can be understood as certain phenomenon of individual, family or social group who are engaging to collect resources that able to fulfill their basic needs. Hence, this approach put individual to center of its concept and provides frame for understanding one's meaning of opportunity and obligation that 'available to poor people and the source of their vulnerability' as well as the impact upon them of external organization, process and policies (Scoones 1998, Euis 2000).

In this thesis the livelihood approach is used to give an understanding of the children growing presence in the urban street to Nepal. Moreover, this concept has helped develop an interpretation of the life of particular group, their choices and circumstances to be certain life condition.

As stated by Scoones(1998), this approach is influential concept to understand other life because it sees assets an fundamental to livelihood analysis. It further emphasizes structure (or organization) and process (social norms, incentives, policies and law) which influence the access, control and the use of assets. In my study, livelihood can shed light on the growing number of children in urban street and probably be better understood by exploring what they think of street life and why they come to end in street that can contribute to other's perception and addressing their untold stories.

3.1.1 Urban Migration: Push and Pull factor

The concept migration has been used in this study to understand push and pull factor in urban zone. Generally, migration means a physical movement of people from one place to another in search of better life condition. John and et al (2000:504) defines migration as permanent or semi permanent change of residency by individual or group. In this study, I have used migration to understand the movement of children to urban street from different part of the country.

Furthermore, migration has been taken as mean of understanding urban as pulling factor, where different displacement occurred due to the socio-economic condition of Nepal. As

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stated by Turton (2000) displaced persons are those who have been displaced by war and who may well be therefore beyond the de facto protection of their state even though they remain within its borders. Migration towards urban areas largely guided by their aspiration of better life that is 'centered on income-earning activities in either the formal or informal sector, as wage employees, unpaid family workers or in self employment (Ruthwerford, Harper, and Grienson in Rakodi 2000). Here, migration is used as both an economic factor and with social displacement 'due to war that means physical dislocation, the separation of people from their everyday practices and their familiar environment, social disruption and material dispossession (Brun, 2003:26). This idea of urban migration is important in this study as it explores pull and push factors to the urban street that makes children to live street life.

3.1.2 Structure and Process

In livelihood theory it is important to investigate in the context is what Scooner refers to as 'institution' defines as regularized practices (or pattern of behavior) structure by rules and norms of society which have persistent and wide spread use. (ibid, page 21). So, in order to examine interventional challenge in relation to street children it is important to analyze institutional process and organizational structure and link together. In other words, It is crucial to understand the structure or organization, and the process such as law, policies, social norms and incentives while dealing with livelihood approach. An understanding of structure and process provides the link between the micro (individual, household and community) and the macro (regional, government, powerful private enterprise), (Scooner, 1998). In this study it has been utilized to understand assessment challenge and achievement in street children in the way as it helps to identify areas where restriction, barriers or constraints occurs and explain social process that could impact on livelihood sustainability (Scooner, 1998, Ibid).

3.1.3 Livelihood and street children

The significance of livelihood approach and its other concepts' implication to street children were reviewed above. In this section, I shall present the relevance of livelihood approach for my research problem. This approach helps highlighting to understand children living condition in street and also major challenges to get them out from the street. The fact that street children became major problem in developing world that draw the attention for both

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social policy and academia is not because of their rapid growth in number but because of not addressing them adequately for effective intervention. As stated by Schuwatzma(2001), it is also result from a concern to adequately portray street children- as young people with particular social and economical behaviors in urban centers.

This approach broadens the understanding of street children life and survival from street activities. Through this, I also analyze how in different context, street children manage to convert street as career and attract towards its capital.

3.2 Ecological Model of childhood development

This model places child in its center of inquiry. It acknowledge that child affect as well as affected by setting in which s/he spend time. The most important setting for a young child is his family, because that is where he spends the most time and because it has the most emotional influence on him. Other important settings may include his extended family, early care and education programs, health care settings and other community learning sites such as neighborhoods, libraries and playgrounds.

The development of children socialization process and their role as agency has been analyzed through the Bronfenbrenher's ecological model. Child development takes place through processes of progressively more complex interaction between an active child and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a fairly regular basis over extended periods of time. (Adapted from Bronfenbrenner, 1998, p. 996) According to Bronfenbrener, context has different layers that has related to different domain of social situation which is reciprocal in relation. Bronfenbrener (1977;1988), has corporate biological and environmental components to understand human development, is called ecological perspective.

3.2.1 Resilience

When a person is able to adapt positively, even though the individual is facing hard situations such as violence and poverty, that person has a capacity for resilience (Goldstein & Brooks, 2006).The concept of resilience for research in street children is one of the popular tools in the field of prevention and intervention. The growing problem of street children and practical problem demand a ground for the concept of resilience. The better understanding of resilience

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concept in all children holds great promise for preventing them from negative life events. This concept becomes practically viable for both service user and the street children daily encounters. According to Tunner (1995), resilience is a paradigms shift that focuses from risk to increase emphasize optimism and hope as oppose to the frustration and despair that can potentially occurs from an emphasis on risk process. Likewise, Master emphasize, ‘resilience is an individual refers to successful adoption despite risk and adversity (1993, p3). He further defines resilience as ‘ process capacity or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenges or threatening circumstances, good outcomes despite high risk status, sustained competence under threat and recovery from trauma(Master, Best and garmezy, 426). This concept has gain logical application on children risk management intervention after Bronfenbrenner and Crouter(1983) recommended the use of social ecological model or person-process-context models to study the relation of contextual risk and protecting factor , intervening process and individual characteristic. Resilience does not only come from the individual himself, but also from the surrounding environment. The term resilience is therefore based on the interplay between a person and the different situations which determine the outcome for the person (Borge, 2005).

3.2.2 Social stigma

The term stigma refer to the excursive situation in which subject, by some mean bodily mentally or ideologically unable to place to the standard that society polarized as normal. Any assessment of disqualified from full social acceptance are stigmatized person. The concept of stigma is adequate to analyze my present paper on street children for understanding their development of self image. Street children are categorized either as physically deformed people, extra mental patient, drug addict, prostitution or those ostracized for other reason who constantly struggle to adjust to their precarious social identities (Goffman, 1963).Theorizing the concept stigma as “refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting but it should be seen that a language of relationship not attributes, is really needed”(45). It can be argued that Goffman idea of stigma is unessential creation of language that is use for ‘othering’ other. It ‘is a procession of so called socially stream that is neither creatable nor discreditable as thing in itself’ (goffman, 3). Goffman, further the consequences of stigma creates image that subjects has been confronting and be affronted by the image which other reflect back to them. Self-image and created image has remarkable influences widely on their feeling about themselves

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and his relation to 'normal' and largely to their perception on their well-beings. Moreover, member of stigmatized group are not only affected by their own experiences; the action of their fellow group member may also reflect negatively on them, causing shame when these behaviors are perceived as confirming the negative stereotype that exists of their group (Schmader & Lickel, 2006). As a whole, Goffman has bound stigma with relationship "between attributes and stereotype" (4) that exist everywhere in our society.

According to Goffman three types of stigma have existed in society which confront the individual or group from equal chances and forced stigmatized. The first type of stigma is related with the abomination of the body, it points to various physical deformities. For example, blindness, malfunction of body part which is regarded as major obstacles to enter into fully social acceptances. They perceive either as incompetent or physically weak or not full human 'normal' image in terms of physical fitness. The second cause of stigmatized generate from individual character, that is perceived as weak and unacceptable for example addition, alcoholism, imprisonment and many other. These characters are regarded as devaluing attributes to the person's identity related to his/her personality or behavior. The last type of stigma is about tribe. This stigma is related to "race, nation, religion, this being stigma that can be transmitted all members of family (4). This stigma is not only restricted with particular person but transmitted to all his/her family members. This above mentioned stigma and its concept is important in this study to street children to explore reflexive perception over their own life and what extent 'stigma' of particular society effect or compelled them to form particular type of subjective well-being. Stigma has profound effect across a wide range of outcomes, including well-beings and self-esteem, self-perception, group identification, motivation and task performance and social interaction(2). Moreover, street children can be taken as "stigmatized person is likely to be more often faced with this situation than are we, he is likely to become the more adept at managing them" (19). Prior experience with stigma also affects the stigma process. Stigmatized individual not only experiences prejudice and discrimination directly, they are exposed to representation of their stigma in the dominant culture as well (5). Therefore, it is also important to understand how they cope with adverse situation they encounter and how they maintain their positive subjective well-being.

3.2.3 Identity and self-image:

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The children perception over their life living in street is largely influenced by their socio-cultural domain and their development of their personality and ultimately provides vantage-point to reflecting their subjective well-being. As stated earlier this study also tries to understand the street children perception of their life and social practice or outsiders perceive their image and identify. Hence, the formation of identity living in street is indirectly influenced on their evaluation of their well-being. Berger and Luckman (1966:194) states that identity is centered to subjective reality and concern with the dialectical relationship with society. So, children identity has been transforming while entering into the street life as social process. Hence, their transformation on becoming new identity has also changed on perception of their subjective well-beings before and after entering in street life. Moreover, Giddens (1991) has stressed identify and self as continuous biological traits and has ontological essence with reflexive way of creating own images. Giddens says "A person with a reasonably stable sense of self-identify has feelings of biological continuity which she is able to grasp reflexively and, greater or lesser degree; communicate with other people (p 54).

Individual or group identities have creating and changing in relation to other, therefore one's sense of self is formed in contrast with what we other or exclude it as different. Wherever, people live they experience different physical and mental growth and changing social situation has been affecting their self-identity in relation to people different than themselves. Hence, identity is a person's sense of placement in the world that is created on their personal experiences.

In this thesis, the main research question does street children see street as evil as other people/practitioner has been looking at? The perception of the street life is to judge by their subjective well-being and the creation of street children identity and their formation of self-image.

The increasing number of street children in the street creates the skeptical questions on the representation of street children's image as vulnerable and evil while reflexive perspective opens new realm of understanding street life. It becomes very important to mark the formation of identity in relation to the way they are treated and encounter the situation. On the other hand, it is essential not to overlook what street has been providing that if always become first hand attractive place for children.

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In the course of living in the street, children have gone through major transformation on their identity and self-evaluation of their existence being. They are not only shaping their personal identity but also indulging on creating collective identities are often understood in term of mental and physical escape from number of negative experience and support for their personal troubles. Being a member of outside world,, street children have been able to create alternative identity(other than their previous identity) and disposition in collective identity. This street plays as a role of catalyst to transform their new identity. Hence the street children posses multiple and fluid identities which shifts depending up on their circumstances, the space they occupy and their daily interactions (Beazley 200a). Thus, street children life changed from improvised, boring and abusive home to their own solution to their personal predicament. As Hedge asserts that every subculture represent particular problem and contradiction street children do not lack agency, but took responsibility for their own actions, but took responsibility for their own action and have some control over their life. This personal choice to live home as solution, children create their own self-identity which is stronger and independent in the street life. In my study 'self-identity' provides a way of understanding street children from multi perspective by examining their subjective well-being is directly related to their attitude of their action and life and finally their self-identity . As stated by Buvkitt (2008) how people make differences to the social life as well as to the life of other with whom they interact.

The concept of identity theorized Individual set of meaning that tries to or maintain the self as an individual; this identity formation operates across various action and situation in the same way as Deaux define person's identity pervades all the membership group to which one belong (Stets 1995; Stets and Burke1996).

In my study understanding identity theory is essential in order to understand the effect of person's positions in social structure on the likelihood that those people will activate one identity rather than other, and less about the impact of the particular, Situation on that process.(Jan E.stets, peter J.Burke ,2000)

3.2.4 Social construction of street children

Street children image and discourse has been constructing through the society him/her living. Social construction of individual has crucial relation to the formation of his well-being. Here,

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the work of Berger and Luckman (1966) has been selected as valuable tools to understand how shift of locality contribute to the flow of subjective well-beings and how one's perception on his present well-being is restricted or determined by his whole social construction of his reality. Furthermore, this approach help me to analyze the factor contribute on street children's changing perception while start living in street children and why it is difficult to bring out them from the street completely. Social construction theory is applicable to understand how we make sense of things. Children social construction is also depends on their current sense of events that 'we construct' mental representation of reality, using collective notion as building block (Berger & Luckman, 1966). It also helps examine what street children life should be by hearing their perception and fill the gap between-'perceptions of life as it is with notion of how life should be' (Michal's, 1985).

To analyze how people have been constructed and existing constructed phenomena to determine how individual has perceived their life. Burkitt (2008:3) ideas will further contribute, as he emphasize the factor such as family, neighborhood, social contact, class, gender, ethnicity, and the belief and values influence the way individual develop their self. One this view, it can be argue that multiple factor assembled together to provide vantage point from where individual perceive their present life events. Moreover, street children's construction and growth also related to how they have been represented by existing discourse and what it reflects ultimately to them in relation to other. The prevailing discourse has shapes individual perception on self, and ultimately creates group view on their life in particular situation. Hence, dynamism of social markup is related to the interpretation of the discourse about street children as social construction to describe group or individual who are considered problematic according to the norms and values of contemporary society (De Moura, SL 335). It can be argue that those discourse 'is presumed to work by shaping perspective either towards optimism (the glass half-full) or pessimism (half empty)' (Veenhoven, 47), and create their notion of subjective well-beings. The negative implication of street children in society and text foster the gab of social equalities. As Goffman (1963) argues, society creates both the category of people and the attribute which characterized the individual who consists this category. It is evident this help to increase social inequalities that effects one's perception. In this matter, sociology tent to think of individual construction is important in term of inequalities; people who feel bad are assumed to be deprived in some way, and people who are deemed to be deprived are assumed to feel bad (53). Besides, social construction theory

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other concept such as adaptation, social practices, exclusion, stigma, resilience, self-esteem and identity are considered to be influential factor to understand individual construction.

The object of study in this thesis is street children life perception. One of the aims of the research is to understand their changing and developing views on their life after start to live in street. Additionally, theory of social construction has been using here, as major conceptual tools to understand their reason why street become their most enterable place, how street children life changes their perception over their livelihood what other factor contributes to the dynamic interplay to the construction of one's identity while comparing to before and after street life situation. It is obvious that in street children experience comparatively different event, situation and circumstance that changes their perception over their well-beings

CHAPTER -4: METHODOLOGY

Methodology is regarded as the process that followed during whole research activity and essentially is the core components of research paper itself. Silverman (2006:15) defines 'methodology' as a mean of planning and undertaking research by making on the case of study method of data gathering and the form of data analysis. It can be argued that methodology consists of different set of strategic method developed to gather evidence from the real world about specific social phenomenon (Mason 1996).

This work is about street children, the selected methodology and method are selected on the basis of applicable to the children research. Those methodologies help me to have better understanding about the children world and their experience in term of its. Hence, methodology can be viewed as method used for gathering data and convert those data into valuable information that helps to drive the result to the whole research. This chapter provides an overview of its approach followed by methodological approach, data collection, children in research, research area and field, role and experiences from the field, ethical consideration and reliability and validity.

4.1 Methodological Approach

Methodological approach and choices depends on the purpose of the research and it can be either qualitative or quantitative. Strauss and Corbin (1988), stated the selection of research method is based on research questions posed as well as the preference of the researchers. Dabbs (1982), points that the idea of quality is essential according to the nature of its setting. In contrast, quantitative method primarily differs on the basis of analytical objectives, question they posed, the form of data they produce and the degree of flexibility built into study design. In other words, it seeks to confirm hypothesis about phenomenon. Hence, quantitative method is appropriate when one wish to count or measure the extension of a phenomenon (Bryan, 1989; Berg 2001). In matter of flexibility, quantitative method is regarded as fairly inflexible. It means, quantitative technique emphasizes large sample, random samples and statistical generalization. Qualitative techniques emphasize quality, depth, richness and understanding while quantitative method searches for statistical representation and scientific rigor that are associated with quantitative method. As stated by

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Strauss and Corbin (1990) qualitative method can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet to know.

Methodological selection depends on the researcher question on particular subject. In that case, qualitative research mostly interested in how human arrange themselves and their setting makes sense of surrounding through symbolic, rituals, social structure, social roles and so forth (Herndon & kreps 1993).

Likewise, the choice of research method usually flows conceptually and logically from the research question (Weinberg, 2002). Number of considerable reason can be stated for choosing qualitative method in my study. It is the conviction of the research based on participant own perception and their subjective point of view. I choose qualitative method because it seems more adequate for the fresh graduate student with no prior experience of having any extensive social research. Street children is my area of study that seems to fit more on qualitative method since it attempts to uncover the context of children's daily life experience and action. This study not only analyzes street children through their action but also trying to understand the survival strategies behind their action. Additionally, qualitative researcher are more likely to confront and come up against the constrain of the everyday social world (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: Seodman 1991).

4.2 Data collection

This study use different method to collect data by including both primary and secondary data to explore street children perception of their life by understanding their feeling of subjective well-being. It is necessary to select appropriate method that suitable for the nature of my informants and according to its thematic necessity. I tried to be posses zero amount of authoritative stand while dealing with children in the field that may hindered the children to express their feeling. For this reason, study demands participants observation view 'the researcher is a participant observer when the researcher is also one of the actor he is observing (Forssåkaret 1997: 26). Thus, admitting the subjective interpretation of knowledge, study does not want to overlook the local narrative of children life from their point of view.

Qualitative method of this study use different method consists of participant observation, case study, interview and focus group discussion as a primary source of data collection.

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4.3 Interview

Any attempt to enter into the world of other or experience other reality, conversation is one of the strongest methods to live and experience other than ours. Bringing people in conversation, open a way to understand their activities, the meaning that rooted in their every deeds.

Qualitative research prefers conversation that visualized one's daily life in details. Interview is taken to be suitable method to gain Professional motives over any conversation with group or individual in called interview. Here, interview is taken as a source of producing data for academic pursuits. Hence, interview is an ideal method to 'understand the experience of other people and the meaning they make of the experience (Seidman, 1991). So, interview method allows us to 'understand experience and reconstruct event in which you did not participate (Rubin & Rubin, 1995)

In academic purpose, interview can be taken as goal oriented conversation in which researcher is an attempt to account respondent subjective view by asking question and gather information on the basis of his experiences. In process of interaction, respondent memorizing his past experience and articulate its impression on present situation.

This study used interview as essential method in order to access to the reflection of street children well-being on their present life condition. Data are collected by exploring before and after life on street experience and feelings. Interview is important to understand similarity and differences the way children view themselves and the way public and service provider presented them in their text. Therefore, thematic analysis also demands this method as 'it tries to understand participant in research from their own point of view (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Moreover, street children are marginalized and excluded group in our society and interview became appropriate tools that 'allows people to narrate their experience and stories in their own words, it is good method that can be used in studying the marginalized group like woman and children (De Vault, 1999 and Reinharz, 1992 cited in: Esterberg 2000).

While taking interview with children, I not only try to create moderate environment to express them but also took enough time to listen them whatever they sense meaningful to their daily life activities. Though, their daily life perception always did not meet directly to my area of my study. Initially, I took interview in 'less structured are more appropriate for younger

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children (Christensen & James 2000). Therefore, I started my interview in informal way by asking them to tell about themselves and share how they spend their time in the street.

Altogether, eight children have been selected for the interview. Five of them, lives in street totally in one group and two of them had moderate contact with family living in same city. Interviewed children had different age and they came from different places. Their age was from twelve to seventeen. In interview, I tried not to use academic jargon to make them clear about what was asked. During interview I asked same question in different time to better understand their answer. Most of the children have had experience of organizational participation and rehabilitation but some reason they got back to the street again. I tried to ask question that touch different aspect of their present and past life; their family background, education, social life; work and their consequence to be in the street. After being familiar, I asked them to elaborate the answer from the question I had selected in my interview guide. Interview guide was open-ended and unstructured in much extent. Conducting interview in above way, I found advantage and disadvantage both in according to the different context. In depth-interview has remarkable advantage to gain knowledge from the children's conversation. Street children have enough distrust with the public or outsider. In that situation 'the worst problem that arise in collecting data is caused by not gaining children's trust (Apteker & Heinonen 2003). So, interview provided good platform to established rapid interpersonal communication skills to children. I learn that when children feel safe about other they became reliable and openly express their secret that might be difficult to get without it. As most of the literature has presented street children as unreliable respondent as they always looking for fulfilling their urgent need. But I found children could be reliable and depends on their closeness that researcher success to make. To examine their information, I have conducted two different interviews in long interval of time to examine their consistency on their response. In some case I got changed respond in same question, but I took it as additional information as stated Rubin & Rubin, 'I attempt to check out inconsistency or distortion by examine informants response given at different time though the goal of qualitative research is not to eliminate inconsistency but to understand why they occurs(1995, p-23). Repeating interview on same questionnaire came out to be effective choice to evaluate the dynamic nature of children's life perception. Children provided multiple views on same matter in different span of time show their changing well-being and the effect of other factor. Their difference response over time helped me to know how they made things favorable

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according to their current needs. It reminds me that 'children have good skills of presenting information about themselves as part of their survival skills (Apteker 1990).

Interviews were taken both openly and one by one separately. Sometimes, open interview create children came to be more open with their friends besides but sometimes they could be shy or afraid to express everything in front of their friend.

Conversation language was conducted on Nepali language. The time of interview lasted about thirty minutes while group interview took one and half hour long. I found, some children were enjoying talking openly and some were looked tired and confused. Simple language was tried to use with them for better understanding of interaction. Some children had long experience of street life and welfare services participation and some had forgotten past about their family life. Long time street children were confident and free to tell about their daily life. Additionally, they were closely observed about their expression to view authenticity of information. As Goffman suggests, 'some informant during the interview express emotion such as anger and fear helping to understand their perception towards themselves and society (1959).

In course of interview, children sometimes, provided more detail and other aspects of their life that was not in my area of study but I took their information as adventurous side of the research to welcome every alternative idea.

At the beginning, I did not realize the impact of power relation and difference matter in case of street children. I noticed my outlook and dress created foreigner made them to take benefit from and not to disclose themselves. So I took care about my appearances after, and informed my status as student. This uneven power problem, lure children to make factious story and presented their self-piety situation. They seemed to engage in fabricate their information anticipating what adult or other like to see and listen about them.

4.4 Participant observation

This method is regarded as essential part of qualitative method. Observation method is useful to start doing field work in children because it easy to gain some knowledge of children life in the street. It provides me to participate on their daily activities that they experiencing and formed their subjective well-being. In children research, observation can be useful tools

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because it likely to reveal their behavior and meaning behind their interaction and activities with other that they may not explain well during interview. In children case, how they define their activities and what actually they do may differ. So participant observation is adequate tools as its features is defines by Jorgensen, 'the insider's view point, the here and now of everyday life, the development of interpretative theories, an open-ended process of inquiry, an in-depth case study approach the research direct involvement in the informants lives'(1998). Initially, it was very necessary to maintain some degree of closeness with children because while using participant observation with children demands researcher to placing oneself in direct personal contact with the social group one is intending to study as they go about their affairs (Weinberg 2002). As a result, it was necessary to gain possible rational behind children interaction, activities and public view's view on particular context. However, every effort that made to observe children in everything were not completely successful because of their mobile nature of their presence in the street, being aloof from the public interaction, being high by sniffing glues. The only time, I was able to observe children closely are in morning where I could find group of children sleeping in nearby pedestrian. It was difficult to built friendly relation to them because they believe not to get any direct benefit from the field worker. Moreover, full participant is not possible for adult researcher where 'mainly because of the physical size and it has been suggested that a semi-participant observer role is more suitable (James et al. 1998). However, after three days of observation, I was able to tie some rapport with them. After having moderate relationship, I started to explain them my status as student and conducting research to know about their street life. At the beginning, they seemed to skeptic because of the growing business mentality of organization and their short term project on them. After having some day together, they started to believe on my role with them as I told and started having some informal talk and also identified some of them as suitable for my respondent and case participant.

Initially, I thought, I could organized some interactive event with children in day time so that it could helped me to have some informal talks and also start to ask some specific question related to the research. But it seems impossible for me because children were almost every time moving one place to another and getting high with glues sniffing. Children were most of the time pretending to have problem and engaging to intact with other for survival and expecting money and food for interacting with them. Another reason for having unable to conduct according to my planning is because it was very difficult to meet them again in same

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place and not easy to meet them again in same place. Consequently, their exercise of wild freedom and unstructured activities stands as major problem to understand their life through their information. Nevertheless, number of attempt was made to get the children to be faithful and natural in the time of interview and interaction. Observation came to be useful tools in this context where children demands money and food with researcher and unwilling to open up truly. Meanwhile, I was able to be as a participant observer by spending substantial amount of time with children in different setting.

In the field, participant observation in the street was quite difficult because of children nature of forming their group and shows disinterested toward public. In that situation, Sathi (local non-profit organization) helped me to provide inbuilt environment where children was more open to talk with and demand not much from the interviewer. Inside the center, children seemed much relaxed and willing to create friendship easily. I observed, children became attractive to that organization because they impose no strict rules to the children and also got food, bed and bathroom. I also, found their relation with the staff was good and knew children willingness and their condition. Even I got remarkable chance to hear their dialogue between their friends. Their interaction on their daily activities provided me to some knowledge on how they define their action and activities, their dreams and their feeling to public. More significantly, I came to understand the importance of freedom in their life and never want to accept any rules and discipline. Likewise, caregiver also gave me useful ideas about how children formed relation to other and what are the other conditions that will make them to have good relation. Staffs told that children have their one structure and rules in their live activities and always shows their faithful attitude toward their leader of the group. So they advise me, it will be easy to get children in contact if researcher will identify the leader and be close to him. When I observed, I found they have strong bond with each other and very faithful to their leader. When I knew that participant observation is most comprehensive tools to understand children inner mechanism that help me to know children condition and their daily life interaction. Hence, I have observed important initial knowledge on children's different aspects of their daily life that might not be revealed or hard to reveal with other methods. Children activities and interaction with their group was natural and that was only possible to grasp that natural phenomenon by the use of observation method. Obviously, this undistorted information on children enhanced the validity and reliability of the data because it

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helps me to observe how different setting has been utilizing by children while involving in same situation but different children with different context.

Research with street children is depends on children willingness to be participating on that particular time and space. So it became big steps for me to enter into the world of street children. In other words, it is necessary to explore their space, their interaction in their own surrounding, their typical language and their survival strategies. This sum of information was possible to collect through observation method. Moreover, it was impossible to collect purely natural data from the children as being adult researcher. Being adult I tried not to be too much curious on their activities because it might made children uncomfortable.

4.5 Case study: presentation of informants and key person

Case study is widely recognized method in the field of social science, is best site for the in-depth explanation of social behavior. It allows researcher to explore and understand complex issues of selected subject through reporting one's past studies. In qualitative research, case study helps researcher to gather systematic information about particular social setting, events or group that permits him to understand other factor behind present consequences. Qualitative research method as often came when objective understanding of phenomenon are questioned and perspective are regarded as reliable method of examine social behaviors. Yin defines case study, 'as empirical inquiry that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within the real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple source of evidences are used (1984:23). As quantitative method use survey method to approach with clients, qualitative method recognized as subjective understanding of particular phenomena that call for case study and appropriate tool. Case study became popular method in qualitative research because it concern about the limitation of qualitative method that 'helps explain both the process and outcome of a phenomenon through complete observation, reconstruction and analysis of the case under investigation (Tellis, 1997).

The nature of my study demands case study method that enables me to have close examination of data within its context. Moreover, it is applicable for studying small geographical area and with limited number of individual to study. as stated by Yin, 'case study in their true sense, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through

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detailed Contextual analysis of limited number of events or condition and their relationship (13).

In this study, I have utilized case study in explorative, descriptive and explanatory manner according to the subject of interest research question demands on street children SWB.

The strength of case studies lies in detail account of particular subject that not only helps me to explore or describe the data in real life environment, but also help to explain the complexities of real life situation which may not be capture by experimental or survey method. Especially in street children research it help me to understand their life in different situation and allow to examine ‘data with context of its use’ (Yin,1984). It also instruct us to ‘read behaviors involves complex cognitive process, each reading strategies cannot be examine in isolation but rather in relation to other strategies(Zaidah, 2003). Its strength is its ‘capacity of explore social process. By using and often, qualitative method, the researcher can learn much more about process than in possible with other technique such as surveys (Berg 2001, Hamel, Dufoun & Fortive 1993). Other side, case study often criticized as lack of robustness as research tools. It often views as very little basis for scientific generalization. It is regarded as ‘being long, difficult to conduct and producing a massive amount of document (Yin, 1994). However, I have used this method attempting to understand street children life perception and their street life compare to their family life and street opportunity.

Case study permits researcher to visit participant own version of life story in his/her narration; let us understand his present perception and his activities and its meaning for them. As Watson and Watson stated, ‘ life history is any retrospective account by the individual of his life in whole or part, in written or oral form, that has been elicited or promoted by another person. Hence, case study is appropriate vantage point through which one can experience as commentary of the individual’s very personal view of his own experience as he understand it (1976). So it can be argue that case study can help me to know about street children personal view on present situation of their life and let me to understand how they perceiving their present well-beings by comparing with his past life situation.

Case 1, Rajesh (14 year old) came in the street at the age of 11.he was living before with his family nearby village from Kathmandu. He had often been contact with his family but stop

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contact since one year. He left street three times, once he return back to home but again came back to street again. He was also participating in rehabilitation from different children welfare organization but again he back to street life. He was taken by his elder friend in the street for the first time. He likes to live in Thamel1 street because he think this place has more opportunity. In the street he had different work like; plastic picking, newspaper selling, begging and many other situational work. he has been taking glue every day from last two year with his other children group.

Case 2(Hari, 13 years old) came to the street before 6 months. His mother was died before 8 month with whom he had been living in slim area of Kathmandu. He forced to drop school while reading in grade 4. He got contact with other street children and came to Thamel Street. He was given support from welfare organization but ended in less than one month.

Case 3(Sanjaya, 16 year old), came in street more than 2 year before. He was living in eastern region of Nepal from distance village; was working as farm servant in other house. He never attained any school but could write very well. He told he knew basic reading and writing by participating on the different programme of NGOs. He has been taking cigarate, Marizuana and glue in daily basis.

He ran away from the house with help of bus collector and never get back to home. He remembers little about because he became orphan in his early childhood days. He sings and platy Madal(traditional musical instrument) very well. He has been singing and playing Madal to earn money.

Case 4(Kancha, 12 year old), came in the street before one year from the nearby village called Dhading(50 km distance from kathmdnu).he became part from his family in time of Maoist insurgent war period. His right part of his face and hand was burned when his house was set into fire. He had no clue of his family afterward. He has working in tea shop as seasonal worker but lost before 3 months. Then after, he is living with his group in Gusala street area of pasupati Tample. He begs money from worshiper and search coin in Bagmati River thrown by the people as rituals in funeral process.

Case 5(Santosh, 14 year old) was in the street at the age of 9 living with his family in Kathmandu. He has one sister and mother father in his family. His father worked as porter in bus terminal of Kalanki. His father is alcoholic and mother could not afford to send him

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school so he came in the street to earn. In the beginning, he always back to home at night but nowadays, he sometimes visits to his house whenever he has money to give to this mother. He is working different job in the street whatever he can get at need. He used to go to school funded by on organization but stop getting help after. He finished his school up to 6 grade.

Case 6(Rakes, 15 years old) was came in street at the age of 12. He was living with family nearby village situated in kavere eloped to the other person (his step father) and living in near village in Banepa(26 Km distance) His mother often ask him to stay in home and also did admission in school but he do not like to go school and do not want to live in that house so he starts to living in street. Before six month, he meets her mother and lived with her 15 days. He also went for a week. But he ran away from there to live in the street.

Case 7(Nilam,13 year old) she came to street at the age of 10 with his brother living in the street. His family is living in Kathmandu. Due to the drinking habit of mother and runaway father they forced to live in street. She earns money by begging around the street and always meets his brother in the evening. His brother works as conductor in city bus.

Along with six informants, 2 key persons working in organization involves in child labor a street children were also interviewed. The first key person (female) has been working as coordinator in CWIN, the second key person (male) is a voluntarily working with NGO called Prayash Nepal 3.

4.6 Children in research

The research process at which children can be involved as actor; levels of children's participation and the use of method which can increase children's informed involvement in research, thereby respecting their rights (James, 2000). From the above statement, researching children is one way to another has to consider their role, involvement and rights and the selection of method. Children involvement in study does not only mean to research about children rather it counts on the degree of children involvement. In articles 13, UHCR states children 'shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kind, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art or through any other media'. This articles has emphasize to place children in their own, by pointing research to use those method that allows children to feel part of the research process and which give them the maximum

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opportunity to provides their views. Further, it also focuses their research attention about the danger of representing their stereotypical image and traps them in rigid ideology in their text. Being aware on those above ideas, my study sought to research with street children by foregrounding their perception and knowledge over their daily life and presenting myself in less-authoritative as much as I can.

Majority of children research has been done by regarding children ‘as unreliable and invalid because it was [is] believed that children were [are] too immature to understand their world and lacked the necessary verbal and conceptual abilities to convey their experience (Docherty and Sandelowski, 1999). Though, this above ideas taken as traditional concept, in context of Nepal, children are still are taken as incomplete and there is a tendency to research on children by asking their parents or teacher about them. The new social studies of childhood stress to view ‘children as possessing different experience and knowledge to adult and as being competent social actor, actually involved in responding to and shaping their social worlds (Prout, 2000). Although, it seems critical and problematic to use the concept ‘new social studies of childhood’ because it put researcher in in-between position of two ideas that as being in need of protection and also as autonomous individual.

While using this above concept on my research, I tried to be aware about the kind of method that is suitable in context of Nepalese society. In course of collecting data in field, I pay attention on the selection of method that gives enough space to articulate their knowledge and experience in street life.

4.7 Research area and field

The field work for this study carried out in the heart of the city called ‘Thamel’, this is the first choice place for street children because this place is popular place for tourist attraction. Along with, another field work carried out in ‘Gausala’, is also popular for the Hindu worshiper because number of people from inside and outside country visits in famous temple called ‘Pashupatinath’. The initial plan for the research was to conduct a comparative study of street children between these two places, so that will investigate the different views on their subjective well-beings relation to their geographical capital consumption. The main target of research was to understand the street children’s life from their own perspective and trying to understand children willingness to get back in the street though they get interventional or

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family support. But as I started my field work it become very hard to cover both location and compared the children's SWB in terms of different contextual problem and opportunities. Without cooperation to local social worker, it was challenging to approach street children directly in the street. Number of GOs and NGOs including Child Worker in Nepal (CWIN), CPCS-VOC, Sathi, Child Watabaran Center Nepal(CWCN) and Concern Nepal have been working with street providing different imitative, rehabilitation and empowerment programme in Kathmandu and other district of Nepal. Initially, children of the street are generally disinterested to other and unwilling to interact with researcher. Therefore, I made contact with person who helped me as door opener for my study. He has been working on the organization CWIN as programme coordinator.

This present study used qualitative method to gain subjective understanding of phenomena. Therefore, it relies on the data consist of observation, case study, interview and focus group discussion. While collecting data, those NGOs helped me lot where remarkable number of children visits daily. Their liberal environment attracts to the children and even create atmosphere to open children to interact and play. That place became useful to try multiple method so that I will gain better understand the subjective view of street children different aspect of life. It became effective to use multi method to study children because it provides me different perspective of the same phenomena, otherwise, it can be overlooked easily. To enrich the information, soon it was realized that it is necessary to take interview with key informant before to get in touch with children that helped me to create rapport with the children.

4.8 Role and experiences from the field study

My motives for a field study in Kathmandu was to get closely understand street children as academic research which was completely different than I used to understand before as being public. Besides that I gathered knowledge from the key person, worked solely in (street) children and collected secondary literature in Nepalese context. It was very difficult to gain trust and involve street-children freely and express them during the data collection therefore I had to containing the coordinator of CWIN and Prayas Nepal field Worker. While creating rapport with children and to key person, I was not much aware of my prejudice that I had about children and organization. For instance I was thinking street children were vulnerable and wild in the street while organization has always highlighted the particular image for their

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personal/organizational benefit. Gradually, my prejudice went decrease help to gain reliability and ethical issues related to the study.

I assumed different role as a researcher during my field work. Number of times street children were used by organization as informants various times before. So, they were smart enough to get benefit from researcher for instance by asking money, food and things. So from the beginning, I was very critical to show myself up as not all-have research and try to be as same in term of clothing and status also made them clear that my study was solely academic which was even afforded by own finance.

Street children constant movement became one of the challenging tasks to collect data from the same participant again. There is always possible to lose informants in next day. In this case, key informants became valuable for getting them because they have better idea of where they mostly spend their time and when shall they come to the organization. Gathering data from street children is constrain, on several reason, for instance they were not always ready to talk and often avoid formal conversation, depends on their mood. Initially, I was thinking of tape recorder and photos but it was not done because it might made suspicious on our activities and did not felt willingness to work with.

During the field work, I tried to be as open as I could when interacting with the children and not try to jump or heavy topic and situation and tried to follows on the children's in terms of accounting events. I continued my interaction in one times, depending on degree of their interest in talking. This depends on the topic raised or on what mood they were in the particular day.

4.9 Door opener

At the beginning, the door opener, provided helps me to get initial understanding on current situation of street children in the form of informal interview. Door made a recommendation to work with field worker, is working in same organization with children. During, my initial approach with street children, field worker helped me a lot as key person. He suggested and share many ideas as he has been working in the field of children for many years and had remarkable experience and knowledge. Key person planned for selecting place and help me to built easy relation to the children for interview. Throughout the field work, that person provided me with access to the informants and assistant through research.

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Initial complexities of this research was challenging in both creating rapport with children and to create familiar atmosphere to make them share their experience and feeling freely. Previous study on children also suggests that have number of problem for new researcher to obtain reliable information from street children (try to quote in that situation). Even, to get access with organization information is hard because of children mobile nature and unidentified condition. Therefore, appointment to coordinator became source of catalyst in my initial stage; with them it became easy to establish familiar surroundings to the information and interviewer (myself).

Moreover, I was manage to contact with other NGOs engaging to provide open rehabilitation to the street children. The contact key informant was himself once, experienced as street children and became field worker on the same sector shown to one of the effective key person in street children field.

4.10 Ethical consideration:

In academic research, consideration of research is important because it raise different issues of research participant rights and welfare in relation to researcher's attitude and obligation in interaction. More sensitively, ethical consideration come forth as dilemma while doing research with children the recent origin of the 'New paradigm' theory advocate children are like adult as social actor, who affect and being affected by context. But it cannot be erased, as Forskningsetika principle says ' it is important to be aware that children is not able , at least not the same as adult , to assimilate given information , such as the meaning of the study(2002) . This view on children research creates practical dilemma in field. Especially, in Nepalese context the even power relation between child and adult, it is not completely possible to behave children as adults that even surprise children as an unfamiliar response . in the response to dilemma there are important difference in how they approached with children due to children understanding and experience of the world being different to adult,(Mauthner, 1997, Thomas and O'kane 1998).

The recent movement, a new social study of the childhood posses two important ethical awareness while research with children; child study should be 'child centered' i.e., they should be studied for and in themselves(Gallacher &Gallacher, 500) and view their world as not similar to the adult world. Secondly, childhood should be consider in term of its

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‘peculiarities and specialities of individual childhood as geographically, historically and socially situated (Prout, 500).

When multiple childhoods claim for contextual understanding of childhood, reflexivity becomes indispensable in children research. It can be taken as ‘mean of managing cultural gap’ where different childhood exists. So it becomes practical ethical dilemma to view street children’s childhood which is different than the western notion of childhood.

The participant children were under the age of 18. Therefore I got the informed consent from the person who is there as guardian because it was very difficult to get their parents. While taking interview, I gave information about my research aim and their participation purpose. They were informed that they could withdraw their participation whenever they want. They were informed that their information and their name going to be confidential. The production of data will have maintain anonymity and only taken as academic purpose.

4.11 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity is crucial in qualitative research. Especially in children study it requires maximum degree of authentication test from both researcher and informants. Authenticity of any research is depends on how researcher utilizes his data collection ‘to which the finding is independent of circumstances of the research and validity is degree to which the finding is interpreted in a correct way (Kirk & Miller,1992). I pay attention on creating atmosphere to informant children; a comfortable and familiar situation and only starts my interview when relation became strong enough to share experiences. The maximum degree of rapport building with children provides data with ‘accurately represent the social phenomenon in which it is based (Hammersely & Akinson 1995, 2006).

Mostly in developing countries data on street children are ‘notoriously inaccurate and highly inflated mainly to seek attention from funding agencies (Aptekar & Abebe 1997). There is strong sense of suspicious on the data I have gathered during my field work in Nepal. Moreover, children seem to be clever enough to distort their information and smart enough to utilize their experiences as resources. As stated by Aptekar, ‘children have good skills to presenting information about themselves as a part of their survival skill’ (1990).

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Moreover, taking consent with their family was difficult where mostly children themselves do not know about their family. They had no access to their birth certificate, stability of place to live, registration documentary hence it would be very difficult to get conformed on the given information. I have asked same question in interview in different time to check the validity on their given information.

CHAPTER-5: UNDERSTANDING STREET CHILDREN IN NEPAL

The data was gathered in the field work will be utilized in this chapter. This focuses on those factors that make children leave and move on the street. As stated earlier, this study is mean to explore children condition of being in the street and tries to identify the opportunity and struggle of street life. It is therefore essential to understand their pre-street life condition and his social construction by analyzing initial and underlying factor that effect children to follow the path to end in street. In this chapter, I will first try to shed light on those different factors that places children in limbo situation where they trap on the dialectical relation between two space; home and street. This chapter is organized in the following ways: the first section will examine how and why children leave home and what factor led them to decide to leave. The next section describes children's life in street and how they coping with new environment. This is followed by their opportunity and hardship in streetism.

5.1: The process of leaving home to street: why and how it happens?

The forgoing chapter highlights children's action of leaving home and discussed the cause, process and pattern of their migration to the street and there by attempts to answer mainly two research. What are the causes that brought children in Nepalese City Street? How they decide to leave home? Baker (2007) has presented two types of cause contributing children to be in the street of Nepal- "underlying or immediate cause", and "initial cause". While asking aforementioned question to the participant it turns out to be existence both types of casual factor that push them in the street. These causes forced children to move from the rural village alone (or family) to the city street of Kathmandu. They moved to the city mostly by the socio-economic condition with the other factor such as; survival, responsibility, arm conflict so on. Scooner (1998), highlights three main clusters of livelihood option; agricultural intensification, income diversification and migration, that effected by household located in particular context and economy. Key person has identified similar issues in the socio-economic and geo-political level which affected children to become street children. Feudalism in Nepal has had a major impact in people's lives. Exploitative relations in Nepalese society deprived and excluded many people in urban poor areas and rural parts of Nepal. As a result, family and children's aspiration to contribute on their deprived condition forced them migrate on major urban area. Half of the informants leave home by informing their family. In many cases, informants' decision of leave home lured by mediator and sometimes influenced by

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adult street children. Mediator assured them to provide better job and good wage in city market and convinced their family to send children with them. Then after, they find themselves in direct contact with street attraction and hardship.

Some children moved to the street together with their family in search of fulfilling basic need and education. The following narration of Santosh (case 5) provides an example how their whole family compelled to leave home and finally restore in the street:

We had house in our village. I was living with my two sister and parents together. That time, I used to go to school and my sister helping mother in household work. my father was farmer, farming in Adhay¹. But his earning was too little for running the house. Gradually, his debt went high and one day he lost his property. So we lost our house and forced to live in the street.

Initially, almost all children move to the street hoping to find some solution from their existing problem. Informants reveal that they sought to escape from the problem in home. Anderson (1986) views behavior and development can be understand in relation to the human perception of their environment what he called 'life space' or 'psychological filed'. Here, data converge that a child does not autonomously, i.e., without any self-decision pushed children to the street. They were moved through different dialectical decision making process and affected by minor cause that playing decisive role to create underlying cause for leaving home. It can be said that decision process of leaving home affected by the underlying factor and possess less autonomy. The statement of Sanjaya (case 3) has provided an illustration:

I have been living in the street since 3 months. But was thinking of coming to the street before one year. When I began to feel that it became very difficult to run family. Though, my father worked hard but it could not be enough earning to support family. One day, I heard that if I move to city I can earn good money by working in the garment factory. But it was very hard for me to come in city alone and not have enough courage to leave home. One day, I came to know that one of my friend also run from the house and living in Kathmandu. This made me to leave home and came to the city.

From this above statements, it can be argued that immediate cause of street migration lies in their weak economic condition. Research comparing different group of children in Nepal shows that street children have better nutrition status than children living in slums or children in impoverished rural areas (Baker 1993). But, it can be counterargument that, economically weak family and children does not necessarily always, choose to leave home and end up in the

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street. In this case, children leaving home is largely determined by the information or impression that third person has presented in front of them. Third person has been working as transition (catalyst) to lead children from home to street. This transition played as vital role that stimulate the process of children migration to street. It further, understands by the Rakesh (case 6):

I remember one of our distance relative came to our house. He asked to my father about taking me to the city with him. He assured my father that he will find me a job and also send me to the good school. My father did not convince to him and denied his offer. But after one year, I met him again. I was begun to understand many problem in home. That time I was willing to go city with him and without telling to the parents I came here.

Other informants have also provided such kind of story in process of leaving home. Children, often, come to the city through their peer group or by relative supervision. (Kelfbeck & Ogden, 1955) views children movement to another space is comprise of environment structure; exo-system, that the children is not directly in contact with, but still affect the child's development through the interaction or influence other. Sometimes, they asked to their parents before leaving home and some time run away from home secretly. Despite different nature of their migration, most informants leave home hoping to get something better in the street and to escape the existing circumstances of their home environment. Especially, they came to work in tea shop, garment factory, newspaper seller, shop helper etc. Rajesh (case 1) has shared some similar experience of process of deciding to leave home.

I came here with my relatives. He took me here to provide me a job in his tea shop. He offered my father to take me with him in the city and give job to earn. At the beginning, it became very hard to decide his offer and did not accept his offer. But after some days, he again came in our house and that time father was ready to send me in city with him. That time I was not willing to leave home and had no interest on city. I was afraid of new place, being far from my house and fear unknown place and people.

Throughout the interview, it is revealed that transitional person has remarkable role to transit children in the street. There is the presence of one transition person to transit children in the street. "a person or family livelihood is sustainable when they can cope with and recover from stress and socks and maintain or enhance their capacities and assets both how and in the future without understanding environmental resource (Chamber & Conway, 1992). Here, early household responsibility and passive acceptance over parent's decision lead informant to

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leave home. This socio-economic burden has become major push factor that forced them out of home. As early and as urgently, children begin to feel his responsibility over his family condition children become actively engaged in finding alternative space. Children also decide to leave home when they attracted towards the city environment. These personal attitudes of children perception over their present situation become basis for the transitional person to take children in the street. Niraj (Case 7) situation provides hints that how they are deceived by their transitional person or peer group for encouraging them to street:

My village is not far from here. People every day come to Kathmandu for shelling their vegetable and other goods. I was very small and I had not seen Kathmandu before. But my neighbor friend used to come with his father to shell their vegetable. When he return he bought some chocolate and other stuffs and he showed me. One day, he showed money and offer me to go Kathmandu forever. I did not have to worry because my friend knew everything about city then I came with him.

The above cases show that there is a remarkable role of third person who initiate them to come on the conclusion to leave home. Either their low economy in family or self decision to get rid from his/her family problem informants decided to leave home. In some exception, children without transitional agent forced to leave home. The statement of kancha (case 4) is one example of this above condition:

I compelled to leave home because we had fear of Maoist in our village. There were rumors that maoist start to come in village and took the children of my age. They had been taking children to recruit them and make them gun man to fight with army. My family was afraid by the rumor, so my father immediately decided to send me in safe place, so I came here alone. I remember father gave me 500 rupees and the address of his friend living here.

This above statement of case 4 is an example of those children who was victimized by Maoist arm conflict in Nepal. Turton (2000) displace person are those who have been displaced by war and who may be therefore beyond de facto protection of their state even though they remain within its border. During those days, political conflict was the prime cause to drive many children in street. This statement can also be taken as the exception for those who regard children are the cause of family dysfunction and their own deviant mentality. The key person informed children have been coming from outskirts of Kathmandu in search of work to uplift their livelihood. They either helped by other elder street boys or transits person. The poor condition of working environment such as, stressful working load, low pay, abuse by

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owner has some of the few condition children has been facing, made them to run from the work and attracted towards the full time street life.

The key person also pointed out poverty, socio-economic and political conflicts are the major factor that commonly plays decisive role to push children out from their home. While discussing to the key person, individual characteristic of children can be taken as granted to their haste decision to steps towards the street. Key person further pointed that children mostly get in touch with elder street children and start to feel urge to escape or maintain their family obstacles. This makes them to take quick decision to leave home. On the other hand, family themselves are engaged to help their children to take steps on the street migration without knowing the danger they might encounter. Key person states:

Generally, Children are largely move to the street of Kathmandu because their family is poor in economy but poverty is not only the whole case. Some children come in contact with other factors that initiate them to leave home like, friends, movies, family decision and other network. But I saw, children with parent's ties and sustainable attitude towards their local resources helps them to stay in home. Though, they are facing same poor livelihood as other do.

Baker (1996) street children lives are even more complex than this set of negative connotations would suggest. Many children display a wide range of skills, competence, knowledge, and resilience in dealing with everyday life. They may be better nourished than their peer who lives in poverty in rural areas. It is also surprising on the fact that there is a growing mentality among rural children to get better life in urban. It is evident that children move to street by different circumstance of their home environment but more study need to be done for understanding why they have been thrown into the street as last resort. Key person states:

Children from the rural and urban poor areas of Nepal do not choose to live in the street. It is the last resort. Sometimes, economic difficulties and parents' aspirations of a better future for their children influence them to send their children to urban areas. They may also have misconceptions about cities having the opportunities to meet their children's needs.

Many informants have been leaving home because they get easy comparison with the children living in the street before. In this transitional phase, their comparison with street life plays huge role to decide which space (home or street) to choose. This dialectical relation of

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valorizing one space to another has been fluctuating on the children decision of leaving home. In this ambivalent situation, different consequence of minor factor gradually, leads them to choose one space. But it seems, sometimes, children could not get enough time to have comparison on choosing one space to another when they are fully controlled by their family or adult peer. In that situation, children are reluctant to obey other decision. One informant Rakesh (case 6) stated that he forced to leave home because his uncle convinced his father to take him to the city and provide job and education. The informant explain situation in this following ways:

I was studying in class 5. One day so-called uncle came to our house and asked my father to send me with him. He assured my father to give job and get admission in the school. My father accepted his offer. But I was afraid that time and not willing to go with him alone. I remember, my mother cried a lot and plea father not to send me in the hand of unknown person. But that person gave 1000 rupees to my father and I was forced to leave home.

Above report can be analyzed as an example of underlying cause of leaving home where informants will or decision is weaker and the family decision is strong. In fact, migration towards urban areas is “centered on incoming-earning activities in either the formal or informal sector, as wage employees, unpaid family worker or in self employment”

(Ruthwerford, Harper & Grienson in Rokaodi 2000). Here, compulsion to leave home was driven by the hardship of weak family situation. Likewise, it is the lure of earning and education that most of the families always think as most important for their children.

Contextually, it is livelihood compulsion to decide one’s father to send his children away from home. Therefore, informants were forced to leave home in early childhood time. The key person has pointed out that children often leave home only if they get fascinated by the second hand image of city life such as, attaining freedom, urban glory which is most often strengthen by dysfunction family situation. Participant reports also indicate that socio-economics, poverty and war conflict is not always prominent factor to make children leave home. Here, Niraj (case 7) has stated his situation in following ways:

One day my class friend secretly told me about his plan to run away from home and will go to city with his other friend. He also asked me to go with them but I was afraid and had no idea why they want to go city. They ran away and come back after few months; they were changed and shred their city life with excitement and freedom. I was fascinated with them though I had

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no idea about city at all. Then I did not stop, I just decided to run with them without telling my plan to parents.

In situation of case 7 can be seen as pure peer influence where the pre-image of street life provoked him to leave home. City image connoted with freedom, excitement and autonomy can be taken as pulls factor though informant did not revealed any underlying factor related to family pressing needs to push him to street.

In deeper level, participant's hints that they decided to leave home not only because of one solid factor rather they come into the constant effect of different minor factor that fostered the major factor to accelerate. Rakesh (Case 6) reveals that similar ideas in this way:

during those days I was not happy. My father just married to other woman. I did not like her, she only treat me nice in front of my father. I began to suffocating on that house and was changed drastically. Then I could not even pass my class. That night my father beat me badly and yells at me for long time. I was frustrated with everything. I knew no one there for me. Then I decided not live in that house anymore. I packed my stuffs and theft some money from home and ran away secretly.

In prior study, children's step to leave home generally explained by the underlying cause; those root causes that is related to the majority of Informants was reported to encounter. But in Rajesh (case 1) indicate even those initial causes or minor cause are playing decisive role to take final steps to leave home. He explains:

hardly remembers, I had been feeling ashamed among my friends in school. Especially in break time. My other friends carried money in their pocket and can eat whatever they want. One day, I asked money to my father but he did not give me and said it's not my time to carry money and spend it by my own. That day I decided to earn money by my own and spend it as my friends did. I heard, I can earn lot of money if I run to the street and work. I decided to leave home.

Prior studies explored the cause of leaving home and 'living street in Nepal, as mostly drawn from push and pull factor (Baker, 2008). The above example of participant has also provided the role of push and pull factor corresponding to the previous study. Observation in this study, indicate the dialectical relation among those factor makes children move in the street and revolving around the multiple cause they have been conceiving. Participant are seems to be attracted as well as repeal by the street-home factor. It is the participant's valorization of one factor to another made them to leave home. From the above statement

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Participant seems to be in-between position to come into the action. Push factor become prominent with participant who are guided by the underlying cause such as; poverty, gender, war, discrimination, family dysfunction and surviving pressure. On the other hand, participant are affected by initial causes in which pull factor plays dominant role that can be seen in the form of peer influence, urban attraction, freedom, autonomy and excitement. Study reveals that both underlying causes and immediate causes serves participant to move on the street. ILO research identify that the situation of family problem perpetrated by step-parents or substance abuse parents and lack of food was commonly cited as socio-economic factor for relocating children to Kathmandu and to the street (CWIN, Report 2010). While large number of children recruited by older street children outside Kathmandu (CWIN, Report 2010). Therefore, it is hard to decide what factor stands as 'last resort' to make them move on the street but it can be analyze the whole fostering factor during the process of taking decision.

To sum up, this study brings family economic and dysfunction, peer influence and city image subsequently leads participant to street life. In process of leaving home, different environmental push and pull factor plays dialectical but reciprocal role to fluctuate children before to come in final decision. In observation, unless any factor completely valorized other factors in children decision making process, informants were in process of limbo situation. Moreover, observation reveal that, different factor plays as constrains forces to informants; it stop them to take particular decision; put them in limbo situation to take any steps further. Here, children seem to be prudent in case of deciding street to choose as better space. The cause of leaving home pointed by this study are to large extend identical to the finding of similar study (Subedi, 2007).

The socio-economic condition mainly family inability to meet basic commodities, poor school system, cast discrimination, war and gender and sense of responsibility contribute participant to choose next space. Similarly, condition of seeking freedom, autonomy, individualistic preference, escapist mentality and city attraction are also visible among the participant cause to leave home. The economic causes are evoked due to the extreme poverty, unavailability of resources, lure of better life and basic needs, i.e., food, shelter, security and education, and expanding children labor market in capital city. Similarly other immediate causes are characterized by peer influence, seeking freedom, exploring the world, sense of autonomy and escape mentality.

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Economic poverty, however, was not only the reason for children to move on the street. Economic poverty was not only the cause informants to be in the street. In context of Nepal, children are force to live in extreme poverty. Although children have been facing such extreme situation in home, many children never leave home to search better in the street. It can be argued that participant several non-economic factors plays decisive role in children action to leave home (Lucchini and Conticini 1997).

5.1.1: What does it mean to leave home?

From the above studies and of previous literature demonstrate that subject of children migration to street are always multiple and obviously cannot be limited to the rational economic decision. It is also worth mentioning that street ward migration is not purely autonomous decision of children. Hence, the existence of relevant pushing factors cannot be ignore or minimized that cites children to move to street (Young, 2004: 485).

It can be argue that participant decision to leave home was affected by various factors that hindered them to take cool blooded decision at particular time. In result, children unconditional move from home become major events to change children perspective, aspiration, reality, morality and life style. In other words, participant transition from one space(home) to another space(street), they likely to lose their 'self-identity' and began to cope up to the new structural aspects of life in completely new space. So it became important to explore this transitional shift of participant's space to have better understanding on the dynamic system of their livelihood.

In fact, all informants has their similar underlying factor that made them to leave home but every informant has their own dialectical process of making their decision to leave home. Above informant case, either their personal decision or external factor dominated to pushes them to street. But their degree of reluctance can be explored while they share their experience in present street living condition. To bring up these experiences, they were asked during the interview to reflect their suffering, emotion, fear, excitement, and confusion in process of coming to the street. To be more specific following question were asked to informant: How did you feel in a way to away from home? Do you remember what your dream and fear was in a way to street? During the interview children shared their experience commonly about helpless feeling, alone, fear, curious on new place and people. While very little informant reveal they experienced sense of freedom and excitement and less fear. For

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instance Sanjaya (case 3) describes how he was feeling and exited in his journey to the street in following ways:

I did not inform my parents when I ran from the home. That time I came to know that our home condition was worst. All I want is to escape successfully from home situation. I did not feel unhappy while leaving home but I did miss my brother that night. I took the bus from the station and dreaming of lighting city, Movie Theater, tasty food. I had no fear because I have seen street before and I was sure my old street friend were living their happily.

Above informant was exceptional case to be exited and felt free in process of leaving home but other participant had been feeling completely helpless and reluctant to leave home. The Rajesh (case 1) serves as an example:

It was the day when I was about to leave my home. I was feeling myself as world most alone man. I was even afraid with uncle who will only be with me. I was really angry with my father for agreeing to send me with that person. I thought no body love me in my family and once feeling of kill myself. I had no idea how city looks like. Though I heard many things about it but afraid of being alone in the crowd. I wished something happened and my father come to take me home.

According to the key Person, ambivalent feeling among children is common in process of leaving home she said, “Children move from the home can be taken as influenced by other provoked or some condition subjective to his/her conceives on the particular situation.

Children have been going through ambivalent feeling between love of home environment and need to leave home”. The following quotation of Kancha (case 4) further enforced this:

it is my mother, that first come in my mind then I began to remember my brother and sister, I think I was missing whole environment. But as I remember the problem we had in our home I decide not to think about home and mother. I did not know where I am going and what going to happened, all I knew was to leave home to support them.

But the children who moved with all family member had not such above experience rather he was happy to move from the home and had no idea they were going to shift to city permanently. Santosh (Case 5) stated:

I came to Kathmandu with my family. I was happy to with my family in new place. I had no idea that we were moving permanently from our village. I was thinking to going to travel with my whole family.

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To sum up, informant's journey to street has both push and pull factor that shaped their present environment. Adult supervision and family decision played as catalyst in their action of leaving home. Even after, they decide to leave home, their degree of compulsion to go back home is varied among informants. The participant also exhibits their degree of mixed feeling which hints that their ambivalent position between home and street. On the other hand, they expressed their sense of relief by successfully escaped from the unwanted condition of their home. At the same time they also expressed their sense of fear for entering into the new space (street). Some Informants express much stress and stigmatized in this process while other did not feel mentionable about it. But they had a feeling of leaving something after leaving home. Their journey towards street exhibits their condition of being stigmatized, exited, freedom and responsibility.

5.1.2: The process of end in the street

There is a huge obscurity to determining children as street children. It is not all the children who exposes to the street are street children. Even in this study, it was hard to demark children who have been actively capitalized street resources and expose to the abuse and hardship. In general perception, children in direct expose of public space is regarded as deviant children. On the other hand, street becomes popular place to survive among poor family and children. Bronferbrenner(1997) states children development can be seen as major changes where children modified their perception and tackles the environment. He viewed children behavioral change over time can be seen in the other system the child part of. Though, informants possess remarkable skills to tackles the environment but their development are most likely to be end up in the street. Key person has stated that children exposure to the street can never be the measuring tools to evaluate how much children are indulging in streetism. But it can be said by measuring how much time one is spending in street. Longer they spend in street harder them to bring back from street and difficult to help finding better space than street. Similarly, number of reports published by NGOs and INGOs have reveal that children's longer exposure to public place and less family contact is the most decisive factor and the effective measurement tools to evaluate how much children end up in the street. Here, the Hari (case 2) also reveal similar story in this ways:

When I first came here, I used to work in tea shop for twelve hours per day. My owner ordered me to do work fast. Sometimes, I could not hold the glasses and drop it and he yell at me and beat me as well. Even he did not give me good money. Then, I began to know some

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boys of my age who did not work at all. One day I asked them how they buy food without working. They inform me that they earn money but doing their own work without any owner and also beg money from the tourist. Next time I met them, they offer me to join their group and work with them independently. I was so scared with the environment in tea shop and with owner so I decided to leave that tea shop and start living in street with them.

In this above situation, case 2 has clearly revealed the poor working condition of street life. Children are forced to work hard and long time. Without any love and support, children compelled to work in adverse situation. Even they became means of exploitation and subject of low income worker. In this environment, peer influence becomes his transitional medium to provide alternative to betterment and escape from present condition. Likewise, children contact to the street children made them to participate in substance abuse. The story of Rajesh (case1) expresses similar experience below:

Before six months, I was working in shop with my uncle but he lost his shop. That time used to go to school. My uncle finds me a job in restaurant but the owner was cruel and even did not allow me to go school. Sometimes he did not give money for my work, I started to take marijuana with other older street friend and leave the work.

In Kathmandu Street, children are identifying as easy victim in public area. They often been matter of exploitation and sexual abuse and the elder people made their street experience even bitter. They have been facing stigmatized condition stressful environment in his work place.

Kancha (case 4) stated:

I was working in fast food shop. He all the time, yell at me and even bit me often. He was frightening us every times. One day, I happened drop the plate with food that time he brutally yell at me and I was so scared and always afraid he might kill me one day.

For some informants, street becomes access to immeasurable freedom and excitement. The transition to street life involves a combination of both pull and push factor as well. Likewise, children with family in street can easily attract towards the 'brutal freedom' and substance abuse. In my observation, it is a gradual process that drags children in streetism¹. In above statement, initially children come into the street in search of survival. In process of consuming street capital children also encountered in hardship of street life. Santosh (Case5) can be taken as example of how children can be gradually pulled towards streetism, he stated:

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I came here with my family. My father has vegetable shop in another side of this city. As I was working with my father shop, I began to know other children in the street and become friends. Nowadays, I like to spend time with them and seldom go to my father place. I start spending night with them and like to be with them. I know I am not like them, they do not have any family here in this city but they are good for me. I like their company every day.

To sum up, informant process of spending full time in street gradually increase as they start to enjoy freedom and learn street culture. Basically, by some reason, informants pushed by the home condition but most of them did not directly came to street as street children. In other words, children condition pushes to leave in the street were often shivering but most of them did not directly come to street as street wanders (Young 2004). Informant motives to move on the street has been shifts from utilizing street capital to celebrating unbound freedom can be measured by children amount of street exposure, peer influence in order to get freedom and excitement, poor working condition in working place, exploitation and losing contact with family(Subedi 2009).

It is also notable that children likely to move from one space to another in order to escape from the present undesirable condition. Their gradual shift from home to street for work and street work to street living can be evaluate through their working condition and degree of stigma in working place. Children are reported to encounter to the relative cumulative burden or allostatic load indexes by various dimension of physical and psychological stress (Carol M. Worthman & Catherrine Panter Brick, 2000). Many informants reported to encounter number of stress an abuse in course of sustaining their poor living condition in home.

Likewise, informants also forced to endure various adverse situations while leaving in the street environment. In this study reported experiencing number of abuse and stress in home to sustain their poor living condition and faced number of adverse situation in course of surviving in the street. More study need to be carried out to examine their degree of allostatic load and its impact in two different spaces (home and street).

In this study, informants were largely attracted towards the street freedom and drug excitement and it has been strong constrain to the social worker to intervene. The present data also indicate, the presence of exploitation, stigmatization and allostatic load stands as major factor to escape into the wilderness of street freedom.

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5.2 Discussion and conclusion

The study has demonstrated the gradual process of pushing children from the home. Informants were seen engulfed between push and pull factor of both space; home and street. There are different dialectical relations between the events that informant experiencing in process of moving into another space. Informants shift towards one place to another seems to form two primary causes, i.e., underlying causes and initial causes. Underlying causes incorporate those home environments where children have been experiencing poverty, migration, war conflict, survival necessity and family responsibility. Underlying causes evolved due to pressing needs of informant where push factor playing major role to keep them away from home reluctantly. Similarly, initial cause incorporate those factor that lure informants to leave home without driven by pressing needs such as, peer influence, search for freedom, autonomy and urban attraction. In case of those informants, whose condition initiate from their personal attraction than from their socio-economic factor can easily pulled towards street space. Some informant reported to leave home due to pure socio-economic condition but other shows their personal attraction towards City Street as major cause to pull children in street. Informants shows their process of decision to leave home developed as they gradually facing adverse condition to live in. children ambivalent response towards their adverse condition indicates that their action of shifting space playing dialectical role to one another and valorization of one space mark their movement to another space. To emphasize informant's relationship, study has drawn on Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory (1979), which recognizes that human beings operate within connected or nested environment; the home(primary relationship), community and other social space(street), in what can be thought of as 'constant process of reciprocal interaction'(Jack, 2001: 185). Furthermore, in this interplay between two spaces has been stimulated by the transition person who makes children to come into the action quickly.

The study also exhibits that most of the informants decided to leave home because they get false information about the street through peer or transitional person. These persons can analyze as exo-system. The exo-system is comprise of environment structure that the child is not directly in contact with, but still affects the child's development through interaction or influence other (Klefbeck, 1995). Informants happened to get second hand information about city environment, i.e., only attractive side of street. Informants reveal that they were supervised by their parents in order to maintain family burden. Children and family decided to

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leave home because of basic livelihood problem and compelled them to move into the city street. Informants constant encountered with their daily livelihood problem likely to turn their space ambivalence situation into decision of moving to other space. Chamber and Conway (1992), basically states that livelihood activities related to the material and social relationship which he categorized in individual capability and assets. In this view, children process of leaving home was shaped by searching for better livelihood in new space. Initially, most informants perceived street as source of assets and brings them to capitalized maximum assets. To be more precise, informants' obligation and choice to move from home are constantly affected by their previous life condition and capacity to step ahead.

Furthermore, (Burn,2003) mention that child migration is guided by economic factor and social displacement. Physical dislocation, separation of people and one's family environment, social disruption and material disposition and therefore interwoven to developed informants decision of migration. Therefore, urban migration can be taken as pull factor where poor home condition become push factor where children desire to chase better space constantly possess dialectical relation in action.

Likewise, Bronfenbrenner's (1988), ecological model of human development provides a vantage point through which children action of coming into the street can be view in relation to their different interrelation between layer of condition to their particular reaction towards their environment. It can be argued that informant decision of leaving home is much more than their autonomous decision.

It is evident in the study that children go through different process of social and economical process of choosing street migrates. Though, some informants were affected by peer influence and other was compelled by responsibility and parent's decision. This study has also indicated that informants have experienced many ambivalence situations that triggered particular action and the role of false supervision pushed them to the street life. In this process of living in the street, informant encountered various hardship and stigmatization. As a result, street children were viewed as easy prey to the general public. They shown to categorize either as physical deformed, drug addict, or those ostracized for other reason who constantly struggle to adjust to their precarious social identities (Goffman, 1963).

It is the journey of informants to the street which has across many challenges of livelihood and related to their economic stress and desire of escaping adverse situation. In this process of shifting their space informants seems transformed with their identity, image, dreams,

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responsibility and environment. Informants were expressed their mixed feeling of fear and excitement, responsibility and loneliness, family and public in the way to leave home to street. Hence, informants entering into the next space is full of ambivalent situation; deliberate and compulsion.

CHAPTER 6: STREET LIVELIHOOD: BETWEEN TEMPTATION AND HARDSHIP

The preceding chapter set to focus on process of leaving home. This process is gradually shaped by minor environmental interaction and formed underlying and immediate factor. This chapter intended to explore different aspect of street life. In other words, this chapter intended to explore children ambivalent situation while adjusting themselves in street capital and street. Ambivalent position of informant can be seen as dilemmatic situation where children developing their coping mechanism to consume street capital and at the same time ruining their life. However, after move to the street environment, informants were seems to be indulged in adopting themselves by developing new social roles to cope with new opportunity and challenges. Likewise, they were also affected by new street culture that furnished their further action. I will argue that children constantly in position of fluctuate by street's capital attraction and repeal by street hardship. Hence, informants are seems to engulfed in the public sphere were multiple layer of environment and factor dialectically exists.

This chapter attempts to highlights participants livelihood in street in process of adjusting themselves in new space. This chapter continues by analyzing dialectical dilemma of informants between temptation and hardship of street life. It further discusses informant's constant effort to find better space in street. Moreover, it brings Forth about intervention challenges

6.1: Process of getting in the street life

The term livelihood is understood as comprises assets, activities and the access to these that together determines the living gain by individual or house hold (Ellis, 2000: 10). In context of Nepal, most of the poor family entire activities can be seen as their effort to maintain their basic needs. Their children engaged to contribute their efforts on household activities. As a result, children realized their responsibility in their early age. In process of supporting family, remarkable number of children came to the street as career for consuming capital.

All informants in the study were in between 12 to 19 years old and spend different time span range from six month to three years. Most participants' stresses on the poor living condition of house as push factor and some are attracted by the city life of adventure and freedom as pull factor. It is therefore, plausible to explore informant's coping strategies in new street environment and their adaptation to consume street capital. During the field work, majority of participant are living in the street. So it is equally important to have comparative exploration of temptation and hardship of informants' process of living in the street.

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To gain this knowledge, children were posed number of question related to their street life: what happened after you come to the street? When and how did you started to live with your group? Are you still in contact with your family member? Do you like to leave street and want to go back home? What problem you faced in the beginning of street life and how did you cope with it? In this section, I will discuss on informants development of street smartness in two parts. In first sub-section will be focused on their personal strength such as coping skills, motivation and attitude. And in second subsection will be on external resources such as peer network and social relation.

6.1.1: Personal strength

During the interview participant has reveals that initial phase of street life as struggling phase. To cope with different encounter they developed coping skills to participate as a member of street capital. In this period, participant seems engaged in building their resourceful capacity to cope with different street interaction. Gradually, they developed their proficiency in locating resources and capacity for solving problem. They reported to learn how to coordinate with other member and get benefit from the available services. Informants reported to built information network among other street children and group member to get fast access to utilize their chances from service assessment and to locate resources, especially when they mean service is needed for them. Hari (Case 2) comments on this:

It was my beginning time in the street. We woke up early in the morning. Everyone was in hurry and I did not know the reason why. They did not even have chance to inform me. So I silently followed them. it was after twenty minutes of walking we reached to one big building were many children like us sitting and eating in plate. Then I knew why they woke me up and what sansta² means for us.

Lack of human capital in the form of skills and education affects the ability to secure a Livelihood more directly in urban labor markets than rural areas (Rakodi 2002). Though, informants in my study lack skills and education but children possess remarkable interpersonal skills that help them to sustain their livelihood. This sense of social and interpersonal skills becomes most useful adaptation in getting their needs meet. Locating their resources in not enough to utilized it. Participant was reported to engage in protecting their resources from the possible risks. They processed skills to tackles risks and solve problem. Kancha (Case 4) narrates his situation as follow:

² Popular words among street children to name social worker or who connected organizational work.

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Nowadays we have to wake up early in the morning. We wake up early and move to search plastic and other saleable things from the garbage. If we do not wake up early and reached their in first place other will take it and leave nothing for us. One day I was returning to our place after bought some food from the earning I had also some money in my pocket. It was almost dark and I knew older boys are always looking for snatching other money and food. I went to the aunt's tea shop to keep my money and food safe from them. While returning, those old boys were come in front of me. They asked to give money and slap me hard and checked my all pocket but did not get anything. I know how to live in the street.

Along with, poor working condition and chance of not paid is another risk participants were facing and often tackles those situation by their own skills and experience. Sanjaya (Case3) has mentioned his situation.

I was working on one tea shop. One day, owner asked not to come to work from tomorrow. Then I asked him to pay my money. Instead of giving me my money he started to yell at me and threatened me to call police. I plea him for many time but he did not pay me. I came to my friends and tell everything about this. Then we went back their together with seven friend together and ready to break his shop and him then he afraid and ready to pay money.

During the interview, informant expressed their attitude of not caring about tomorrow and always thing about today. They do not have guaranteed for any kind of earning and resources. They struggled to overcome challenges on living life without stable residence and basic needs. Hari (Case 2) experienced such situation. He stated:

It was rainy time last month, we were hungry and did not get anything to eat whole day. We tried to earn by searching plastic and begging money from the foreigner. We helplessly went to aunt tea shop and asked tea and biscuit, as if you were going to pay it. And she did not even asked money first that usually people do to us. After we finished eating she asked money from us but we did not have single penny to give her. When she knew that she was angry with us and ran us away from her shop but next week we return her money. She is very good aunt and I know we going to get empty again.

From the above statement, informant shows their coping skills with different situation in street life. They show their coping skills in various adverse situations. They were helping each other in difficult situation and also maintain social relation to those who was nice to them.

Their strength to negotiate power and risk were explored further in next sub chapter.

6.1.2: Motivation and attitude

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As stated earlier, coping with new street environment was struggling phase for participant and possess extraordinary resourcefulness to get best out of harsh condition. (Klefbeck & Ogden 1995), argued children's new environment can be analyzed in relation to micro-system. He called this relation 'meso-system' that can be studied children's environmental change. Meso-system can be varied and depending on social competency of child and contact surface in order to understand their development. In process of acquiring new livelihood skills they were engaging to utilizing different skills out of them motivation and attitude played important role in their daily life. Rakesh (Case 1) has stated his motivation and attitude in the following ways:

In the beginning, I was afraid of everything around this street. I have only these friends. Most of the time, I was thinking of returning to home. Next day, they got ticket of one Nepalese movie and offer me to watch the movie. It was very good movie. My favorite hero was in that movie and he was also khate. He worked hard in the street and always does well to other around the street and he save enough money to buy motorcycle and ride to meet his lover. Then I thought I will also live in the street and make money to buy motorcycle.

Though, motivation has help children to resilience their hardship in the street and encourages them to work and earn. But it was also become risk when they influenced by the negative motivation. Master, Best and Garmezy (1993) took "resilience is an individual refers to the successful adoption despite risk and adversity". Kancha (Case 4) stated:

I want to live in the street no matter how much problem I will encounter. I have seen one elder street brother like me become danger dada³ of this area. Everyone afraid by him. I saw he does not need to pay money to eat in hotel. If he come here, every one will step aside. He is tiger of this place. He also have big bike. Oneday I will be danger dada like him and everyone afraid of me and I do not need to bother about things to eat in anywhere.

Moreover, informants were adopting specific kind of street attitude that help them to deal with street harsh condition. Informants were shown to developed different attitude to be matched with particular situation. According to Master, Best and Garmezy (1993) resilience is process capacity or outcome of successful adaption despite challenges under the threatening circumstance, good outcome despite high risk status, sustained competence under threat and recovery from trauma (426). Their attitude developed in such a way that it is identifying as

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essential to continuing to face day-to-day challenges. Sanjaya (Case 3) has shared his previous attitude and now in following ways:

I remember, I was shy and afraid to talk boldly in front of people. Those friends taught me how to deal with the situation. They assured me that street was not bad place and no one will die out of hunger. But now I do not care of anything. I do not even care about just tomorrow. Providence will provide everyone in our group. Now, I am not afraid of anyone. I can earn by myself, can travel anywhere alone. I know many people here and have good friend around me.

Among the participant, they have acquired different kind of attitude as they keep on encountered different situation. Santosh (case 5) has state:

I know all people call me khate. A bad boy or may be thief. I see many time people smile at us. I know why they smile to look at me because we are different I do not care I too smile because they are all the same.

To sum up, participant reported to have drastic changes in their perception and attitude soon after enter into the street. Street taught them those skills they need to develop in order to fight back in street. In this view, personal strength has been helping street children to keep their business going on. They avoids unknown person afraid of and get in close relation whoever help them in their worst situation.

6.2: Utilizing external resources

During the interview, informant reveals different external resources that they were processing in street life. Most of the informants explicitly identified several external resources more than highlighting their personal strength. Informants were exercising various form of external. So, resources they will consume street capital most. Informants described several resources, including peer network and socialization. The livelihoods of the poor are determined predominantly by the context in which they live and the constraints and opportunities location presents. This is because context largely determines the assets accessible to people, how they can use these, and thus their ability to obtain secure livelihoods (Meikle in Rakodi 2000).

Rajesh (Case 1) has comments on his interaction with different form of resources in following ways:

Day-by-day I don't feel hard to live in street. now I have friends who know me better than anywhere else. It is not that street do not have problem and danger but I know how deal with that. I never walk alone after I start to live in my group. I always love to be with them because

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they had helped me in my worst condition. they shared their food and money. Even after, I did not feel alone. I have good aunt, a tea-shop owner. She always keep my money and also give credit whenever we do not have money. That bank uncle(bank security guard) also love me and help me in difficult time. Whenever I feel danger from other gang I ran in front of him and no one dare to touch me. Everybody afraid of him because he got a gun.

6.2.1: Peer network

Respondent commonly identify peer network as basic skills for fighting against hazard condition of street life. Establishing network seems crucial to achieve and avoid risk. Informants seem to utilizing their group skills as social capital. Social capital compress "the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enables its members to achieve their individual and community objectives" (Narayan 1997 in Rakodi 2002). Developing peer network among street children provides source of emotional support and protection. Time and again, informants reveal their friends group is their family and only source of trust in street environment. Sanjaya (Case 3) express is need of peer network in this following ways:

Before I started living with this group I used to live alone. It is very hard to trust someone and start living together for helping each other. but when I start living with this group I never think of leaving them. They are more than my family. They helped me when I got sick last month. I could not even stand that time and they gave me medicine and food. Here, in the street we have many problems to face so we need friend every time to help and get help. If I walk with group no one dares to touch us otherwise no one know when u will get beaten. Number of times other people beat me when I was alone in street but now it is very hard for other to touch us. We eat, live, fight and get security from our group.

Generally, street children forming group in order to get support, security and strength so that they will strongly fight with problems and smartly utilize the current resources. But the situation of Rakesh (case 6) was different. He stated:

Before I join this group I used to live with other group. I was small than other boy in that group. They used to command me and made me to do everything and I had to obey them always. Even if sometimes, I fail to collect good money they were ready to beat me. One day, they snatch my food and money and beat me badly and leave me to die here.

Key person has also reveals peer groups as one source of abuse to the other member of their group. She stats:

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Street children are among the abusers of other street children. It is modus operandi which can be transferred to the victims of abuse i.e. street children practice such abuse against other street children through learnt behavior. Street life is hard, and since the government is unable or insensitive to protect street children; they form groups, gangs or territories for their protection.

6.2.2: Socialization

Socialization involves the dual action of internalized and individuation including access to manifold system of interaction (Male wask-Peyre and Tap, 1991). Participant action of socialization is their external skills to utilize resources. As participant started to live in street, they seem to develop remarkable socialization skill to connect with other member and resources in the street. They developed skills to interact with people so that it will help them to acquire street capital. As Bronnfenbrenner's ecological model emphasized context and intraction as crucial and should analyzed in different perspective. He said, "system influences each other, as well as the individual, and the individual also exerts influences on the various system in which he or she participated" (1977). Children expose to the public and interacting with other member they needs different skills to be social around them. Divisions of dependency among other member of street culture shorten them from hardship of street life. Rajesh (Case 1) has comment on his street life in following ways:

It's been two years; I started living in this street. Everyone knows me. You see...that tea shop, it is my favorite place to pass my leisure time. Whenever, tea-shop aunt need me. I got there and helped her buying the goods from the market, washing dish and cleaning around. And because of her love, I never sleep without food. Yes, sometimes she yells at me when I am high but I know she is good at heart and I face more or less at home.

Some participant also express the possible danger of being socialized with everyone, so children like to assume the nature of stranger and treat them accordingly, though stranger offer is one way to survive but it does not seems without risk. Sanjaya (Case 3) has encountered bad times. He stated:

You should know people before to ask help because people here are beast. One day, I was befooled by one foreigner. He took me in to his room and tried to do the shameful work, but I managed to escape somehow.

Additionally, children are subjected to encountered sexual abuse by their own peer group. This is further reveal by key person, she states:

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Street children's sexual abuse is manifested in different forms, for example, exhibiting power and control is a cause to sexual abuse of street children which is committed by the peers. Numerous factors empower one to exercise such power, for example, age, experience, and street smartness of a street child; or being a vulnerable young and new entrant to street life.

From above mentioned statement, informants reveal their skill to recognize their own internal and external strength. These street competencies helped them to survive and avoid dangerous situation in their daily life. In this process of adapting street livelihood, participant perceived street as both as opportunity and hardship.

6.3: Managing street capital: opportunity and hardship

Utilizing street capital is only source of survival and earn among the street children. Informants seems to develop their street skills to fit them into the street environment and also constantly shaped by that vary environment. Their development of personal strength and external strength directly related to utilizing street capital. The availability of street capital is depends on individual knowledge for getting access to their basic resources such as, food (including drug), security, services and shelter. The most vulnerable, and marginal activities, such as begging, waste picking or prostitution. Goods such as water, food, and housing have to be bought in the market whereas in rural locations, for many resources, may not involve cash purchases (Meikle in Rakodi 2000). An informant has developed remarkable number of network for getting access to the specific resource to particular place and time. Niraj (Case 7) has

You know! Where I went this morning? I went to buy glue. I travelled long to buy it. Nowadays, police made it difficult to buy everywhere. I don't know why. But I know one place where police even has no idea. Once, I go there I prefer to by five packet of glue. Because I can sell remaining glue among other children and earn some money from. It is not so easy to buy and bring it here. You have to be smart to carry it secretly and will deal with police very confidently.

Above informant possess great deal of street skills to exploit resources that hardly available around. Livelihood approach helps to recognize that those who are poor may not have cash or other savings, but that they do have other material or non-material assets- their health, their labor, their knowledge, and skills, their friends and family and the natural resources around them (Rakodi 2002).They seem to use range of skills in order to get what they urgently

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needed. Begging, picking plastic, working, shelling items and robbing are the common activities children seems to engaged to obtain street capital. While indulging in these activities, participants encountered both opportunity and risk of street environment and with their skills they trying to capitalized resoesc. To understand their skills to grab opportunity and minimizing risk participant information were analyzing in two sub-chapters. First parts, focuses on formation of their gang culture through which they collectively strive to utilize resources. Second part deals on territorial procession to control their local resources form outsider.

6.3.1: Gang culture: security and abuse

Reorganization of street children's participation in on-street networks developed around more structured concept of street gangs and street group such as 'surrogate families' (Shanahan, 2003). Participant has been engaged in adopting street environment from daily encounter. In attempt to utilizing capital, participant has developed their own coping and safety strategies. In context of Nepal, gang culture is common phenomenon among street children. Key person has presents:

Gang clashes or violence against other gangs and street children occur due to various reasons, for example, protecting peers can be a factor. It is a mistaken conception that these groups or gangs possess only negative attributes. There can be a degree of loyalty attaching street children together. Street children can be sacrificial towards each other. For instance, they may spend all their income in order to help another. Sometimes, it is done with disregard to one's own situation even, for example, some may starve themselves even. It is a lesson to learn from street children's culture. This bond between street children is important to take into account. Organizations or homes may fail to provide such bond. Due to nostalgia, some street children return to the street even.

Participant reported their gang culture is one of the coping strategies to deal with hardship. On the other hand, participant happened to abuse by their own group member. Forming group in street helped new comer children to mix with elder street children so that they could learn socialization process quickly. Though, street children gang formation relevant to built their socialization process so that they can adopt street culture. It is further enforced by the statement of Niraj (case 7) as follows:

This street is not safe place to walk alone. I do not want to walk without group. In the night, if I walk alone other street group will mock at me, beat me even they loots my thing from me.

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But if I walk with my group we share our food and money and no one can touch us. Many times it happened one could not earn any in whole day but we share together and stay with them at night.

Here, informants reveal that with group they make street environment comfortable and find secure and strong enough to deal with their situations. Gangs are vital for sharing resources and information (Ennew and Swart-Kruger, 2003), protecting from outsider violence or harassment, offering support during illness or injury (Apteker, 2003: 23). Their group formation not only provides them to have maximum resources to capitalize but also create homely attachment among the members. Santosh (Case 5) has stated:

Nowadays, there are so many street boys in this area. And it is very competitive to earn. And it is very hard to survive if you do not have quick ideas about when and where to be at first to grab the thing. We will move to different place so that we can reach many places to search our goods at one time. If we get to know some opportunity we together try to catch as much as we can get.

Though, group formation is children's strategies to get access towards their resources as soon as possible and to get maximum of it. Children make tactical-if not strategic-decision to be on the street, whether to reduce harm or improve, socio-economic option for family or themselves (Benitez, 2011). Moreover, their collection of goods need secure land to take until they can utilize it with their member. But it is also revealed that participants were often mean of abuse by their own fellow group. Kancha (Case 4) shared his unpleasant time with his own group in following ways:

One night I was hungry and I did not have any money to eat. I came to my group my gang leader was eating biscuit at that time then I asked some from him. maybe he was high or what, he stand up and start beating me brutally. He drag me out and told me not to come in the again.

Above statement, participant formed their gang to create better surrounding but their vary gang is also potentially dangerous to their own member. Even though, participant seems to engage on their survival skill. Observing Participants it is come out to that they also engaged on exercising territorial control to consume its resources it is further explore in following sub-chapter.

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6.3.2: Utilizing space

Along with gang culture as discussed earlier, it is equally important to explore children process of adopting street environment by practicing territorial procession. Understanding how street children spatially construct their world is crucial then to understand their action, their collective identity and their relationships with one another and the wider population (Beazley, 2003a, 2003b, Ennew and swart-kruger, 2003). To comprehend how much children places role of territorial control in their daily activities for utilizing street capital, three major questions were presented to the participant during the interview; why you choose these place to live? What do you do if other group of street children comes to live here? What happened if you stop control this area?

The statement of the participant were similar idea of utilizing space that they influenced by the territorial procession in street culture. Their effort for utilizing maximum capital and divide it with only among their member shows their skills of territorial control. Implementing their power over their local resources is their effort to survive better in the street. Practicing space authority in street culture indicate children idea of place that contain something that a someone does not want to share with other (Larsen, 2003, p:218). Similar notion Hari (case 2) has stated:

When I first come into the group they taught me to fight for our place. We do not want to take our things from outsider. So as, other group does not allow to go their place so we do the same.

In my opinion, children value their territory is not only limited to control over the capital of particular place rather ‘ it is their home, it is safe rescuing area buffered away from danger of the adult world(Davies, 321). Children practices of boundary further stated by Rakesh (case 6) as follow:

From the beginning I started to live in this area. In this place we can earn and live in our own way. No one can touch me here. It is my home, here I can do anything and never have to afraid from outsider. We are tiger of this place. If some outsider comes to our place we kick them out. I do not want to share our thing with other and other group does the same.

Participants seem to engaged in securing their resources, children places territorial control as their inevitable process. In order to defend their boundary, street children trying to show their place as ‘tough’ and danger image among other children around the street. reports has reveals that informants like to present their place as dangerous place and want to show their group as

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strongest group for outsider. They were engaging to make their image and place frightening to secure their resources from outsider. Reports reveals that children trying to spread of their place and their group as danger so that no one dare to come to their place and always afraid of them. in this attempt children sometimes seems to engage in violent clash in case of possessing territory. Sanjaya (Case 3) has stated:

Last month one group of boys come to this place and trying to live in our place. As we knew that, our leader grouped us to drag them out. We together went there at that night. They were sleeping in our place then we started hitting them. they also hit back to us. Look! He was seriously injured and broke his hand and I was wounded badly in back. But we succeeded to beat them out from our place. After that every one afraid to enter in our place.

To sum up, the study shows that production of territory is related to the children attempt to control over the street capital. Children were constantly negotiating power and risk in process of processing their control. However, this study shows, practicing such boundary provides both security and risk. Because of their territorial procession street violation become regular phenomena among street children. but this procession also provides them positive impact in term of their exercising power and sense of belonging.

6.3.3: Consuming drugs

From the observation and interview, it is reveal that Nepalese street children hugely come under the influenced of substance use. This increasing use of alcohol, hashish and glue are popular among the children in street. To understand the reason behind their substance, participant were asked why they using drug? How you started to use it? Some informants willing to talk about but more often they feel hesitate. Participant reported to start using glue and marijuana to feel sense of togetherness among their fellow being. Rajesh (Case 1) has stated:

At first I only used to take smoke but as I began to stay with my group I really feeling not on the group and also feeling as outsider but as I taste it one or two times I really began to like it.

Children explained, they experiencing sense of excitement and freedom while taking different substance. Key person said “Substance use and abuse among street children is a prevalent dilemma. Almost all (90-99%) street children have misused one or many types of substances. Street children learn to use tobacco, and they shift gradually to abuse more detrimental substances, for example, dendrite, medicines, cough syrups, marihuana and drugged injections

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etc. Eventually, street children become addicted to it. Along with, they view glue as something that help them to forget their problem children also reported that consuming drug makes them their hunger away. Santosh (Case5) stated:

In our group we always like to have glue in our pocket. Whenever, we feel hunger and have no money to buy food, glue is best things to have. It will make no longer hunger and can sleep well at night.

Drug as means of suppressing hunger, to reduce anxiety, stress and depression and to help release anger, frustration, dissatisfaction with their marginalized role in society, seeking enjoyment, reinforcing solidarity and creating sense of belong and status within the group (Subedi, 1999). In addition, glue sniffing has negative impact in the livelihood of children and their coming future as well. Children seem to entangle in street hardship and become easy victim by general public. Though, it starts from peer influence but triggered to the possible danger in street environment. Key person has revealed:

Peer group pressure can play a significant role in influencing street children to its use. The group's characteristics, norms and values can affect street children to adopt such self-destructive behavior. Street children's need for belongingness and protection for the purpose of survival in the street can influence them to succumb into the group's "demands."
Therefore, street children's abuse of substances is sometimes learnt behavior, but Sometimes, it is a result of peer group pressure also.

Rakesh (Case 1) has bitter experience, he stated:

I do not know why I cannot stop taking glue. When I begin to start using drug i saw my other boys in group stands in the corner and sniffing glue one by one. Suddenly police came and everybody ran quickly except me. Police beat me number of times and drag me to the prison. That time I was really feeling hungry and afraid of police might kill me.

Key person has informed police as medium of abuse in Kathmandu Street, she states:

The police of Nepal can be insensitive towards street children. They can violate them physically and abuse them morally. Sometimes, the police performs "clean ups" in touristic areas where street children fall to be the major targets to police's harassment. The police's awareness of children's rights can be limited, which is a factor that may reflect their unethical conduct towards street children. However, the police system is being developed and their awareness of children's rights is improving.

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To sum up, children using glues to prove their membership among other children otherwise it would be difficult for new comer to integrate into the group and to participate in the street life without partaking in glue sniffing session (Apteker, 1996: 256). In my opinion, their participation among their friend in glue sniffing session gradually turned to be a necessity sometimes in the name of adventure and freedom and sometimes to forget hardship of street life. Therefore, drug plays a crucial role to tie them in street life and prolonged their hardship in process of surviving in the street life.

6.3.4: Coping with social stigma

Coping with social stigma in daily street life is one of the skills to turn their street environment into favorable to survive. Informants were victimized by various mean of social stigma in street. Participants were mean of daily rejection by so called mainstream society. Moreover, it was crucial to observe participants skills to cope with and even utilizing their own stigma to gain street capital. It is evident that children are subjected to stigmatized that evokes strong and contradictory emotion and present them as both victim and perpetrators. Participant's daily expose to the public space made them to meet people in different social setting place with expectation and demand with other (Goffman, 1986). When person bound to interact with the person who strongly differentiate one can be less desirable that the normatively accepted or anticipated, the person is reduce to lesser person who is stigmatized (Goffman 1986: 3)

In course of constant stigmatization, participants possess various ranges of their skills to come with those situations. But as degree of stigma move from blaming individual character to tribal stigma (Goffman, 1986: 3), participant seems to be ostracized by these levels of treatment.

Key person informed during the interview that children have been stigmatized by our society and it has great impact on children well-beings. She states:

Nepalese society is insensitive towards street children in general. Street children face stigmatization for being troublesome, delinquents, or failures of their circumstances. The public can lack insight about issues which cause children to become street children, or factors that force them into illegal activities. Street children's life stories reveal how society or the macro factors can affect them to become street children.

During collecting data, it was very difficult to ask about their stigma in straight forward way rather observation reveal that children regular encounter with various stigma shaped them to

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deal with their stereotypical image and to use it for their own benefit. Here, how case X has been playing his role for their group because he was only one deformed (get burn his right face and right hand). Rakesh (case 6) has stated in following ways:

(pointed to kancha) you see! He is the luck in our group. We called him "daade" (nick name whose skin has burned). He gets burn his face and hand when he was child. He himself have no idea when and how it happened. But it made him hero in our group. He can earn more than double than us in one day. When people see him feel piety and he is smart to tell story to win their heart. He sometimes made people cry. Then, people easily willing to give money and food. That is why he is our hero and we love him.

To sum up, informants has exercised every aspect of his resources to meet his survival needs. In process of coping with street life, children were encountered number of exclusion and stigmatization. He show his resourcefulness by turning his disabilities or deformity into opportunity to get benefit from the general public. Participant has also developed on telling effective make of story to arouse love and piety on public.

6.4: Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, study has presents children's activities and skills in process of living in the street. Informants have exercising different form of skills to turn new street space in favor to them. While developing coping mechanism informants come to the influence of both opportunity and hardship environment of street. Here, children are not deviated child as pervious study has stated rather they possess remarkable skill of socializing with other member in street. Moreover, children presents their social aspects that they had developed after enter into the street culture in order to cope with hardship. While doing so, children get benefited from their skills and encountered problem. For example as they express the events after formation of group. Children show their resourcefulness by showing their skills of both external and internal to balance power and risk of street life. Though street environment has provided maximum freedom, an informant has exercises remarkable number of structure and rules among the member. For example case X has honestly paid the money to tea shop aunt for tea and biscuits they ate. It is noteworthy that children by any mean strived to survive by creating remarkable skills to fight against the hardship of street life.

Chapter- 7: Interventional and its challenges in street children program

As I have argued in the previous chapter, children go through livelihood necessity and environment effect in process of restore in the street life; process which are shaped by various major and minor factors where children possessed remarkable survival strategies while adopting new space, i.e, street environment. Though, Street provides them their needs but also engulfed them into its negative aspiration to the streetism. Vary street turn into a mean of getting basic needs fulfilled and also become habit of life that hindered them to seek alternative space to move on. Though, there are number of NGOs and INGOs assisting children to find a better alternative than to end in the street but still remarkable result hard to get. In this chapter, I wish to discuss what service provider has achieved and struggle to accomplish in term of street children program. By presenting information from the key person of CWIN and CPCN, I will discuss on the challenges service provider and children are facing for effective intervention. Specifically, the effort and obstacles of current intervention on street children will be examine by considering the future challenges and organizational efforts.

7.1 Non-Governmental services and intervention

In Kathmandu, remarkable numbers of organization are actively working with street living children. I have selected key person's information out of two organizations. In order to have further knowledge about their current interventional effort, key person answer those program and their problems. Most of the organization has initiated by foreigners and depends on the funds from abroad, usually from USA and Europe. Key person from CWIN further informed:

Currently our organization offers different services in order to improve their situation including outreach program with street educators, basic needs provision, reintegration program family counseling and health care.

Likewise, CPCN also provided remarkable interventional idea for street children. It located in the same location where my area of study was selected. Children have enthusiastically mentioned about the organization for getting good service. Key person further added:

Our current service which we focused is day care center. By considering those children as free-wanderer and not like to bound with any type of rule and regulation. Then we started day care center where you can see number of children come and participate in our program. We place no obligation to children so that they do not feel any unwelcome atmosphere inside

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here. Though, we prohibit taking drugs but they are at least allowed to smoke cigarette. If they come give their time to us we can get more time to discourage them for leaving street life.

Both organizations show great efforts to intervene street children. Though, CIWIN focused on awareness through effective educational assessment by bringing former street children as social worker. While CPCN moved on providing less restrictive rehabilitation program.

7.2 Out Reach Program

In Kathmandu, number of non-governmental organization doing project as outreach program. In this program service provider seeks to contact with street children. Spokesperson of CPCN further added:

As long time children living in the street they are gradually habituate to live street life. During this time children developed special skills to deal with street situation and even acquire idea to get benefit from the other organization and individual. If we use our force on them we not only discourage them to participate in future program but also lose our trust from them. Our day care center provide service that can win their trust. Only after they shows their trust we can smoothly start our educational awareness in effective way.

Moreover, I observed outreach program is effective approach to deal with children productively. It shows street children of Kathmandu day by day they possess less trust towards welfare organization. In this program, street educator operates mostly in group of two or three person. First, they try to reach children where they are. They provide practical education to street children because it can help them to mix with society and initiate their willingness to interact with service provider. Up to this stage, social worker can intervene effectively by providing awareness on the possibility of living and encourage children to be ready to change from street life. This way organization providing effective program to change in children situation. Further, it made easier building trust between service provider and children.

Likewise, CWIN working with children by outreaching program by recruiting former street children as awareness provider so that result will generate effectively. Key person explain their current strategies:

Because we are oldest non-governmental organization, we decided to bring former street children who gets training about intervention and utilized their past experience in street. Reaching children out in the street might not that much difficult but involving them regularly

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in program is difficult task. It can be more effective when education provider convinced children as former street children and possible to get better life by giving his own example.

7.3 Daily shelter and rehabilitation

The main function of day shelter is to create an alternative environment for street children. Above mention NGOs provides daily service and rehabilitation to the street children. In current context, rehabilitation center does not providing remarkable solution to the street phenomenon. But they edited this service into more flexible that managed to attract children to their environment. Key person noted:

Our service to street children is obviously a rehabilitation center but we run it in new way in very democratic atmosphere that children like most in our services. Earlier, rehabilitation center came to be unfamiliar to street children choices and trying hard to change street children in short time. As a result most of the services did not produce satisfactory result. because children came, did not fit to totally different environment and ran away in the same way as they did run away from home earlier. Daily shelter turn to be park like atmosphere by providing day lunch, play ground, bathroom service etc, so that they do not feel jail like situation inside.

In term of filed observation, remarkable number of children shows their participation daily shelter. The open environment lure children. gradually children like to shift their street environment to daily shelter environment. Come and ready to talk with and be with program.

7.4 Challenges in providing services

In observation, key person reveal that number of efforts and strategies has made to get effective intervention in street children program, yet effective result and visible change in children life is hard to achieved. Participants faced various challenges while assisting children. limited resources and children participation came forth as major obstacles in any interventional efforts. Key person illustrated number of Problem behind limited resources and stress on condition of loosing children's in long term project and also lost faith on future project. Key person said:

Limited resources as one of the current huddle social worker has faced. In the street, children number are growing while limited resources become more limited to bring concrete result. especially, in children case we can easily fails to produce positive result unless we do not have sufficient fund to continue project. Because of limitation of resources social worker often fails to impress children as their well-wisher. It not only put organization impression negative

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in children's perception. As a result service could not manage its short time to win children's trust and participation.

Likewise, CPCN key person emphasized on possible worst situation without sufficient resources. He noted:

It is very hard to be positive service provider among street children. we always likely to lose our trust with fund provider and with children simultaneously. Moreover, children also start disbelieving on the services and organization. Due to the limited resources we neither presents satisfactory result in front of fund provider nor can we maintain our trust in same previous level.

7.5 Network and institutional cooperation

Number of NOGs and INGOs in Nepal has been playing remarkable role in street children program. Moreover, these organizations providing services to children that national government could not afford. Though, large number of organization running different interventional program but without sound cooperation with state effective result is hard to produce. According to CWIN's key person there is urgent need of strong network among organization and state cooperation. She states:

Sometimes, children's indifference towards our program is not that much problematic for us. Above that I see, there is urgent need of strong network between NGOs and INGOs. Then only we will be able to see visible changes in children's life if government shows their cooperation to the NGOs.

Further, key person of CPCN has focused on good cooperation among organization as key of getting better result in street children program. He mentioned:

Organization's current tendency to come as competitors against other organization made their effort worthless in long run result. Same children have been taken for interview number of time by different organization but in their daily life children see no changes. These organizational attitudes turn children perception negative on any further project. As a result they show no interest upon us. That is one reason children only come to your program in order to fulfill their current trivial needs like money and food. So I think, it is one of the present backdrops of our organization and is only possible when we can create strong network and cooperation among us and with states.

From the above information, it can be said that non-cooperative and weak network is present reality of Nepalese organization. Instead of unified together by building visionary network so

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that new program will come up effectively, most of the organization struggling to catch big fund from foreigner.

CHAPTER-8: CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

This study has attempts to explore the process of children moving towards streetism. Their street ward migration has been analyzed by understanding their livelihood and environment they have been adopting and exploiting in street life. In this study, through concept and theory, I have tried to reflect one part of participant life. For me as a researcher, it was challenging to decide what particular phenomenon was adequate to examine because all phenomenon seems equally important to have greater understanding of street children. Home environment, for instance, is primary place of social role for any human being, and thereby livelihood of home is source of affecting the condition of pushing and pulling factor to other space (street). Simultaneously, it stands as dialectical interplay between two spaces (home and street). In this thesis I have considered both space has important role to understand present condition of informants. My choice of analytical stance has directed by the selection of the theory in course of producing empirical data, if choosing different theoretical approach this analyze would probably have been different production. Case analyzed of participants' life was unique and complex and their process of entering into the different space are not easy transition. Both underlying and initial factor of home and street made the process more complex. For example, children who want to escape from the current condition of home environment, was going under the clash of different push and pull factor. On the way to entering into different space, such as case 7, whose condition of leaving home did not seem to be pressing in comparison to other participants but his initial factor made him to leave home.

Present chapter highlights the result of the research as well as discussion on why such results were produced. In this study, selected informants are children living in the street. This section will finally outline some recommendation along with the findings that might help for further reading in child studies.

8.1 summary of objective, theoretical and practical implementation

This research explored the process of children living in the street, their environmental effect and their coping strategies. The main aim of the study was to gain knowledge how children movement from home to street has been shaped by their livelihood and environment. Some of the question research attempts to answer were:

What factor makes children move towards other space?

How children rest in street environment in process of adjusting themselves in street capital?

Why gaining trust is major challenges to supervise children in intervention?

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Theoretical tools serve as a guide in research. Analysis has been used in order to obtain structural insight from empirical data source. Livelihood and environmental theory with stigma and social construction were the theories used in this study.

The main source of theoretical knowledge has been included from Bourneferen's ecological model and tried to present its effects on informants; ecological model talks about children's relation to their different sphere of environment. While Children's process of moving from one space to another has been analyzed with the concept of urban migration. Turton (2000) states, all reasons of displacement that are unmet by de facto protection of state within border.

Further, Bourneferen's highlights context that has been constantly shaping particular persons to take any action. He placed community, ecology and social relation as important ingredients to understand one's context. If this study viewed street children's condition as forced, it could possibly overlook their autonomy and their choice over their action. Likewise, this study included ecological model for understanding children's interaction to their environment.

Children's reasons for being street children have been examined by children and environment interaction. In which, relation of factors, gradual development and use of resources and street response has been analyzed through ecological system theory.

Livelihood theory has also been used by examining different layers of individual's capabilities and his/her material and social relationship. It is hypothesized that street-based migration of children are hugely shaped by poverty and survival. So, this theory has been utilized to comprehend children's survival necessity and the actions they deliver in street life. Moreover, this theory has also contributed to understand children's gradual movement to the particular space where other factors have been highlighted rather than revolving around the notion of survival and poverty. Sooner (1998), has viewed livelihood theory as an influential concept to understand others' life actions by regarding every action as an effort to convert into assets through structure and process. Under the livelihood concept, structure and process have helped to probe on possible intervention and its obstacles in context of street children. Moreover, it serves to provide a link between 'micro' (individual, household and community) and 'macro' (regional, governmental and powerful private enterprises) those effects on street children phenomenon (Sooner, 1998).

Likewise, stigma and social construction are other concepts that have been used in this study. Study reveals that informants have encountered different forms of exclusion and stigma that lead them to move on other spaces to escape. In order to understand the process of being in

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street, prejudice and discrimination has been analyzed by using Goffman theory of stigma (Goffman, 1996). His idea of stigma utilized by relating to the attributes and stereotypes that exists in our (Nepalese) society (Goffman, 1996). Likewise, concept of social construction of identity and image used in this study to understand how individual has been shaped by their existing society and how they encountered hardship and manage to convert it into assets.

This study chose qualitative method as data gathering tools. It is desired to obtain subjective understanding of particular area of study. Considering the nature of study, above approaches was regarded as applicable method in order to gain wider knowledge through interpretation of street children phenomenon. As stated by Bryan (2004), methodology is required for studying events and social world through the eyes of people that they study. Thus, the methodological selection also influenced by the objectives or purpose of the study.

8.2 Life history and ambivalent of street live

Most of the previous literature placed poverty as the prime factor of pushing children in street. But contrary to this idea, this study found children in the street is not simply the outcome of poverty. In other words, it is not all poor who live in street. It can be argue that there are number of factors has interplay before lead any children in street based migration. And other factor can be as decisive as poverty has been taken to be prominent factor. Therefore, one of the efforts of the research was to point out/find out those factor that contribute to develop the process to move children from home to street. By analyzing children's information, there are number of deterministic factor that potentially influenced and has influenced environment and children particular action. In other words, multiple factor like elder supervision, city glorification and parents command shaped children through the present condition.

In attempt to answer why children lead to live in street life, this study reveals that informant's escaping mentality towards their present condition gradually push them to live in street. But in case of other informants, elder supervision worked as catalyst to move them directly to the condition of being in street. The finding of the study shows that children are not simply move from home to street rather their environment and their response to the environment gradually proceed them to the street. Though children non-verbal expression and angst hints that street space has not fulfill their desire to have better place that they used to think it was.

Additionally, there is a wide difference between the informants and the public perception towards street life. Previously, general public often view as deviant child or uncontrolled children but informants did not always take street as wrong space for them. Most of the

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informants have shared their story of hardship and abuse and no more viewed street as good as they used to think before to enter into. It is revealed that children's long exposure to the street environment made them to come under the substance abuse. In context of Nepal, substance abuse becomes a means of increasing their hardship as well as street temptation. In short, public perception and the substance abuse can be taken as a root source of their hardship and temptation. However, informants seem to exhibit remarkable effort to make their street environment in favor of them. They seem to adopt street culture, developing personal and external skills, attitude and motivation to cope with new street environment. Though majority of informants came from the outskirts of Kathmandu valley but not all children condition to live in street because of poverty and family malfunction. Informants reveal that supervision and other forms of street attraction have played a vital role to lead them to the street. However, their movement from home to street was not always an autonomous decision rather it was the sum of their multiple attempts to avoid possible danger of present conditions.

This study focused on the children's process of transformation into the street children and tries to find out why a remarkable number of children finally rest in street. It also ventures into the informants' resourceful skills to cope with adverse situations of street life by self-portraying their vulnerable image to the public. Informants also reveal that initial hardship was shivering but as they live longer, street life has become sustainable and easy to deal with potential problems. On the contrary, key persons stress that children's longer exposure to street makes intervention harder to bring them back from street life. Moreover, the study also hints that lack of trust between children and social workers is a primary problem to have effective intervention in context of Nepal. While, children have been losing their effort for finding better space as they used to.

Baker (1996) mentioned, rural children in comparison to street children of Kathmandu have less access to basic needs and lower life quality but this study did not reveal that informants being in the street is because of their low life quality in home environment or they are in any means were hard to fulfill their basic needs in home. However, as Baker (1996) mentioned, informants in this study were economically active and resourceful in grabbing street capital.

Some might argue that I have given much emphasis to the process of street ward migration rather focusing on children's agency, by presenting children in ambivalent situations or perhaps that their decision to leave home was not a slow process. I have no aim to present

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children as prudent decision maker for choosing possible option. However, I have aim to show how children shaped by their circumstance while moving towards other space; staying home by enduring maltreatment, ignoring responsibility, stop looking at optional space, avoiding peer influence or transitional person, or by not escaping present environment of home. While on the street; staying on street with hardship, continuing living in poor condition, or sacrificing freedom and excitement of street life.

Summing up, this thesis sought to portray the process of children come to street by comparing the process of leaving home in order to see street children phenomenon in different dimension. As children step towards different environment, their perception of life and living has change. So, it will be very important to develop trust among them to start a journey for understanding them. Though children have been facing uncountable hardship in street they also assume themselves as having opportunity in street. Their mixed perception towards street life makes them stick to the street by enduring abuse and encounter. Their willingness to move on better space has been obstructed because of the lack of effective supervision and intervention on the basis of trust while, they are in ambivalent situation to the positive (temptation) and negative (hardship) aspiration of street life.

8.3 Implementation and recommendation for further reading

Finally, I would like to suggest further research areas, polices and implementation and assessment that might help future intervention to find their better place other then end up in the street. This study tries to dig out the children process of transforming from home to street rather than taking children migration to the street as liner movement. For example, children process of leaving home has shown to guide by number of factor mingled together from third party supervision to children's own glorification of street life. It would be rational, if policies and intervention aim to focus on those children who are potentially in process of being future street children rather than restricting only on fulltime street children. It might produce good result, if policies shift their concern from taking children out of the street by understanding their agency and their yarning for better space. Children self-perception of street as providence can further be supported by initiating those intervention that help them to developed more structured their entrepreneur skills in safe street environment.

In fact, present research is not only restricted to the life of street children but also widen the horizon of study by taking both space; home and street as reciprocal environment for shaping children to migrate in street. This outcome might help future intervention to comprehend

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street children phenomenon in large circle and contribute for better result. Likewise, study also focuses on street children skills and potential for consuming available resources that indicate children ability to turn their local (home) resources for uplifting their livelihood. Policies might pay close attention to their home environment and availability of local resources to reduce the flow of children to the street. Furthermore, study also finds the role of supervision and trust cannot be overlooked for any well-intended intervention.

There are still numerous questions to investigate in order to increase our understanding on street children phenomenon and more effective interventional support. In order to provide structural clearance the focus has restricted to the process only. One aspect obviously missing in this thesis is multiple forms of abuse children has been facing. It would be interesting to have further study on other area of Kathmandu Street and even other city of Nepal, but my work finished up to here.

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9. Attachments

9.1 Attachment 1 – Information letter / Observation

School of Social Work Supervisor:

University of Nordland E-mail: xxx

My data: Subash Pathak

E-mail: xxx

Telephone: xxx

Hello!

My name is Subash Pathak and I'm studying social work at the University of Nordland in Norway. Right now I'm writing my essay in social work here in Kathmandu, Nepal. This was made possible through a three months Field Study –as self-financing student.

My essay aims to illuminate street children process of coming to the street and their willingness to leave street. It is my interest to see how children and professional, look at street as temptation and hardship by view their pre-street life and after entering into the street life perception. My hope is that this essay will contribute knowledge to this area of investigation and show what could be possible understanding of streetism and its further intervention.

To understand this I would like to listen children's perception on their own phenomenon and social worker's information and therefore also have to ask informal question about their experiences and aspiration. The collected material in my participation and observation will be treated with great respect; it will only be used for the objective of my essay. Those of you that are participating will remain totally anonymous in the essay, and neither you nor your organization/the work place will be mentioned. Participation is voluntary, which means that you can cancel your participation in the project at any time throughout the process. If there is

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collected material that you don't consider adequate or that you simply don't want to go into the essay, tell me and I will not use it. Those of you that do decide to participate will receive the essay afterwards. It will be written in English, but I will make a small résumé in Nepali if you would like.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me by e-mail or by telephone. Best Regards / Subash Pathak

9.3 Attachment 3 – Interview questions to the key person

9.4 Attachment 4– Interview question to the informants (street children)

29. How come you lived on the street?

30. For how long did you live there? Where did you live?

31. How did you start to know the group? What did the group mean to you? What was good? What was bad?

32. How could a day for you look like on the street?

33. Did you get in contact with other organizations? How? What was good/bad with the organizations? Why? (How come you didn't stay at the organization?)

34. How did you feel when you lived on the street? Did you want something else or were you satisfied with your situation?

35. What kind of factors made you want to stay? What kind of factors made you want to leave from there?