

# SHADOWS OF THE STREET

Documentary about  
Street Children of Kathmandu, Nepal

Lawin Khalil Mustafa

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## ABSTRACT

Lawin Khalil Mustafa. *Shadows of the Street*. Documentary about street children of Kathmandu, Nepal.

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“*Shadows of the Street*” (2010) is a documentary about street children of Kathmandu, Nepal. The goal of the documentary authors – Lawin Khalil Mustafa and Ankit Khanal – was to develop a product applicable for raising public awareness and attention to social issues concerning street children of Kathmandu, Nepal. Street children are invisible in society and filmmaking is effective for promoting their visibility.

“*Shadows of the Street*” is a product which was developed by first conducting a situational analysis of street children who lived in Kathmandu, Nepal. Before production was initiated, the process involved a study of the theme through literature review and qualitative research. The research on the subject enabled preparation of an action plan, which was the foundation for the documentary production. Throughout the study and production process, data was collected through audio-visual interviews, non-formal discussions and observations. A field diary also supported documentation. In addition, the filmmaking approaches which were adopted for the production included the concepts ‘social filmmaking’, ‘video in development’, and ‘video for awareness raising’. The filmmaking process followed five consecutive stages: development, pre-production, production, post-production, and distribution and exhibition.

“*Shadows of the Street*” was published by the non-profit organisations Silver Lining Creation ry Finland (Silcreation) and Motivation for Achievement Group Nepal (MAG Nepal) on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2010. The documentary was screened in two events that were held in Finland and Nepal. Documentary was well-received by the audience and different authorities. Media coverage was also substantial.

The phenomenon of street children in Nepalese society is a constitution of various influences which root from feudalism, socio-religious and geo-political factors. Life in the streets is hard. Violence and abuse is everyday life for street children. Hero is an orphan who was driven to the street because of domestic violence but the root causes lied potentially within the exploitative power relations in society which deprived, impoverished and excluded the rural areas of Nepal. Hero is a child whose life story exposed tragedies, abuse, violence, innocence, denigration, pain, deprivation, cleverness and self-destructiveness. “But who listen to their problems?” said street children.

“*Shadows of the Street*” raises awareness about the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal. The documentary is meant for the general public and authorities who work with street children and wish to receive an introductory and holistic view.

Keywords: *Shadows of the Street*, street children, documentary, Nepal, awareness raising, product development, video in development

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

*“But who will listen to our problems?”* were words echoing throughout the city streets of Kathmandu. *“But who will listen to our problems?”* were words sung by street children about sorrow and hardships of their life in the street.

This study is centred on a product development project called “Shadows of the Street” (SOS). On October 2009, I and Ankit Khanal embarked on a mission with the goal to develop a product for the purpose of raising public awareness and attention on social issues concerning street children. “Shadows of the Street” (2010) is a documentary about street children of Kathmandu, Nepal. The documentary was published on 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2010 and it was a joint production between non-profit organisations Silver Lining Creation ry Finland and MAG Nepal.

Nepal ratified United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child (UN CRC) on 14<sup>th</sup> of September, 1990 (United Nations Treaty Collection). During the same period, Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Center (CWIN); a pioneer child rights organisation established in 1987, drafted or translated a Nepalese version of the UN CRC and continued to research and expose the phenomenon of street children in Nepal (CWIN-Nepal 2007, 2, 10). Since then, children’s rights have been promoted in light of the convention but its success is far from reality. The state of child rights in Nepal can be most visibly mirrored through street children’s existence and situation in the country.

Street children are an exemplary group of children who face exclusion in society. They are outcasts; invisible members of society whose lack of protection sets them at greater risk of facing various forms of abuse, violation and deprivation of their rights, for example, street children’s sexual abuse and exploitation is a prevalent dilemma. Though street children can be exceptionally visible in their features; then again their invisibility in society suggests a rather paradoxical conception. (UNICEF 2006, 40-41.)

Street children are ‘shadows’ existing in society whose rights are not only violated but their presence is also denied in society. Hence, the documentary suggests its title: “Shadows of the Street” (SOS). We envisioned providing a micro-and macro glimpse into the theme by presenting a street child’s life story (micro) and also including experts’ inputs (macro). Filmmaking is effective in promoting street children’s visibility and transference of social issues into public attention (UNICEF 2006, 80).

The duration of the filmmaking project was about eleven months (October 2009-August 2010). However, the first three months were the most intensive period of the project. During the production, the authors of the documentary were both social service students and also representatives of their NGOs: Lawin Khalil Mustafa of Silver Lining Creation ry Finland and Ankit Khanal of MAG Nepal. The participants of the documentary include street children and child protection/welfare experts of United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) Nepal and CWIN-Nepal. The filmmaking approach and process was framed within the concept of ‘video in development’, or more specifically, ‘video for awareness raising’. However, before beginning the production, the theme of street children was researched by conducting a literature review and qualitative study. Data was collected through audio-visual interviews of participants, non-formal discussions, observations, and by keeping a diary.

On a personal level, working in children and youth sector has been a priority since the beginning of my studies in social services. I intend to specialize in it because it is a fulfilling experience to support the next generation’s positive growth. After working with street children of Kathmandu in autumn 2009, I found a cause worthy to be involved in the future. It is a sensitive and challenging issue which raises a feeling of injustice within me. This is a motivating factor for my professional involvement.

In terms of professional development, this study can support me in numerous ways. Firstly, it serves me to build a holistic understanding of the topic. Such understanding will support me as a professional who will work with street children in the future. It will enable me to work more professionally in the mission to reintegrate street children into society. A street child’s life story can draw out how society influences the phenomenon (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2010). By comprehending the causal factors and the risks and dynamics of street life, professionals can improve upon

their capacity to build rapport with street children and design programmes and interventions which can promote street children's best interest and reintegration into society. Therefore, by embarking on this production, I will learn to build rapport with street children and take the various issues and dynamics of street life into account which influence children's vulnerability. Moreover, I will be able to build on my capacity to support their reintegration into society.

Secondly, my professional development of skills in production of social films and project management is an integral part of the process. Project work befits my interest and SOS enabled me to explore an unfamiliar realm: social filmmaking. Though filmmaking is a specialized field that is generally used for entertainment and commercial purposes, the interest of my professional development lies in using filmmaking as a method and films as a tool for promoting a social cause. Moreover, abolishing the concept of traditional filmmaking where the staff dictates terms of production, and instead, adopting a degree of stakeholder participation is also an interesting approach of filmmaking to study. In the case of SOS, promoting street children's visibility is an asset that filmmakers hold.

SOS is a product which is suitable for presentation to a wide audience. Its viewers may be the general public or different authorities who are involved with street children. The documentary provides an introductory and a relatively holistic view on social issues of street children living in Kathmandu, Nepal. Since the subject is wide and complex, the product yields an overview. Furthermore, the product is particularly relevant to Nepalese society. Nevertheless, it can be presented internationally because the issue of street children is a global concern.



## 2. INTRODUCTION TO STREET CHILDREN

Before beginning to explain about the project “Shadows of the Street,” I will briefly introduce the topic of street children. Firstly, I will define who street children are and then proceed to some of the statistics which will outline the numbers of street children that exist in Kathmandu, Nepal and worldwide.

### 2.1. Definition of street children

UNICEF’s definition of street children is widely adopted by various authorities and organisations. Street children are identified as boys and girls below the age 18 who are dwelling in the street – which includes vacated sites – and/or for whom; the streets function as a source of subsistence and survival. Moreover, the concept also encompasses children who lack or have little access to protection and supervision of their wellbeing. (Black, 1993.)

According to Thomas de Benítez (2007, 2), the definition of street children includes “street-living children” and “street-working children.” The former represents children for whom the streets have become home i.e. the space where they dwell and survive. On the other hand, the latter includes children who have families or guardians and a home where they return to at some stage of the day. However, they are distinguished to spend a considerable amount of time in the street doing various forms of street work in order to provide for their families’ subsistence. (Cited in Szanton Blanc 1994; Gomes da Costa 1997.)

Heidi Bjønnes Larsen (2003, 24) mentions another interrelated definition that was created by UNICEF (1996) to describe street children within sub-groups of children “of the street” and “on the street.” The former is used to describe children who are “street-

living children” and the latter for “street-working children.” (Cited in Panter-Brick, Todd and Baker 1996.)

More recently, Thomas de Benítez (2007, 2) regards street children as children for whom the streets play a cardinal role in their life. Streets denote a unique relationship with the lives that these children lead. However, the definition of street children is a contested one. (Cited in Rede Rio Criança, 2007, 18.)

In a report (2008) about street children, the NGO called Child Protection Centers and Services (CPCS) Nepal adopted the following definition of street children; a definition which is similar to the definition of European Network on Street Children Worldwide:

[Street children are] those who for the majority of the time sleep on the street and retain limited or no contact with their family of origin. These are in the majority, “abandoning” rather than abandoned children, who have generally left home for the street as a result of family breakdown and violence almost invariably linked to the stresses of extreme poverty. (CPCS and VOC Nepal 2008, 21.)

There definition of street children is wide-ranging but they agree on the basic notion that street children are distinguishable from other children in terms of their special relationship with the street. Moreover, they also present that street children cannot be identified as a homogenous group. There are a variety of situations or sub-groups under which street children’s relationship with the street can be characterized as unique. Regarding our documentary, the UNICEF definition of children “on” and “of” the street is adopted. Moreover, the perspective of street children being viewed as invisible members of society is attached with the product’s purpose to promote their visibility.

## 2.2. Estimations of street children

UNICEF’s estimation made in 1989 indicates that there are a hundred million children growing up in urban streets worldwide (Benítez 2007, 64). Over the course of fourteen years, these numbers have remained the same (UNICEF 2003, 37). Nevertheless, these figures are argued to lack validity (Benítez 2007, 64). Recently, UNICEF claimed figures as high as 100-150 million worldwide; where, South America is announced to occupy half the amount and Asia about thirty million (UNESCO).

According to a survey conducted by Child Welfare Society (CWS) for UNICEF in 1996, Nepal had about 30 000 street children; from which, 26 000 were identified as “children on the street” and 3 700 as “children of the street” (UNICEF and Child Welfare Society 1996, 2). CWIN reported (2002) Nepal having about 5000 street children, where Kathmandu was accounted to occupy 500-600 of them. (Rai, Ghimire, Shrestha, and Tuladhar 2002, 48). Recent statistics indicate figures as high as 900-1200 street children in Kathmandu (CPCS and VOC Nepal 2008, 15).

As one may deduct, the figures of street children in Nepal and in the world display distressing results. Moreover, the increase of the trend is even more alerting. Within six years (2002-2008), the rates have doubled (at max) which signal an alarming increase of the trend in Kathmandu Valley. This increase can also be noticed on national level. However, it is challenging to estimate the number of street children nationally and globally. Some of the numbers projected by organisations and individuals are claimed to lack validity (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009). Low or high numbers, it is still unacceptable for any child to be exposed to a life in the street where their right to safe environment and development opportunities is denied.

The article 2 (Non-discrimination), states that all children have the right to be treated fairly no matter what the background or other classifications. All children should be treated in a non-discriminative manner. (UNICEF.)

### 3. GOALS AND FRAMEWORK OF SHADOWS OF THE STREET

‘Shadows of the Street’ (2010) is a documentary which focuses on the subject of street children. The reasons for embarking on such a project was guided by the authors’ – Lawin Khalil Mustafa and Ankit Khanal - motivation to engage with the public in order to raise awareness on issues concerning street children. Hence, our goal was to develop a product in purpose of raising public awareness about the situation of street children who live in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Reporting about the situation of street children in Kathmandu was divided into two parts. Firstly, our objective was to describe the causes of the phenomenon, and secondly, to give an account of children’s life in the street, for example, its challenges and risk. Although the scope is limited to Kathmandu, the documentary sets to expose trends which exist on national level i.e. trends which push or pull children in Nepal to live in the street. In addition, it is important to clarify that inputs to the documentary in the micro level were focused on the life story and social issues of our participants (street children). Moreover, the macro level inputs were connected with the organisation’s inputs to the product.

The questions which defined the production or area of interest are enlisted below:

1. What are some of the micro and macro level factors that cause children to become street children?
2. In the micro and macro level, what does life in the street entail for a street child? This is approached in different themes, for example, sexual abuse and exploitation, dynamics in peer group, and substance use and abuse etc.
3. In what ways and to what extent street children of Kathmandu experience the violation of their rights?

Regarding the third question, violation of street children's rights is considered in the light of UN CRC. Nepal ratified the UN CRC in 1990 and enacted the Children's Act in 1992. Direct references to the articles of children's rights were not intended to be used within the documentary. However, the report will highlight some of them.

Furthermore, a more rigorous description of street children's situation in connection with the documentary will be implemented in order to provide depth on the topic, and also an academic base for reliability of the product. The time-frame of the documentary was insufficient for providing a detailed coverage of the theme. The duration was kept short because of two reasons: firstly, it was planned to provide an introduction to the theme, and secondly, to keep the viewer's interest.

Regarding SOS, the expected outcomes of the project were the following:

1. The product's capacity to raise awareness and interest regarding street children is potent. Documentary is well-received by the audience of future screening events.
2. Upon viewing the documentary, the general public and authorities in contact with street children become more sensitive to street children's situation. This is especially relevant to Nepalese society.
3. Raising awareness about the issue may influence individuals to challenge the discriminatory framing of street children and support promotion of their visibility, protection and social inclusion in society.

Considering the outcomes two and three, our limitations lie in measuring the long term impact or outputs of our activities. Due to lack of resources, monitoring and evaluation of outputs associated with raised awareness prove to be a challenge.

However, unlike advocacy, raising awareness does not necessitate a follow up. These two concepts may appear similar but they have differences. In advocacy work, the social change is sought more strategically. It plans to influence a specific target group, for example, by pressuring decision makers. Also, it measures a specific output, for

instance, the policy changes regulated through pressure building. On the other hand, the target groups of 'awareness raising' activities tend to be broader. However, they can also be specific. But 'awareness raising' aims to highlight or alert the audience about specific issues, and in the process, it builds on their understanding. Therefore, it can aim to persuade a social change; but in comparison to advocacy, it does not pursue it as thoroughly. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 5-17.)

Considering these differences and limitations, the first outcome of our project is the only one which can be addressed realistically. Other outcomes are the long term outcomes which can be influenced as a result of raised awareness. Measuring these outputs or outcomes is beyond our reach due to lack of resources. Therefore, the second and third outcomes will not be addressed in this report. Our primary goal was to produce a documentary which serves to raise awareness about the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal. Measuring these long-term implications of the project was not included in our aims.

Regarding the base, I shall explain why SOS is beneficial for street children. UNICEF (2006, 40-41, 75, 80) stresses importance in advocating or raising awareness about social issues of street children in the public level. Street children are acknowledged as a special group of children who are invisible in society. Moreover, street children's exclusion in society and lack of protection provided by the state sets them at a greater risk to face different forms of abuse. Media or filmmaking is profound for promoting street children's visibility and also transferring media agendas to public agendas.

Mass media is an asset because it can influence the public climate. Its short and/or long term, indirect and/or direct implications can be beneficial for street children. Media as a platform can be used as an extension to challenge the discriminatory framing (attitudes, stereotypes and practices) of street children. In the process, this can promote a social change in the public level.

Documentaries which touch real-life stories of street children can be effective for meeting that change because it raises people's understanding about the difficulties and risks that they face in the street. Upon such awareness, people can become more sensitive about the circumstances of street children.

#### 4. NEPAL: DOCUMENTARY PRODUCTION ENVIRONMENT

This chapter will describe about the project environment where SOS was produced. The importance of this chapter is not only to provide a description of the country, but to also explain how the environment is connected with the phenomenon of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal. Therefore, I will begin first by introducing the country and then advance to its history, governance and cultural diversity etc. These sub-themes are connected with how children have been influenced to lead a life in the streets.

##### 4.1. Introduction to Nepal

Nepal is a country located in the South Asian region in the Himalayas and between India and China. The country's total population is estimated to be twenty-eight million (Population Reference Bureau 2010, 8). Nepal; accounted to be the oldest country in South Asia, is one of the few developing countries to have never experienced colonization. (Malik, Kennedy, Oberst, Kapur, Lawoti & Rahman 2008, 371.)

Nepal's topography and ecological diversity can be distinguished into three different levels: The Terai region in the south which constitutes about one-sixth (17%) of Nepal and it is a region known for its flatness and agricultural and tropical richness; secondly, the Hills region in the central part of Nepal which makes up bulk of the country's area (65%), where the capital (Kathmandu) city is located also; and lastly, the third includes the northern mountainous region which holds about one-sixth (16%) of Nepal's land area where the famous Mount Everest also resides. (Nepal Channel.)

In terms of segregation and diversity, these regions have a social, cultural, religious, political and economic significance in people and children's lives. Moreover, these domains have also contributed to the phenomenon of street children. The reasons will be explained in the following threads.

#### 4.2. Glance into history and governance

Nepal is a Hindu Kingdom. This was true until 2006 when the country was declared as a secular state. Before that, the King was regarded as the rightful guardian of Hinduism and Kingdom of Nepal. (Malik et al. 2008, 377.)

As a nation, Nepal was unified by the Gorkha King Prithvi Narayan (1722-75) in between 1768-75. After his succession to the throne in 1743, King Prithvi followed his father's (Narbhupal Shah) quest to gain dominion over Kathmandu Valley, which he succeeded in 1768. Thereafter, the king's spread of rule advanced across eastern Nepal, and to some parts of modern Sikkim. Nowadays, the Gorkha King is acknowledged as the King of Nepal and also as the creator of modern Nepal. But in present, much debate circulates on whether he was a unifier or a conqueror. (Whelpton 2005, 35, 247.)

Since Nepal's unification as a nation in 1768, the rule over Nepal has experienced various shifts. Nevertheless, Nepal has dominantly been a Hindu Kingdom until 2006. In a nutshell, the governance of Nepal shifted from the Rana regime (1885-1951) into a blended form of governance principles and system which comprised the monarchy, political parties and foreign relations with the Indian government in between 1951-91. Nepal's first experimentation with democracy was short-lived (1951-60). After that, an ideology of an indirect, non-party and guided democratic system with the king being recognized as the ruler was followed by the nation. This form of governance was called "the panchayat system." The panchayat system lasted for three decades (1960-90), after which, a milestone transformation of the political structure occurred in 1990; a period referred to as the "People's Movement." During this movement, the public or supporters of democracy demonstrated and pressured the king to adopt a parliamentary and multi-party democratic system; which also turned into a reality, but in connection with constitutional monarchy (CIA World Factbook). Nevertheless, the milestone events of 1990-91 succeeded to reinstate democracy in Nepal once again. (Malik et al. 2008, 377, 386-389; Whelpton 2005, 61, 113-115, 202.)

Moving onwards, a key period which affected the security and political instability of Nepalese state was the outbreak of civil war called "The People's War." The civil war was initiated by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in 1996. According to



Whelpton, the root cause of the war resulted from the distress of widespread poverty in Nepal. However, other reasons also influenced breakage of the war, for example, the communist movement's importance amplified with the opportunistic period to initiate a civil war when the power and governance structure of the state was fragile. (Whelpton 2005, 202.)

The war against government and the king lasted a decade. In between, a critical event which also received widespread and international exposure was the royal massacre that took place on 1<sup>st</sup> of June 2001. It was a shock-event, after which, Gyanendra ascended to become the King of Nepal on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June in 2001 (Whelpton 2005, 211-13). The post-events following the royal massacre and King's ascension were critical in Nepal's history. Upon the state's failure to organise a new democratic election, the King dismissed the formerly elected government and replaced it with another. However, through violent demonstrations which occurred in 2006 (Democracy Movement or People's Movement-II), former political parties and the public succeeded in forcing King Gyanendra to withdraw from power. During that period; Maoists and the interim government also made reconciliation. (Malik et al. 2008, 397-8.)

The aftermath followed to a national election which was held in April 2008. As a result of it, a new Constituent Assembly was established and Nepal was declared a Federal Democratic Republic state. Therefore, constitutional monarchy saw its end officially. Since then, the government has functioned in principles of democracy. A new Constitution was to be mandated in order to mark a new era in Nepal (Malik et al. 2008, 399). But numerous challenges exist in applying democracy with present reality. For instance, the fusion of pluralism and democracy under the principle of equality and respect of diversity (caste systems and indigenous cultures) is a major challenge for the government of Nepal (Bhattra, 2004, 1). Furthermore, conflicts between the Maoist fraction and other state parties have been continual (CIA world factbook.)

#### 4.3. Pluralism and inequality

Nepal is a pluralistic society. It is diverse in its religious and ethnic composition. Majority of the Nepalese are from Hindu background (80.6%, 2001); after which,

Buddhism comes to be the second most practiced religion (10.7%, 2001). India and Tibet have significantly influenced Nepal's culture and ethnic make-up. Caucasoid and Mongoloid are the two dominant racial groups comprising the most population of Nepal. These two groups are further divided into four major groups: Caste Hill Hindu Elite (CHHE), Adivasi Janajati, Madhesi, and the Dalits. (Malik et al. 2008, 378-381.)

Malik et al. (2008, 379-380) state that CHHE are the "upper-caste;" the most influential group to shape Nepalese society in enforcement of their religious and cultural traits. Bahun and Chhetri are major sub-divides within the CHHE group that constitute less than one-third (31%) of the total population. However, their potent grasp of the public, private and third sector reaches 60-90 percent. (Cited in Newpane 2000 and Lawoti 2005.)

Secondly, Adivasi Janajati (indigenous nationalities) are a heterogeneous group of people which consist more than sixty sub-divisions, for example, the Newar who are concentrated in urban areas; a group whose socio-economic conditions are favourable to a certain degree. Adivasi Janajatis are mostly Tibeto-Burman speakers who descend from the Mongols. Overall, they form about 37 percent of Nepal's population and differences between the sub-groups are seen in their socio-cultural position. Despite the group's diversity, what unites them is the cultural discrimination which they face from the state and dominant caste-group (CHHE) of Nepal. They are subjected to the state's Hindu-based assimilation policies. (Malik et al. 2008, 380.)

Thirdly, Madhesis are a group with a rather complex identity. Madhesis; a group distinguished to comprise Indo-Aryans mostly, are a territory-based community situated in Tarai region of Nepal. The Tarai region is diverse in its ethnic and cultural composition. The total population of Madhesi is estimated to be slightly over 32 percent. Much like the Adivasi Janajatis, they also experience segregation from state and the more potent groups of hill-side society. However, they can also face two-folded discrimination; firstly for being a Madhesi, and secondly, a Dalit or an Adivasi Janajatis living in the Madhesi territory (Tarai). Before 2007, Madhesi's right to citizenship was denied under the basis that they were viewed to be immigrants (Indians). Their allegiance to Nepal was questioned. (Malik et al. 2008, 381.)

In the caste or social stratification system of Nepal and Hinduism, Dalits are regarded as the lower class or “untouchables.” Dalits are divided into four sub-groups: Madhesi Dalits, hill Dalits, Himalayan Dalits and the Newar Dalits. Their population is estimated to equal 14.99 percent (2001) of the total population. Dalit’s social, cultural, political, and economic discrimination and exclusion is intimately linked with Hinduism. They face harsh discrimination in Nepalese society, for example, their status of being “untouchables,” or disallowance in entering homes of the upper castes and certain holy places are contradictory issues against human rights and the democratic principles of Nepal. (Malik et al. 2008, 381-382.)

Although caste-system is legally abolished and it is gradually fading in the urban areas; its practice in the Nepalese society is prominent still (Malik et al. 2008, 383). Promotion of equality and preservation of the country’s heritage and cultural diversity are recent challenges for Nepal’s democratic state (Bhattarai 2004, 1).

#### 4.4. Environment and street children

The social, cultural, politic, economic and religious domains of Nepal have significantly influenced the phenomenon of street children. This thread will describe how the environment has contributed to the social issues of street children in Nepal.

In 1998, World Bank released a report about the level of poverty in Nepal. It stated that the domain outside Kathmandu Valley is significantly more poor and unequal. Rural parts of Nepal were ten times poorer than Kathmandu. Furthermore, literacy rate was three times lower in rural areas than in the capital. Therefore, rural areas of Nepal where 90 percent of the total population resided were significantly marginalised and impoverished in comparison to Kathmandu. (World Bank 1998.)

Presently, Nepal has displayed stunning improvements in terms of its human development. Human development (HD) is defined as:

the expansion of people’s freedoms to live long, healthy and creative lives; to advance other goals they have reason to value; and to engage actively in shaping development equitably and sustainably on a shared planet. People

are both the beneficiaries and the drivers of human development, as individuals and in groups. (Klugman 2010, 2.)

In terms of human development, Nepal is among the rapid movers since 1970. Despite its challenges and history of conflicts, it has shown significant progress. However, the country still remains poor. According to the human development index (HDI), it is ranked 138<sup>th</sup> from a number of 169 countries. In terms of HD, Nepal has much to develop yet. Challenges related to development in areas of education, health care and inequality between Kathmandu and rural areas of Nepal remain to be addressed. Due to ethnicity and caste, certain groups continue to face discrimination and marginalisation in Nepalese society. To some degree, feudalism still has a place in Nepal. Inequality continues to be a prominent dilemma in Nepalese society. Analysis of the HD report indicates that Nepal would be about a third higher if it were a more equal society. (Klugman 2010, 54.)

Children are significantly affected by the caste system. CWIN reported that about three-fourth of street children from 180 respondents were categorized within the inferior caste and ethnic groups of Nepal. (Dhital, Gurung, Subedi and Hamal 2002, 11.)

Sumnima Tuladhar 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, the trend of migration to urban areas including Kathmandu increased because of families and children's aspiration to develop upon their deprived conditions. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

One of the greatest challenges facing Nepal is to provide employment opportunities for its growing population of young people. The lack of opportunities to earn a decent income in many rural areas was a fundamental cause of the armed conflict and remains a root cause of poverty and the main reason why hundreds of thousands of Nepalis leave home each year to work outside Nepal. (UNDP Nepal 2009, 34.)

In addition, the decade long civil war displaced many families and children and influenced children to the streets (Bhanu Pathak, personal communication 14.12.2009; Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009). About 51 000 people were

internally displaced by 2004 (Tiwari, Ghai, Levit-Shore & Baral 2009, 22). Lack of security influenced the trend of rural-to-urban migration which increased vulnerabilities of families and children, and affected children to work in the street (Southon 2004, 2).

CWIN reported that child labourers of Kathmandu were mostly from migrant families. Rural areas faced neglect and various deprivations. Poverty or socio-economic conditions, socio-cultural background, and lack of educational opportunities in rural areas were some of the numerous factors that influenced families and children to migrate into urban areas of Nepal. Development was highly concentrated in Kathmandu also. In combination, these functioned to push or pull families/guardians and their children to migrate into city areas. (Gurung and Hamal 2000, 2-3.)

In the urban areas, the guardians and children were vulnerable to face exclusion and various challenges related to their integration, for example, some engaged in petty jobs; some were unemployed due to lack of education (illiteracy) and skills; or some children were involved in street-based work for families' subsistence. Thus, generational poverty set numerous children in the risk-group of becoming street children. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009; Field diary, week 44 2009.)

These facts were confirmed during my internship in the child centres. Many children in these centres were from migrant families who were pressured to move into urban areas due to their socio-economic conditions and security situation which was affected by the civil war in rural parts of Nepal. (Field diary, week 44 2009.)

#### 4.4.1. Misconceptions and volitions of families and children

According to Quoc Duy Tran, an international and field work expert in Vietnam, the causes to the phenomenon of street children can be divided into three levels: "economic migration, broken families and mindset problems." Mindset problems are related to the mentality and life choices of children and parents, for example, children may choose to live in the street due to aspiration of "freedom at all costs," or parents' negative attitudes towards education of their children and a higher priority to earn income which can drive

children to work in the street. Nepal and Vietnam have similarities in terms of these levels or causes. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 46-47.)

A group of children who are particularly vulnerable to become street children include those who do not attend school but are forced and carried by parents or guardians as a source of income for families' subsistence (Sumnimar Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009). Similarly, Bhanu Pathak, the child protection specialist of UNICEF, stated that from 46-47% of the total population of children in Nepal, 15% were "out of schools" (international standard i.e. age under 18). These children are vulnerable to engage in different work areas, for example, carpet factories or street-based work. (Bhanu Pathak, personal communication 14.12.2009.)

Furthermore, children's misconceptions about cities or urban areas having much resources and opportunities influence them to migrate into such areas. However, in the urban areas, they come to face numerous hardships and deprivations, and in the process, they become street children because they may lack guardians who could provide care to them. (Bhanu Pathak, personal communication 14.12.2009.)

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. (Sumnimar Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

The survey conducted by CPCS Nepal (2007, 40-41, 50-51) presented that 65% were forced to move into Kathmandu in search of jobs; 55% had dreamt coming to Kathmandu; 25% had come for education; and 12% cited the political situation being a factor. Regarding migration to Kathmandu, 29% came independently, 22% came with their friends, and 41% came with their families, guardians and relatives. In terms of way of separation, the majority (81%) had "run away" from homes; 17% received approval from their parents or guardians; and 2% of the children were lost.

#### 4.5. Organisations

The organisations which are concerned with the project will be covered in this section. In total, I was affiliated with six organisations, from which, two were related to internship and the other four to SOS.

In autumn 2009, I conducted my internship in two child centres: Children's Food Programme-Nepal (Bal Bhojan) and Bal Kendra of Child Welfare Society (CWS). Apart from internship, the project "Shadows of the Street" was initiated in Kathmandu on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October. The study experiences during internship and visits to other organizations were beneficial for production of the documentary. Firstly, I will describe about the child centers that were related to my internship.

##### 4.5.1. Bal Kendra, Child Welfare Society

Bal Kendra of CWS is a child centre involved in preventative work. The organization aims to promote social inclusion of children who are at a particular risk to become street children. Therefore, children who are in the risk group to face exclusion due to their vulnerability and deprivation of basic needs and rights such as education, health and sanitation defined service users of the centre. Generally, these service users were from disadvantaged families, for example, displaced families who came from rural areas of Nepal due to civil war, poverty and hopes of a better life. However, some of the service users can be involved in street work in order to earn income for their families' subsistence. According to UNICEF's definition, such children are identified as "children on the street." (Field diary, weeks 42 & 43 2009.)

Children in such disadvantaged conditions were victims of generational poverty who were also at greater risk to become street children and face social exclusion. Provision of education, recreational activities and basic needs are the key services of Bal Kendra. Although the organization holds a night shelter, street children do not drop in there because of the location's inconvenience. (Field Diary, weeks 42 & 43 2009.)

#### 4.5.2. Children's Food Programme-Nepal

Children's Food Programme-Nepal is a child centre similar to Bal Kendra. With exception, Bal Bhojan's services include outreach work for children who work and live in the street. The basic function of outreach work is to provide for children's basic needs, for example, distribution of food rations. But its long-term aim is to engage and build rapport with street children in their environment, which supported social workers to advocate their social reintegration into society. (Field diary, weeks 40 & 41.)

#### 4.5.3. Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Center (CWIN-Nepal)

Apart from the child centers which were relevant to internship, I visited four organizations in request of possible contributions to the documentary. These organizations were the following: Voice of Children (VOC), Child Protection Centers and Services (CPCS), Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN), and UNICEF-Nepal. The latter two responded positively. VOC and CPCS are two organizations that work with street children. But due to minimal contact and lack of formal relations, these organizations will not be covered in the study. However, their contributions were welcomed.

Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre (CWIN) is the pioneer child rights organization in Nepal which was established in 1987. CWIN was the first organization to work in areas of child rights, child labour and street children. In its beginning years, CWIN translated the UN CRC into Nepalese. Thereafter, the organization proceeded to raise awareness about children's rights in Nepal. (CWIN-Nepal 2007, 2, 10.)

CWIN is a versatile organization involved in preventative and curative forms of work which promote children's welfare. The organization is identified as a watchdog for facilitating and preserving children's voice and wellbeing. CWIN protects accountability of the government in order to ensure that children's rights are met (CWIN). Therefore, advocacy work is integral to CWIN's mission. Moreover, children's protection, socialisation, reintegration, empowerment, social inclusion are



some of the key terms which shape CWIN's service model. Children who are the most vulnerable are in particular priority of CWIN. (CWIN-Nepal 2007, 2, 10.)

Before CWIN's establishment, the phenomenon of street children was unknown to the public. Street children were perceived as "poor children of rural areas" and little was known regarding their life in the street. In addition, their condition and dilemmas were neglected in urban areas. CWIN's leading studies launched in different parts of Nepal supported to expose the phenomenon in public level. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

#### 4.5.4. United Nations Children's Funds (UNICEF)

UNICEF is an international agency of the United Nations (UN) which promotes children's welfare and rights globally. In the aftermath of World War II, UNICEF was founded by UN in 1946 to ensure children's wellbeing. In 1953, it was established as a permanent body of the UN. Over the course of its history, the agency has acquired various landmark achievements, for example, Convention on the Rights of the Child; an international child rights treaty ratified by the UN General Assembly in 1989 which was a milestone success in achieving rapid and wide-spread recognition. (UNICEF.)

UNICEF works to promote children's rights under the principles and rights of UN CRC in 190 countries. UNICEF has functioned in Nepal for a period of 42 years engaged in development of different service areas for children, for example, basic services, community empowerment and mobilization, promotion of children's education and protection etc. In the 2008-2010 programme strategy, UNICEF placed particular attention on most vulnerable group of children – the poorest and excluded - and young affected by conflicts of civil war. (UNICEF.)

Regarding street children, UNICEF has had involvement, for example, in building capacity of local organizations that work with street children. For instance, CWS has received support from UNICEF in order to extend its outreach work services where street children received non-formal education, counseling and support to attend Bal Kendra. (UNICEF and Child Welfare Society 1996, 27.)

A milestone event initiated by UNICEF and CWS's was "The Nepal Street Children's National Convention" held in 1993. Numerous NGOs and INGOs such as CWIN and Plan International contributed to the programme also. The Convention was organized for two reasons: Fostering children's awareness of their rights and a platform for free expression, and secondly, to expose and publicize the issue of street children nationwide. The participation of 175 street children, general audience, and numerous public, private and third sector bodies and authorities served to meet those goals. It was a turning point for transferring the social issue of street children into public level. (UNICEF and Child Welfare Society 1996.)

#### 4.5.5. Silver Lining Creation ry Finland (Silcreation)

In the course of producing SOS, I presented myself as a social service student and representative of Silver Lining Creation ry Finland (Silcreation). Silcreation is a non-profit social media organisation which focuses on various developmental issues of developing countries: Poverty alleviation, gender equity, child and human rights, alternative energy and development initiatives, and the global concern of environmental protection etc. The organization is situated in Järvenpää, Finland and it was established in 2009. Promoting volunteerism is the fundamental principle of the organization. (Silver Lining Creation.) Personally, I am appointed for the organization's development and international cooperation affairs.

Among some of the organization's activities, Silcreation has an online course called "Fundamentals of Social Filmmaking." The concept of social filmmaking is defined in the methodology part of the study report. Apart from that, the organization releases a quarterly publication called Global South Development Magazine (GSDM), which is a magazine that reports on development issues. The magazine is managed by an international team of country or regional correspondents, for example, Pakistan, Tanzania, South Asia, Middle East and South America etc. (Silver Lining Creation.)

Although GSDM has a specialized staff; in its essence, the magazine adheres to the concept of citizen journalism because Silcreation seeks to empower individuals as active agents of social change and not as passive recipients. Therefore, the phrase

embedded in GSDM states “where people become reporters.” In mid-October 2010, the organization also launched a broadcast channel called “Global South Development TV.” It is a twin platform of GSDM which gives voice to independent social filmmakers, development activists, citizens or the grass roots people and others who seek to make contributions regarding developmental issues. (Silver Lining Creation.)

What connects Silcreation with SOS is the theme’s relevance to the organization’s mission and activities, for example, using the media in order to promote awareness or advocate about developmental issues of street children. “Shadows of the Street” was published in Silcreation on 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2010. (Silver Lining Creation.)

The long-term goal of the organization is to wire a virtual and global community that is active in the developmental area to promote the marginalized people and communities’ welfare. To a small degree, Silcreation has succeeded to receive a glimpse of it, for example, Silcreation’s correspondents of GSDM, international cooperation affairs, and successful delivery of social filmmaking courses have shown the rapid progress of the organization. In the future, Silcreation aims to manage development cooperation projects in developing countries also. Silcreation is a people-centered organization where individuals and communities are viewed as agents of social change.

#### 4.5.6. Motivation for Achievement Group Nepal (MAG Nepal)

MAG Nepal is an NGO in Nepal which was established in 2005 by a group of young professionals in the fields of social work, information technology, media and mass communication, and also management. Eradication of social problems in the nation is the drive of MAG Nepal, for example, problems in areas of substance use and abuse, children’s education and rehabilitation, and women’s empowerment. Many organizations are accounted to work in these areas but public’s awareness is not effectively addressed. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 20.11.2010.)

The organisation is committed to social issues related to social justice and human rights. Moreover, it bases its motivation on sustainable development. According to the organisation’s beliefs, freedom of speech is a basic human right which translates to

various sustainable development initiatives. Access to information is considered to be an essential service to making of informed decisions at all levels. MAG Nepal is committed to dissemination of information and promotion of sustainable development initiatives in respect to the needs of the underrepresented and marginalized individuals, groups and communities of society. MAG Nepal aims to bridge the data gap and improve people's access to information. It is committed to establishment and development of a platform which enables greater participation and sharing of experiences, knowledge and skills. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 20.11.2010.)

MAG Nepal's objectives and areas of interest are the following: Substance use and abuse, women's empowerment, and child protection. Substance use and abuse is a major dilemma in Nepal. Many individuals or youngsters lack awareness about the consequences of its use. MAG Nepal activities advocate youngsters about the harms of substance abuse. Secondly, although women have been empowered more in Nepalese society, there is much room for improvement still; for example, in the area of women's education. MAG Nepal advocates for women's rights and challenges gender disparity. Thirdly, children's education and protection is also an area where MAG Nepal functions. MAG Nepal provides non-formal education, recreational and cultural activities, advocates for street children's reintegration, and supports children in general. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 20.11.2010.)

Recently, MAG Nepal launched an educational programme for the Dalit children in remote areas of Kathmandu. The Local youth's participation is indispensable to sustainability of the programme. MAG Nepal has also initiated an awareness raising programme for the street children of Kathmandu where the focus is set on sanitation. Other activities include the program of household waste management in different parts of Kathmandu Valley, for example, Ramkot, Ichangu, Teku and Bhimdhunga. The participation of students from St. Xavier's College and local youth has been significant. Recently, MAG Nepal and Silver Lining Creation ry Finland published the documentary SOS and held an exhibition on August 6<sup>th</sup> 2010. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 20.11.2010.)

## 5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY BEHIND SOS

Research served as the cornerstone for producing SOS. It enabled the authors to produce an action under which the production was carried out. Moreover, researching supported to build an understanding on the theme which was necessary in order to adapt to the process of production.

Although this section is focused on the research part of the project; and not as much on the filmmaking, these processes overlapped with each other also. The project included two interrelated processes: Studying the phenomenon of street children through qualitative approaches, and secondly, producing the documentary under the concept and methodology of ‘social filmmaking’ or ‘video in development’. Researching was an ongoing process. It was synonymous with the production process also because new participants also participated in production of SOS.

Therefore, it is advisable not to view it as an exclusive process, but to consider the connections between researching and filmmaking, for example, situational analysis (study of the theme) of street children supported production of an action plan which enabled us to produce the documentary (social filmmaking). Figure 8. “The five stages of social filmmaking in “Shadows of the Street”” illustrates an overview of the different stages and activities of the documentary production.

### 5.1. Qualitative study

Qualitative research employed with ethnographic approach supported the production of SOS. Ethnographic approaches were adopted during the situational analysis and production process also. Situational analysis involved literature review, discussions with street children in their environment, and interviews. On the 8-9<sup>th</sup> of November 2009, I

and Ankit Khanal collected case studies of three street children. In addition, my internship experiences in the two child centres built foundation for the production.

Ethnography is a research method interested in the close study of how human beings lead their lives; how cultures develop; and understand the connections between culture and people and group's behavior or lifestyles. Ethnographic research describes different social and cultural phenomenon in limited number of cases. (Penn n.d.)

Ethnographic researchers work in the field with an aim to collect data by living among the concerned people or communities of the society. Here, researchers participate and observe their subjects in variety of levels or aspects, for example, everyday life or cultural traditions and rituals and their association to the phenomenon. Ethnographers aim exclusively and comprehensively to understand the phenomenon from the "native's point of view." Among ethnographers, such perspective is defined as the "emic perspective." Although ethnographers' relationship with community is subjective, it is yet a requirement to process gathered information objectively. In other words, the discipline of ethnography seeks to avoid assumptions and conclusions that are guided by the researcher's beliefs and attitudes. (Penn n.d.)

This method is more applicable to the centres where I conducted my internship. I spent a period of three months with children who were in the risk group of becoming street children. Moreover, some of them could also be identified as "children on the street." However, I was not able to visit the homes of these children, which sets some limitations upon the extent to which this method was used. In addition, outreach work with children who lived in the street served to provide an ethnographic perspective to everyday life of street children also. Regarding outreach work, the duration of time spent with children who lived in the street was about two weeks.

## 5.2. Situational analysis of street children in Kathmandu

Situational analysis was a process carried out before initiating the production process. This period was exclusively for researching. The purpose of it was to study the topic of street children in order to develop an action plan for production of SOS i.e. it functioned

as a bridge. Literature review and methods of qualitative data collection were employed in order to study about the situation of street children who live in Kathmandu, Nepal. Situational analysis was conducted in mid-October 2009 until 9<sup>th</sup> of November.

Situational analysis is a deductive process which identifies and prioritizes issues of a target group, area or issue. These priorities are addressed in the action plan of a development project. (UNESCAP.)

Situational analysis enables us to explore and assess the “social, economic, environmental, physical, political, cultural and institutional” factors that influence conditions of a particular issue, group, or an area. The study of past and present factors is part of the analysis. In general, it adopts a holistic approach in study of the phenomenon in order to understand its current state. Building such understanding supports construction of a development plan. (Philippine Council for Sustainable Development n.d. 26-27.)

Since one of the key questions of our development project focused on street children and their rights, conducting a ‘child rights situational analysis’ was necessary for making an assessment of how street children’s rights were violated.

Child rights situational analysis is a more specialized form of situational analysis. It sets to make a situational analysis of the fulfilment and deprivation of children’s rights in a given context. Identifying opportunities and barriers that allow or disallow children to exercise their rights is part of the analysis. (Save the Children 2007, 21.)

### 5.3. Data collection

Generally, studying about the phenomenon of street children was an ongoing process during my internship period i.e. it lasted for three months. Nevertheless, SOS was initiated in mid-October 2009. This is when study of the theme i.e. data collection was carried out more systematically and in direct relation to the documentary. But the study experiences in internship built a foundation for the project.

Throughout the internship period, data was collected through observations, non-formal discussions, and audio-visual interviews. Interviews and non-formal discussions with street children were beneficial for collecting case studies i.e. set the basis for micro-level inputs into the documentary. Furthermore, interviews with professionals who worked with street children provided valuable macro-level inputs into the documentary. In addition, diary keeping was a tool used for documenting my observations, non-formal discussions and the product development process. The formal interviews conducted with street children and professionals were documented audio-visually.

### 5.3.1. Informal discussions and interviews

Informal discussions with street children and children at risk of becoming street children were carried out between 1<sup>st</sup> of October until 21<sup>st</sup> of November. But the period during which we engaged with street children in direct relevance to our project was between 8<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of November. It was during the end of pre-production stage and it lasted until end of the production phase.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of November, we had non-formal discussions with three street children in order to learn about their situation and build rapport for the purpose of recruiting them as volunteers to our project. We conducted the formal interviews on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November. By definition, one of the child was identified as “child of the street,” and the other two as “children on the street.”

However, outputs of two street children will not be incorporated in the study or product because of their withdrawal in between the process. Therefore, the interview conducted on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November will refer to Hero solely; the main participant of the documentary who was identified as a child who lived in the street. Apart from Hero, we also interviewed and had informal conversations with numerous other participants (Hero’s peers) of the documentary in the production phase which was in weeks 46-47 2009. Nevertheless, the primary sub-participant was the leader of Hero’s group.

Due to language barriers, Ankit Khanal conducted the interviews with street children. The interviews were carried in an employer’s work office. I received translation during



the interview. It enabled me to participate and guide the process also. These interviews were conducted for two reasons: to study the phenomenon of street children, and secondly, to acquire case studies in order to develop a story line for the documentary. Hence, interviews functioned as a bridge for the micro-level inputs of the documentary.

Interview questionnaires were set up on four areas: basic profile, causes for becoming a street child, description of street life, and lastly; issues related to leading a life out of the street. However, a special emphasis was placed on describing life in the street within seven subthemes: street-based work; sexual abuse and exploitation; substance use and abuse; other risks such as health problems and sanitation; affairs with NGOs; authorities and public treatment; and affiliations with peers, groups/gangs. The themes which overlapped these seven sub-themes were subsistence, self-destructive tendencies or fatalistic behaviour, child abuse, reintegration into society, attitudes and approaches of society, and finally the environment or dynamics with peers, groups and gangs. (Field diary, week 45 2009.)

Apart from street children, two more interviews were carried out in mid-December with experts or organisations who worked with street children. The interviewees were from UNICEF Nepal and CWIN-Nepal. Regarding the former organisation, the interview was held on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and for latter, it was carried out on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2009. I was the interviewer and these interviews took place in the organisation's premises.

The professionals' contributions served to provide macro-level insights on the theme. These were then fused with micro dimensions of the documentary. Regarding questionnaires, the areas of interest were similar to street children's questionnaires but they were adapted to provide a macro level perspective. Some differences included defining the definition of street children and providing various quantitative data regarding street children, for example, the numbers of street children in Kathmandu.

### 5.3.2. Field diary

Diary keeping was crucial for documenting the production process i.e. informal discussions, observations, description of organisations and overall findings etc. Diary

entries were kept on weekly basis and throughout the internship period. In terms of the study report, particular emphasis is set on entries between October and December 2009 because this was the most intensive period of the project when the activities were carried out at the local environment.

### 5.3.3. Data analysis

The data which was collected through methods of audio-visual interviewing or making observations and field notes was analysed through the method of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was conducted in two stages of the documentary production: Pre-production and post-production. However, the former was relevant to selection of the participants and production of the action plan, and the latter was connected to final production of SOS. Therefore, they served different purposes.

Thematic analysis is a form of analysis which involves the breakdown of data into themes and sub-themes. It is a process where the collected data (transcripts, field notes etc.) is reviewed and coded into different themes and issues relevant to the subject. In practice, one approach is to construct a matrix which states the core themes of the data acquired, for example, sexual abuse and exploitation of street children or causes to street phenomenon of street children etc. (Bryman 2008, 554.)

Regarding SOS, a more detailed process description of how researching and analysis was conducted will be provided later. The following chapter describes about the situation of street children who live in Kathmandu, Nepal. The information portrays how the authors aimed to receive a micro- and macro level insight on the subject in order to produce the documentary.

## 6. THE SITUATION OF STREET CHILDREN IN KATHMANDU, NEPAL

In this chapter, I will be using data from the primary and secondary sources in order to explain about the situation of street children. The information gathered here includes the case study of a child named Hero and interviews of other street children and professionals who work in the child protection/welfare sector.

Moreover, the data collected from these participants will be mirrored against previous literature in order to describe about the situation of street children in the macro level also. Furthermore, the data used here is relevant to the issues raised in the documentary. After explaining about street children's situation in Kathmandu, I will proceed to describe the methodology and process of filmmaking. This chapter is significant for presenting some of the outputs concerning the situational analysis.

In order to describe the situation of street children at a micro- and macro level in context of Kathmandu, Nepal, the integration of participants' outputs with previous literature is necessary because we were unable to carry out (time-barrier and lack of resources) an extensive quantitative survey about the situation of street children. Furthermore, since the documentary functions as an introduction to the theme, this part of the report supports to provide a more detailed account of street children's situation.

### 6.1. Hero: The case study of a street child

The case study or the main participant of the documentary is a child named "Hero." "Hero" is a pseudo-name which was sentimentally given to the child by other street children during his participation in SOS. Therefore, I decided to refer him by the same name in this study also. In this section, I will introduce his background briefly. Moreover, I will outline the causes which forced him to a life in the street, and then, I will proceed to mirror it against the situation of street children in macro level.

### 6.1.1. Background

Hero is a child who has been living in the streets of Kathmandu for about four years. But by origin, he is from a village. In beginning, the child came to Kathmandu with his father in order to admit his mother to a hospital. After his mother's death, the father began to work as a porter in order to manage the household. However, he also passed away due to an accident. As a result, Hero became an orphan and without any siblings to care for him, he moved to live with a relative of his in a village. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

The new environment was not safe for Hero. His relative "hated" him due to the father's death. He used alcohol and abused the child by battering him. Once, Hero was also stabbed or cut with a "khukuri" (Nepali knife). One day, the situation escalated to such a level that Hero had to flee from his home. Apparently, the relative battered and forced him to leave the home. This event had marked the day of his entry to the street. Therefore, in the child's version of the story, domestic violence was cited as the reason that led him to live a life in the street. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

In the macro level, street children are majorly perceived to be orphans. However, the survey conducted by CPCS in 2007 indicates that orphaned street children are in the minority group (6% from 430 respondents). The majority had parents or guardians, for example, 63% of the street children stated having both parents. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 48.)

Domestic violence is one of the major causes why children become street children. About half (51%) of the respondents cited this as a reason. Ill treatment can result from families or guardians being poor or lacking parenting skills. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 44, 50.)

### 6.2. Street life

This section describes about the life circumstances of street children in a holistic manner. It will provide an account of what life in the street entails for a street child. The structure of this description is divided thematically, for example, substance use and abuse, or street-based work.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify the interviewees or participants of the documentary. Although this study refers to the participants as street children, it is important to take into account that the term “street children” is a stigmatising term. The term is necessary to use in order to identify the group. However, street children should be appreciated as individuals and not recognized as street children only. The following table enlists them and their roles:

TABLE 1: Participants and their roles in the documentary

Participants	Role
Hero	Street child who has lived in the streets of Kathmandu for about four years. He is the main subject of the documentary.
Group leader	Main sub-subject of the documentary. He is also a street child who lives in the street.
Other participants	Street children who are within and outside Hero’s network.
Sumnima Tuladhar	Advocator, Secretary of CWIN-Nepal
Bhanu Pathak	Advocator, Child protection specialist of UNICEF-Nepal

### 6.2.1. Street children: visible or invisible?

Street children are distinguishable by their visible features. At the same time, they are paradoxically invisible in society. Street children’s lack of protection from state level and invisibility increases their risk to face abuse. (UNICEF 2006, 39-42.)

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 2009, we saw a street child who had sniffed glue and the public was passive and had ignored the child at his state. SOS was inspired by it. Street children appear to be invisible in Nepalese society. (Field diary, 17.10.2009.)

Filmmaking pulled people’s attention and narrowed the distance between them and street children. However, much interest was shown towards our activities and

motivation than street children. Nevertheless, filmmaking was effective in sparking conversations about the topic of street children. (Field diary, week 46-47 2009.)

Hero, the main participant of the documentary, often experienced neglect when he was begging. However, there were moments when he was acknowledged also. Hero described a certain group (confidential) and “big sisters” (women) being more prone to sympathize upon the situation of street children. Hero had an extraordinary ability to tell the capitals of any country. At least, he never went wrong in our test. It was a useful tool for making an income through begging. (Field diary, week 46-47 2009.)

Nevertheless, goods are not always given to street children as an act of goodwill. On the contrary, the group leader of the documentary described about the case of a street child whose innocence was exploited. The foreign paedophile had lured the child with goods which resulted in him being abused sexually. (Field diary, week 47 2009.)

In militant terms, aid is described as a non-lethal weapon which serves “to win the hearts and minds of the indigenous population to facilitate defeating the insurgents” (Oxfam 2010). In this case, it is the fragile “minds and hearts” of children. Aid is rather effectively used as a non-lethal weapon against street children. It is a mask which uncovers to their turmoil. Immorally, street children’s challenging circumstances of making ends meet is an “opportunity” exploited by paedophiles in order to abuse them sexually (Field diary, week 47 2009).

Street children can be rather visible targets to experience mischief, and what amplifies it, is society and government’s inability or insensitivity to protect them. Protection is the key word! Building a safe environment for the positive growth, development and survival of children is embedded in the core principles of national and international child rights instruments. UN CRC outlines two articles which are particularly relevant to street children: the rights to protection from “violence, abuse and neglect” (Article 19) and “economic exploitation” (Article 32) (Black 1993, 9). This chapter outlines the numerous ways in which street children experience the violation of these central rights.

### 6.2.2. Street-based work

Hero's begs daily in order to make ends meet. His income ranges from 50-100 Nepalese rupees per day. This sum is equivalent to buying two portions of rice. Hero's nutrition depends on rice, beaten rice and noodles. Moreover, in some evenings, he even sleeps to forget the pain of hunger. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

Begging was the form of street work that was videotaped due to its present relevance in Hero's life. But in the past, his subsistence was also dependent on rag-picking or conducting micro buses. Rag-picking ended when he suffered an injury caused by collecting recyclable goods. His job as a conductor also ceased due to employer's suspicion of theft. Hero claims to be innocent. Conducting micro buses enabled him to receive a meal and earn 50-100 rupees on daily basis. Hero stated that it is unrealistic for him to save his income due to gangs. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

Street children engage in different types of street-based work for survival and joy of freedom. Street-based work includes a variety of work: rag-picking, begging, conducting buses, street vending, or illegal activities etc. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 23, 56.)

Children involved in rag-picking collect recyclable goods which are sold in junkyards. Begging is the most visible form of street work. Hero aspires to become a driver (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009). Apparently, many street children dream of micro-bus conducting jobs. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

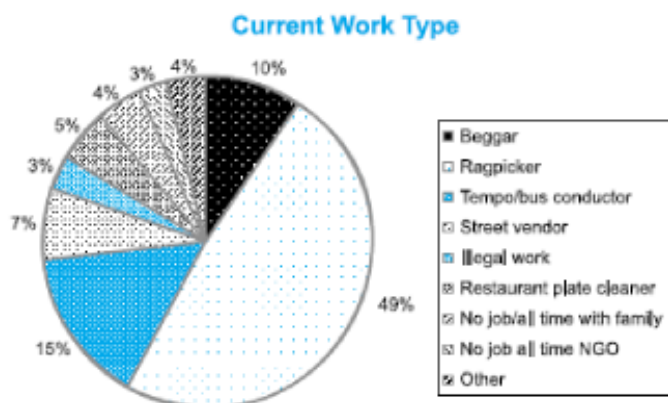


FIGURE 1: Current work type, 430 street children (CPCS Nepal, 2007, 54).

Figure 1. above indicates that majority of street children do rag-picking (49%). The minority do other forms of street work, for example, begging (10%), or conducting micro- and tempo buses (15%). Some are also engaged in illegal activities (9%). The majority claim to be happy at their work (69%). (CPCS Nepal 2007, 23, 56-57.)

Street children's income varies between 50-500 rupees a day. On average, street children earn about 100-200 rupees a day (38%). Secondly, a high percentage (35%) earns about 50-100 rupees daily. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 56-57, 61.)

A study on poverty illustrated that the developing countries, such as Nepal, were poorer than what they were thought to be. In 2005, the international poverty line was \$1.25 a day. Poverty line is a tool used for identifying the extreme poor. The people who fall below the poverty line are considered to be the extreme poor i.e. individuals who will face challenges in meeting their basic needs. (Chen and Ravillion 2008, 10; Haughton and Khandeker 2009, 40, 45.)

In relation to the international poverty line, Hero income is between \$0.71 (lowest) and \$1.42 (highest) a day. Deducting from that, the rate at the lowest is about half the amount below the poverty line, but at highest, it is slightly above it.

However, although poverty is defined on economic basis, it is yet a multidimensional concept which involves various social, cultural, political, and economical domains, for example, the inability to exercise freedom of speech or gender disparity are examples of poverty being a broad concept. (Haughton and Khandeker 2009, 2-3.)

### 6.2.3. Substance use and abuse

Glue sniffing is inherently a part of Hero's life. "We look up to the sky and clouds and see the gods and goddesses," were Hero's words about the imaginations that he holds with his peers when they are high because of glue sniffing. Hero's reason for using dendrite (glue) is caused by his tension of being an orphan and the feeling of "hate" which people hold against him. Peer group pressure may also be a factor. Because of raised tolerance, the "high" effect is not long-lasting for Hero. Hero knows the



consequences to his health but he continues it nevertheless. There was a stage when he used dendrite on daily basis. But nowadays, its use has reduced. Nevertheless, Hero feels addicted to it. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

Outside formal relations, we crossed roads with Hero upon two occasions when he was under the influence of glue sniffing. Our consultant informed us that street children easily access glue and other substances. Apparently, shop sellers sell them even upon awareness of its misuse. (Field diary, week 48 2009.)

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 then overtime, they shift gradually to abuse more detrimental substances, for example, dendrite, medicines, cough syrups, marihuana and drugged injections etc. Eventually, street children become addicted to it. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.) Since the main participant of the documentary uses only dendrite, special emphasis is set on it.

Figure 2. indicates that the majority (80%) of street children have abused at least one type of substance. Alcohol, hashish and glue are the most commonly used substances, and on similar levels (31-38%) also. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 73, 75.)

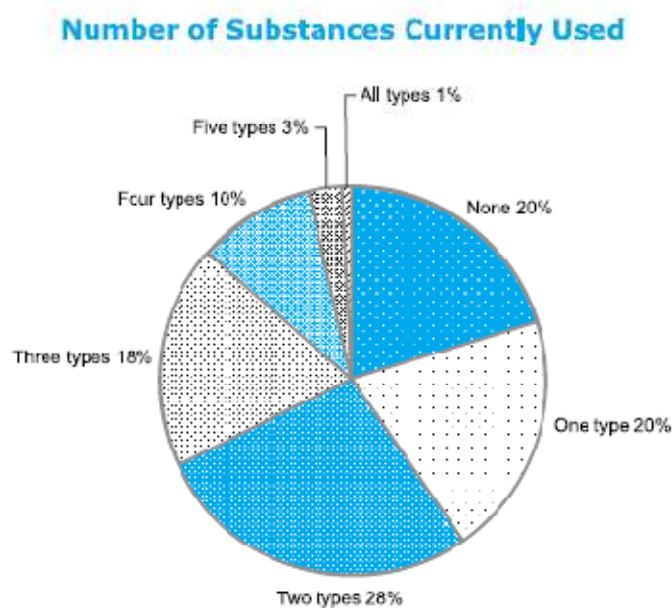


FIGURE 2: Number of substances currently used, 430 SC (CPCS Nepal 2007, 73).

Glue sniffing is a major and widespread addiction among street children. Children who are new entrants to street life are also prone to become addicted to it. Research indicates that a high percentage (43% of 118 respondents) of street children abuse glue in varying amounts (Rai et al. 2002, 49).

Substances are easily available in the market, for example, hardcore drugs such as cocaine, heroin and other drugs. Dendrite is the most affordable and easily accessible. It is not illegal even. Street children inhale glue through plastic bags. This is a widespread and visible trend in the Nepalese society. At first, the public was unaware of it. It was perceived as an innocent play of children. But people became aware of it overtime. Nevertheless, they still remained passive and insensitive to it except for some individuals and media's interventions. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

Figure 3 below presents that 31% of street children misuse glue currently. 42% have never used, 25% stopped and 2% state having used it once. Though some stopped its use, research indicates that the majority (58% of 430 respondents) of street children have or are still using dendrite. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 77, 78.)

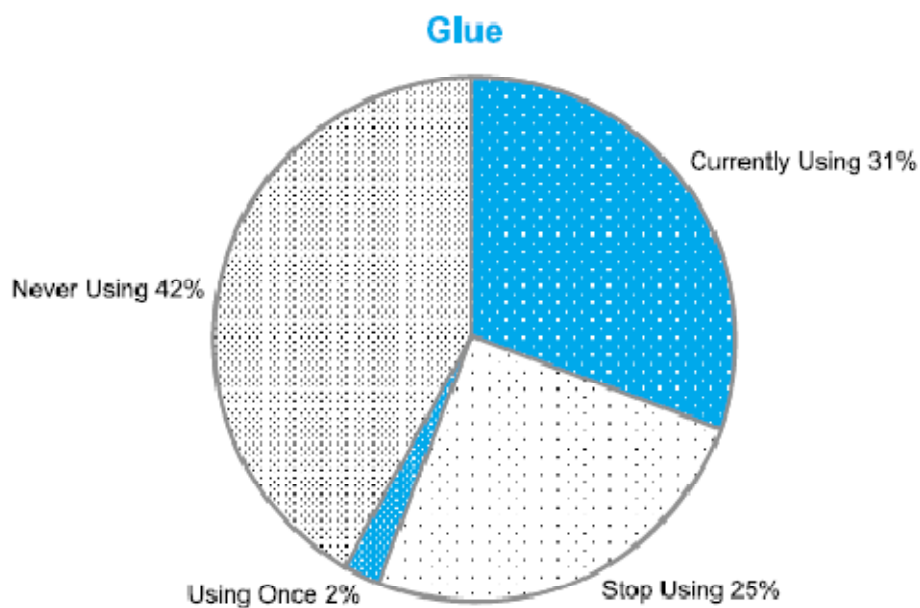


FIGURE 3: Use of glue, 430 SC (CPCS Nepal 2007, 79).

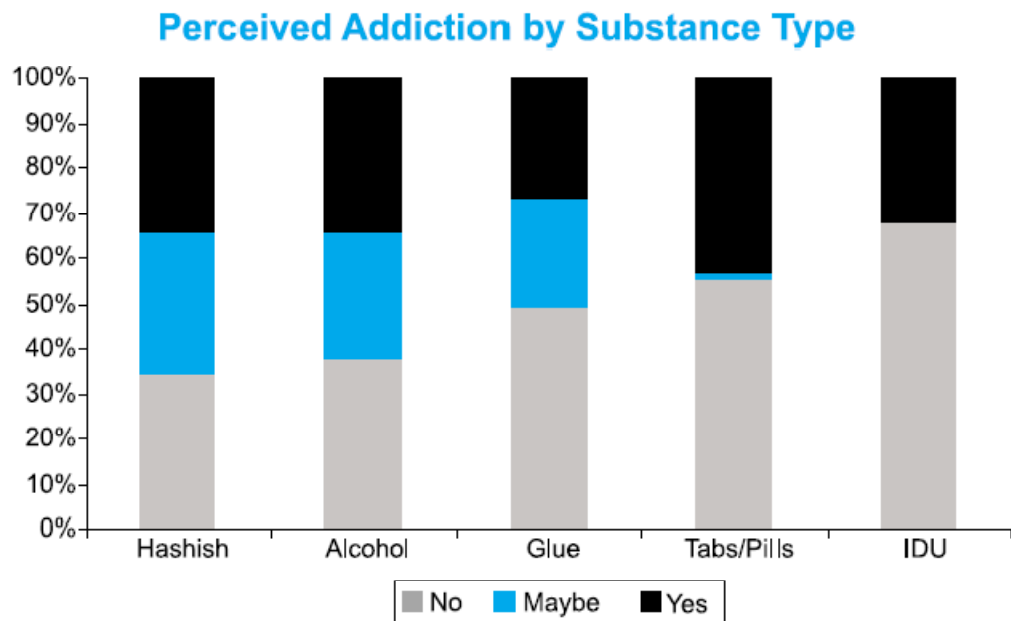


FIGURE 4: Perceived addiction by substance type, 430 SC (CPCS Nepal 2007, 79).

Figure 4. reports that 49% viewed themselves being addicted to the use of glue. However, researcher's analysis of perceived addiction to glue presents a different result: 25% were viewed to be addicted and 24% were potentially addicted. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 77, 78.)

What are the reasons that influence street children to use substances? 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 behaviour. 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 behaviour, but sometimes, it is a result of peer group pressure also. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

In addition, street children have misconceptions about substances being antidepressants or intoxicants that enable them to forget their painful life circumstances. This is a factor which influences street children to misuse substances also. Furthermore, hallucinations are described as "the most precious times of their lives" where they imagine "flying

over the sky,” or being “gods and film stars.” Lastly, some street children adopt a fatalistic mindset which is a risk factor because they build disregarding attitudes towards their existence. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

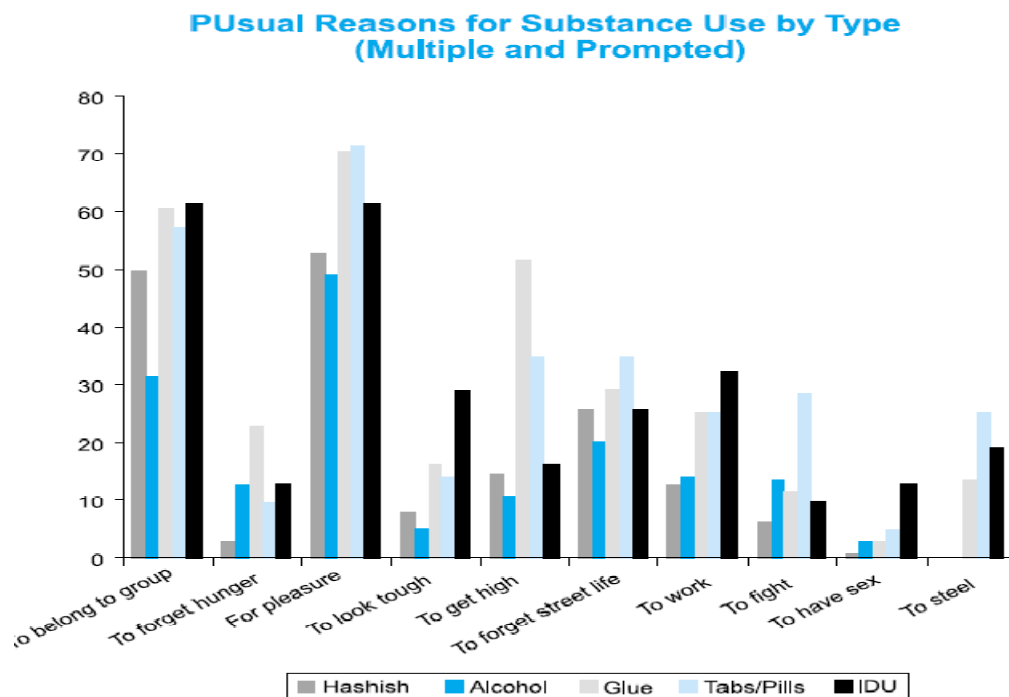


FIGURE 5: Reasons to substance use, 430 street children (CPCS Nepal 2007, 80).

Figure 5. demonstrates that the primary reason (for all substances) why street children misused substances was “for pleasure.” Belonging to a group was the second reason. Regarding glue sniffing, pleasure (70%), the need for belonging in a group (69%), and getting high (52%) were the main reasons why street children used glue. Moreover, other reasons included forgetting hunger (23%), work (25%) and forgetting street life (35%). (CPCS Nepal 2007, 79-80.)

Apart from arrests by the police, glue sniffing is the major cause of conflicts with social workers, friends and other people. The numbers of conflicts with the latter two groups have been particularly high: 15-17 incidents. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 83.)

#### 6.2.4. Dynamics in peer group

Hero belongs to a gang or group whose activities revolve around rag-picking and begging. The group has pressured him to earn an income in order to purchase glue. It is challenging for him to save earnings because of other gangs. Hero's group does not place any restrictions or rules in joining a non-governmental organisation (NGO). (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

Once, he used to attend one also but then fled because other street children had harassed him. Hero has expressed fear in joining an NGO because of conflicts that could arise with other street children. But he has experienced harassment and demoralisation from his group also. Nevertheless, they also gave him care and compassion when he was a new entrant into street life. However, those feelings disappeared and were replaced with "hate." (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

Upon inquiring more, Hero said the following:

In the beginning, it was good but now they hate me. Before they used to love me and give me food to eat but now they tease me by saying your father is dead. And no we don't have any rules, whatever they earn is for them and whatever we earn is for ourselves, but we stay in the same place and if anyone attacks us; we go together to fight. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

Generally, a gang is described to be a group of individuals – consisting at least three or more – who share similar aims and are involved in illegal activities. However, there is no universally accepted definition of a gang. (Kinnear 2009, 40.) Hundreds of gang scholars in Europe and United States have defined a street gang to be the following:

Any durable, street-oriented youth group whose own identity includes involvement in illegal activity (Short & Hughes 2006, 129).

Larsen (2003, 94) describes how concept of membership is embedded in the process of group formation. Group values, norms and characteristics are factors which can shape the definition of membership. These conditions of membership can be '*elective*' i.e. member can choose to exercise it, or '*ascriptive*' i.e. member is not able to exercise choice or negotiate over the conditions. (Cited in Crang 1998.)

By considering these definitions and dynamics involved in group or gang formation, it is more applicable to describe Hero's "gang" as a group rather. But this is a vague notion also. The leader of Hero's group had mentioned that their reason for staying together was to seek protection from violence committed by other gangs (Field diary, weeks 46-47 2009). Although they stated not being involved in any illegal activities, they still have clashes with other gangs, which is not legal. However, this can be reasoned as self-defence also. Therefore, it is viable to refer to them as a group.

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. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

On the other hand, gangs and their leaders can be detrimental for a street child's development. Gangs can recruit and exploit street children engage in illegal activities, for example, Thamel is an infamous area where street children are highly exposed to illegal activities. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

In addition, when street children are taken into custody, they can be placed with adult criminals. Here, they learn to expand their criminal networks. Street children who lead a delinquent lifestyle can influence other street children into anti-social activities, for example, gang leaders who have a history of violence and delinquency can exploit the members of the gang by setting cruel and unfair rules. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.) In this manner, the status quo of juvenile delinquency can be preserved within the dynamics of peer group.

Street children expose themselves to long-term risks with gangs in order to avoid immediate abuse, for example, they can engage in use of harmful substances, antisocial

activities such as theft, and high-risk sexual behaviour and sexual abuse. (CPCS and VOC Nepal 2008, 29-30.)

A high percentage (88%) of street children confirmed to be affiliated with gangs or groups. Moreover, a low percentage (6%) used to have prior involvement and only 6% stated never having any relations. The respondents also reported that they lacked leaders in 14% of the number of groups or gangs. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 122-123.)

In figure 6. working together is characterized by 75% to be the main activity within these groups. Other significant characteristic include the use of drugs (72%), or fights against other gangs (61%) etc. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 124.)

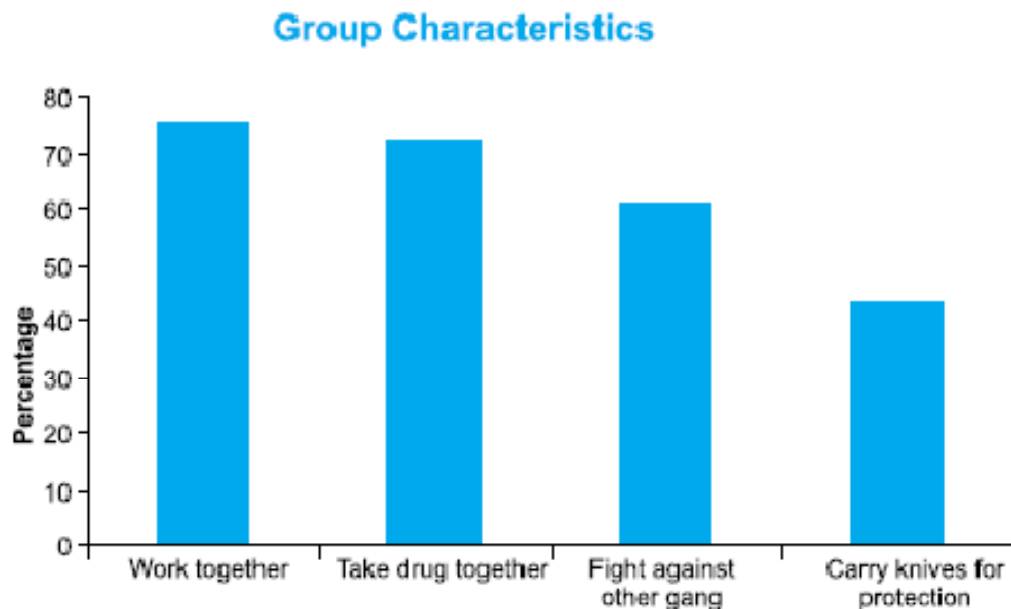


FIGURE 6: Group characteristics, 430 Street children (CPCS Nepal 2007, 124).

Figure 7 below demonstrates that the majority of street children did not accept illegal activities to be right. Nevertheless, about half (55%) conceived physical abuse of “bad people” to be acceptable. Apart from the graph below, 6% of the respondents reported that in return of goods, they are ready to even “kill a person if necessary.” (CPCS Nepal 2007, 125, 126.)

Illegal Works	Responses		Total
	Yes	No	
Robbing someone in the Street	41(9.5%)	389(90.5%)	430(100%)
Stealing from Rich	96(22.3%)	334(77.7%)	430(100%)
Stealing to buy Food	109(25.3%)	321(74.7%)	430(100%)
Beating a Bad person	236(54.9%)	194(45.1%)	430(100%)
Fighting against another Gang	78(18.1%)	352(81.9%)	430(100%)
Carrying Knives for own Protection	79(18.4%)	351(81.6%)	430(100%)
Carrying a Knives for attacking a Bad Person	93(21.6%)	337(78.4%)	430(100%)
Teasing a Beautiful Girl	69(16.0%)	361(84.0%)	430(100%)

FIGURE 7: Views about illegal work, 430 SC (CPCS Nepal 2007, 124).

### 6.3. Abuse of street children

Street children are visible targets to face abuse in numerous ways. In this section, particular attention is paid to the abusive relations that coexist between street children and their peers, street adults, families, authorities and other individuals. Abuse of street children is explained in connection with Hero's case. The emphasis is set on different actors who abuse street children, for example, the police, security guards, street adults, street children or other individuals etc.

Street children's abuse takes different forms. The concept of abuse is multidimensional. The domains of abuse focused on include psychosocial abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse and exploitation of street children. Firstly, the concept of child abuse will be defined. World Health Organisation (WHO) provides the following definition of child abuse or child maltreatment:

Child abuse or maltreatment constitutes all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power. (WHO 1999, 15-16; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano 2002, 59-60; WHO 2006, 9-10.)



In the context of Nepal, children's sexual abuse is considered to be more serious than other forms of abuse. Yet, psychosocial and physical abuse of children are described to inflict equal damage on children's development. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 111.)

Child Protection Centers and Services (CPCS) and Voice of Children (VOC) Nepal conducted a research in 2005-2007, which was about street children's experiences of abuse in Kathmandu. The research involved 150 respondents, from which 70% were regular contributors. Specific focus was set on issues such as psychosocial, physical and sexual abuse of street children. Street children's psychosocial and physical abuse appears to be accepted in Nepalese society and it is everyday life for street children. Street children can be victims of abuse from perpetrators who are outside and also inside their networks. Street children seek protection among their peers or groups. Ironically, these can also result into their abuse. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 21-22, 29.)

### 6.3.1. Psychosocial abuse

To begin with, I shall define what psychosocial abuse means. Psychosocial abuse entails all forms of abuse which affect a child's mental and emotional state. The ways in which it manifests itself are, for example, by ridiculing, threatening, or morally abusing children or people. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 29-31.)

According to WHO's (1999, 15) definition of emotional abuse, which is a concept relevant to psychosocial abuse, states:

Emotional abuse includes the failure to provide a developmentally appropriate, supportive environment, including the availability of a primary attachment figure, so that the child can develop a stable and full range of emotional and social competencies commensurate with her or his personal potentials and in the context of the society in which the child dwells. There may also be acts towards the child that cause or have a high probability of causing harm to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. These acts must be reasonably within the control of the parent or person in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power. Acts include restriction of movement, patterns of belittling, denigrating, scapegoating, threatening, scaring, discriminating, ridiculing or other non-physical forms of hostile or rejecting treatment.

Police has taken Hero into custody several times due to begging or suspicion of theft. Hero claims to be innocent. Nevertheless, police arrested him, and while in custody, Hero described being forced to wash their toilets and dishes. Moreover, he was also abused physically by them. In addition, he was humiliated by name-calling such as “thief” or “Kathe.” Apart from that, Hero has been harassed by his peers and “bigger people” that may include street children, street adults, or regular people. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)



PICTURE 1: “Khate, the Street Survivors.” (Larsen 2003, 29; cited in CWIN’s magazine “Voice of Child Workers”)

“Kathe” is a derogative term used against street children to portray them as individuals who are in despair, or individuals who are “bad” etc. But in history, the word “Khate” was used among street children to describe themselves as “the real survivors.” It had a dignified attachment to their identity because they valued themselves as survivors who prevailed through hard labour. Overtime, the term took a negative shift in society. Nowadays, it is used to degrade them. As a result, street children have built dislike towards it. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.) Hero has been called a “Khate” which did demoralise him (Hero, 9.11.2009). But in the documentary song, the term is used to convey “the real survivors” (Field diary, week 47 2009).

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. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2010.)

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. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2010.)

Statistics indicate that majority (89%) of street children have experienced psychosocial abuse, for example, by being “ridiculed, discriminated against or denigrated” (78%). About half (53%) face it consistently. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 49.)

Who are these perpetrators? The primary group which abuse street children psychosocially are street children themselves (64%). Then, the police (59%) are second and street adults the third highest (52%) group of perpetrators. Security guards (41%), parents (45%), junkyard owners (25%), relatives (34%), teachers (26%) and social workers (25%) are also among these abusers. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 49.)

### 6.3.2. Physical abuse

Physical abuse of street children is also a prevalent dilemma in Nepalese society. Women and men, authorities and the public, street children and adults are among the perpetrators. WHO adopts the following concept in describing physical abuse:

Physical abuse of a child is that which results in actual or potential physical harm from an interaction or lack of an interaction, which is

reasonably within the control of a parent or person in a position of responsibility, power or trust. There may be single or repeated incidents. (WHO 1999, 15.)

Physical abuse of a child is defined as the intentional use of physical force against a child that results in – or has a high likelihood of resulting in – harm for the child’s health, survival, development or dignity. This includes hitting, beating, kicking, shaking, biting, strangling, scalding, burning, poisoning and suffocating. Much physical violence against children in the home is inflicted with the object of punishing. (WHO 2006, 10.)

Regarding Hero, he was physically abused by his relative and the police also. Domestic violence was the reason why Hero became a street child. Apparently, his relative even stabbed him by a knife. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009).

Physical abuse committed against street children is a dilemma in Kathmandu. CPCS and VOC’s survey reports that street children have been “burnt or lacerated” (71%), “severely beaten” (70%), and their movement has been restricted” (43%). Regarding those who were severely battered, there were no reasons mainly (42%) that motivated it. Generally, a high percentage (over 95%) of street children stated to experience physical abuse on daily basis. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 49-50.)

The primary perpetrators are reported to be male (96%). But women have had a high involvement (55%) also. Street children (50%) and parents (47%) were among the main aggressors too. In addition, 27% stated that social workers committed such acts also. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 49-50.)

According to the report of CPCS Nepal (2007, 96), some of the other perpetrators include street adults (39%), police (36%), security guards (17%), relatives (15%), other street children (12%) and NGO staff (1%) also. Less than one third (29%) of the respondents had experienced severe physical abuse in the street.

Street children are among the abusers of other street children. It is a modus operandi which can be transferred to the victims of abuse i.e. street children practice such abuse against other street children through learnt behaviour. 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. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2010).

Focusing onto authorities, more than half of the street children have been negatively in contact with authorities who uphold the law. The main reason for street children's arrest has been stealing (47%). Moreover, 28% were arrested because of fights (15%) or sleeping in the street (13%). While in custody, 33% of 235 respondents reported that they were physically abused by the police. In addition, half of the respondents never received any food. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 128-129.)

The places where physical abuse occurred were the streets (72%), work places (42%), junkyards (34%), police custody (31%), and schools (25%). Significant percentage (73%) of the respondents blamed their circumstances (living in the street) as the major cause to their abuse. Moreover, 43% believed to face abuse in the future again. (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 49-50.)

### 6.3.3. Child sexual abuse

Sex is a taboo in Nepalese society because of different cultural and religious factors. It is a barrier which affects the reporting of children's abuse. However, people have become more aware of it i.e. they are more sensitized because the numbers of reports have shown an increase. (Bhanu Pathak, personal communication 14.12.2009.) In the Nepalese context, child sexual abuse is considered a more serious violation than other forms of abuse (CPCS & VOC Nepal 2008, 111). Child sexual abuse is defined as:

the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violate the laws or social taboos of society. Child sexual abuse is evidenced by this activity between a child and an adult or another child who by age or development is in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power, the being intended to gratify or satisfy the needs of the other person. This may include but is not limited to: The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity; the exploitative use of a child in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices; and finally the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials. (WHO 1999, 15-16.)

Another form of abuse is referred to be exploitation:

Commercial or other exploitation of a child refers to use of the child in work or other activities for the benefit of others. This includes, but is not limited to, child labour, and child prostitution. These activities are to the detriment of the child's physical and mental health, education, or spiritual, moral or social-emotional development. (WHO 1999, 15-16.)

Sexual abuse and exploitation of street children is an alarming dilemma in Nepalese society. Hero has not been a victim of it but his friend; a street child also, was subjected to it. Apparently, a foreigner had lured the child with goods and abused him sexually. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009) The group leader describes about the same case in the documentary. Regarding events after the incident, Hero said that:

He came back to us and shared all the things and cried. He said he took him by luring and then told him to do all the bad things, and he said that now he won't live in the street but go back to his village. (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009.)

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. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal discussion 16.12.2009.)

Moving on, local and foreign paedophiles' target the street children of Nepal because they are invisible children in society who are deprived of protection. In other words, government's insensitivity and poor governance to protect these children are factors which attract and empower paedophiles to exploit and abuse street children sexually. Additionally, street children may or may not have families to supervise and protect them from such atrocities. (Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.) Therefore, there are numerous weak links in the micro, meso and macro levels which influence street children's sexual abuse.

Another manifestation of child sexual abuse takes place in the commercial sex industry, which is generally a female-dominant area. Street girls are characterized to be particular victims of sexual exploitation in the commercial industry. However, the trend of boys

entering it has also shown an increase which is alerting. (Bhanu Pathak, personal communication 14.12.2009; Sumnima Tuladhar, personal communication 16.12.2009.)

'Commercial sexual exploitation' can be defined as: children, both male and female, engaging in sexual activities for money, profit, or for any other consideration due to coercion or influence by an adult, syndicate or group. The profit could go either to the child or to any third party involved in the transaction. (Stairway Foundation Inc.)

The survey conducted by CPCS and VOC revealed that a high percentage (40%) of street children were exposed to sexual abuse, for example, 27% to anal sex and 29% to oral sex (CPCS Nepal 2007, 99). The major reason why street children are subjected to sexual abuse was outlined to be “love” (20%). Other causes included experimentation (17%), forced sexual intercourse (15%), and money (15%). Regarding the emotional state of street children, majority expressed to have neutral feelings against being abused sexually. (CPCS and VOC Nepal 2008, 99-101.)

The perpetrators who abuse street children sexually included street males mainly. However, women were not excluded also. Other culprits included Nepalese and foreign paedophiles. The streets and institutions were the riskiest places where street children experienced sexual abuse. (CPCS Nepal 2007, 99.)

## 7. FILMMAKING CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY

Once situational analysis was made, it supported development of an action plan which basically contained the non-fiction storyline of Hero and other parts of production i.e. the script. Since our primary goal was to develop a product in purpose of raising awareness about the situation of street children in Kathmandu, the concepts of ‘social filmmaking’ and ‘video in development’ or more specifically, ‘video for awareness raising’ were relevant and worthy to our project framework.

This chapter will define these concepts and theories relevant to it. Moreover, it will briefly describe how these concepts are applied as methods also. The next chapter which focuses on the process will provide more detail in how the ‘video for awareness raising’ or ‘social filmmaking’ was carried out.

### 7.1. Social filmmaking

Overall, it can be said that filmmaking is traditionally a specialized field where filmmakers or professionals dictate the terms of production. In addition, films are dominantly valued for entertainment reasons and much importance is given to the product than the process also.

Sometimes, documentaries also have an aesthetic value to them which can foreshadow the frontiers of social change. This is because documentaries can dominantly represent the author’s view of the subject. In such documentaries, subjects are passive contributors than active actors who also have the possibility to dictate the terms of production i.e. what and how to convey issues which are important and truthful to their life stories.



In vision of Silcreation, social filmmaking (SF) is a broad concept of filmmaking where the field of filmmaking is unspecialized so people or the grass roots people may participate in the production of films. In addition, social films do not only function as a product or tool for promoting social change, but the method of social filmmaking is also a process which can empower or mobilize individuals and communities to be active agents of social change also. (Silver Lining Creation.) In this light, “Shadows of the Street” uses some participatory approaches where the participants have space to dictate upon the terms of production during the process.

## 7.2. Video in development

‘Video in development’ (VD) is a broad concept incorporating different approaches to making of films for development purposes. Its history roots in 1960 when Donald Snowden; one of the pioneers, used the VD concept at his work in Canada which was initially recognized as the ‘Fogo Process’. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 5-6.)

VD includes a variety of techniques and approaches in making of films for the purpose of development initiatives: ‘video for awareness raising and advocacy; stakeholder engagement and action; capacity building; reporting and data collection’ are some of the methods or approaches which underline different segments of the concept. These approaches adopt different methods of film production, for example, the film crew (professionals) can be involved in production of the film but the subjects may participate in construction of the script. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 5-6.)

Because our specific focus is set on making a video for raising awareness, the sub-concept ‘video for awareness raising’ (VAR) is particularly relevant to our production aim. The following section will provide a description about the meaning of the concept.

### 7.2.1. Video for awareness raising

VAR aims to inform the audiences about specific issues, for example, global warming. The impact of the video is determined in advance and the audience can be the general

public or a specific target group. VAR is also a method used for building understanding of and persuading the audience to react on a certain issue. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 7.)

However, as explained earlier, ‘videos for advocacy’ and ‘awareness raising’ share differences also. VAR can have the basic motivation to disseminate knowledge or highlight the importance of a specific topic. It does not necessarily seek a social change. It may solely be used for the purpose of raising people’s awareness about an issue, for example, the violation of children’s rights in a specific area. On the other hand, video for advocacy sets to influence a social change in a strategic and systematic manner. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 5-17.)

VAR can contain participatory approaches for theme and product development, for example, by including local crew members to participate in the film production. Locals are valued for being more culturally sensitive at their locality. This is a benefit for adaptation and consideration of local realities and cultures. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 8.)

Videos are effective for explaining topics in a condensed manner. It is also relatively easy to reach large audiences through mass media (broadcasting channels such as TV and radio, or print media) and other platforms (screening events, film festivals). Media can promote social mobilisation of people and communities. It can encourage dialogue or promote engagement and interventions regarding different social issues. VAR is most effective for influencing social change when it is disseminated through various platforms, for example, in events, seminars, or videos in internet which are incorporated with social media. (Lie and Mandler 2009, 9.)

VAR is a concept that is relevant to SOS because our motivation is to raise public awareness about the social issues of street children living in Kathmandu, Nepal. The outcomes of such activity can be found in the chapter “Goals and Framework of Shadows of the Street.”

## 8. SOS FILM PRODUCTION PROCESS

Social filmmaking stages of SOS can be divided into five stages: development, pre-production, production, post-production, and distribution and exhibition. The figure below provides an overview of the activities regarding documentary making process:

### Situational Analysis & Action Plan (Development & Pre-Production) 17.10-10.11.2009

- Internship experience in two child centers (autumn 2009)
- Literature review (qualitative and quantitative data). Consulting local social workers, mapping organisations concerned with street children and inquiring for formal co-operation and contribution to documentary (17.10-8.11.2009)
- Outreach work with street children: discussing and interviewing street children for volunteering and case study collections (8-9.11.2009)
- Thematic analysis of case studies and selecting participants for the documentary. Formulating an action plan in vision of "Shadows of the Street" (9.11.2009).
- Informing the participants and writing a script based on the case studies. Preparing required materials and assigning roles for the film crew (10.11)

### Action Plan Implementation (Production) 11-21.11.2009

- Film shooting based on the script and participation and sharing of decisions with Hero and other street children. Photographing street children.

### Editing Output of Action Plan (Post-production) 22.11-2.12, 13.12.09 - 16.7.2010

- Interviewing experts in UNICEF-Nepal and CWIN-Nepal (14-16.12.2009)
- Producing transcripts and conducting a thematic analysis in order to select the clips. Editing the acquired footage for production of 'Shadows of the Street'
- Presenting documentary to organisations for approval. Presentation to street children was not possible though attempted. (March-April 2010)
- Micro screenings conducted for preliminary evaluation (April-July 2010)

### Publishing and Presenting Documentary (Distribution and Exhibition) 16.7-6.8.2010

- Publishing SOS in Silver Lining Creation ry Finland and MAG Nepal (20.7.2010)
- Presenting "Shadows of the Street" on two events (16.7 and 6.8.2010)

FIGURE 8: The five stages of social filmmaking in "Shadows of the Street."

From mid-September 2009 until end of the year, I conducted my internship in two child centres: Children's Food Programme-Nepal or Bal Bhojan and Bal Kendra of Child Welfare Society. Apart from that, "Shadows of the Street" was initiated in mid-October 2009. Project period in the operational environment (Nepal) lasted until the end of December 2009. Nevertheless, the process continued until August 2010 between authors and the editor. The editor and Ankit Khanal were in Kathmandu and I was in Helsinki, Finland.

The project process of SOS can be divided into different project cycles: situational analysis, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Moreover, these cycles can also be interlinked with different phases of filmmaking: development, pre-production, production, post-production, and marketing and distribution. The process will be described through the five stages of filmmaking i.e. Figure 8.

### 8.1. Development and pre-production

In the development and pre-production, I will describe how the concept of SOS developed and what planning and set-up initiatives were taken before production phase of the documentary began. The duration of this phase was between October 17 and November 10, 2009.

#### 8.1.1. Discovering "Shadows of the Street"

In autumn 2009, I did my internship at two child centres in Kathmandu. In mid-October, SOS was inspired when its authors – I and Ankit Khanal – engaged with a street child who was disturbingly dazed because of glue sniffing. Although unsurprising, public's passiveness in leaving the child unattended was demoralising. We had a discussion with him and took the glue away also. We offered him a meal instead. But he refused and aggressively demanded to have the glue returned. Considering state of the child, his behaviour was understandably hysterical. The child's turmoil left an imprint. It influenced us to make a documentary in order to sensitize society and raise public attention about social issues of street children. (Field diary, 17.10.2009.)

Glue sniffing among street children in public was a visible trend in Kathmandu. It was not uncommon to walk in the streets and notice street children use harmful substances. Street children's self-destructive behaviour was also neglected by the public.

Apparently, Nepalese society has "normalized" or "accepted" street children's self-destructive tendencies. (Field diary, week 39 2009.)

However, in my opinion, it would also be false to state that street children were always disregarded. There are organisations offering services or shelters to them. There are individuals who wish to support and reintegrate them. On the other hand, some street children remain in the street because of their own volition. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that street children are excluded and invisible in society (UNICEF 2006, 40-41).

In my opinion, it is also important to take into account that public's general insensitivity and passiveness towards street children can be caused or amplified by scale of the issue (numbers of street children, glue sniffing in public etc.) with lack of resources and know-how in how to affect the situation. Due to these factors, people may develop a sense of helplessness which may immobilise them to affect the cause. Therefore, it would be incorrect to present that public's insensitivity towards street children is always a neglect of humanistic values. However, helplessness or actual insensitivity from society, street children remain to be protected.

SOS was realised by engaging with a street child whose circumstances provoked a sense of responsibility in us to affect the situation of street children. After developing the idea of SOS, we proceeded onwards to conduct a situational analysis or study of the theme.

#### 8.1.2. Situational analysis of street children

Situational analysis concerning street children of Kathmandu, Nepal was a necessary step that enabled us to create an action plan for production of the documentary. It built our understanding of social issues concerning street children. By having familiarized myself with the subject, I was more adaptive to the relatively elusive process of product development. This study was carried out in mid-October until the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 2009.

In the situational analysis, literature review and qualitative methods of data collection were employed in order to study the social phenomenon. A quantitative survey was unrealistic to carry due to time barrier and lack of human resources. However, literature review of qualitative and quantitative data, non-formal discussions, observations and interviews with street children were methods used in order to conduct the analysis. Consultation with local social workers was also beneficial. Some other tools used during the situational analysis included a problem tree which supported identifying major problems and causes to the phenomenon of street children, or a matrix chart which outlined the violations of child rights to which street children are subjected. In addition, it is noteworthy to state that my internship in child centres was beneficial for learning about macro factors in the Nepalese society which deprived families and risked children to become street children.

While the study experience in child centres provided perspective into the theme of street children, their divided focus on children at risk of becoming street children was insufficient for fulfilling the planned situational analysis. It was critical to adopt an undivided learning approach towards the different sub-groups of street children in order to support a versatile production. Therefore, a situational analysis of “children on the street” and “children of the street” was also carried out through outreach work i.e. discussing or interviewing street children in their environment. This approach built foundation in creation of the action plan. Before proceeding onto the action plan, I will describe about the process of outreach work where we made contact with street children in their environment and communicated with organisations also.

### 8.1.3. Outreach work

In order to recruit the participants, we held discussions and interviewed three street children for the purpose of acquiring case studies on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of November. The locations will not be disclosed but it was in street children’s natural settings. In addition, once the organisations that worked with street children were mapped, I proceeded to communicate with them in request of their possible contributions to the documentary. These organizations were CPCS Nepal, CWIN-Nepal, VOC, and UNICEF. Regarding street children, the selections were made during creation of the action plan. (Field diary,

week 46 2009.) However, in this section, I am focusing upon the process before selection of participants and formulation of the action plan.

Because of language barriers, the discussions and interviews were performed by Ankit Khanal. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of November, we discussed with three street children about issues related to street life. We explained our motivation and inquired upon their interest to participate in production of the documentary. They complied and we decided to hold the interview on the following day. (Field diary, 8.11.2009.)

The interview questions were formulated and guidelines for the interviewer were set. In addition, we acquired the interviewees' informed consent. Basically, the interview was semi-structured and had open questions on different themes. Moreover, the interviewer was allowed room to emphasize certain themes in consideration of the interviewee's outputs. Since street children's relationship with the street varied, adopting such approach was necessary in order to place emphasis on themes that were case-sensitive. In order to guide the process or areas to be emphasized, Ankit Khanal translated the interviewees' outputs to me. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

Once the interviews were completed, we discussed with street children about their interest to participate in the documentary. It was important to assure their awareness about the ramifications of their participation. After their positive replies, we decided to inform them about our selections on the following day. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

#### 8.1.4. Sampling criteria

This section will describe about the selection criteria. In beginning stage of the project, we decided to acquire case studies of two street children and contributions of three experts who worked with street children or in the area of child protection/welfare. These were the margins set for inputs into the documentary. In fusion of these participants, we visualized presenting the topic of street children in the micro- and macro level.

To elaborate further, after studying the theme, we developed a more specific criterion under which participants were to be selected during action planning of the documentary.

The criteria for case study selections were based on versatility of street children's situation, and contrasts in their relationship with street. Adopting such a multi-perspective approach was essential for providing a wide description of street children's situation in Kathmandu, Nepal. Therefore, we based our selections on the sub-groups of street children defined by UNICEF as children "on the street" and also "of the street." (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

Regarding the subgroups, the criteria expanded further in terms of particularities of street children within the sub-groups i.e. considering the different forms of street work, life styles, activities, norms and values of groups or gangs, and numerous other factors. The motivation was to present the topic of street children in a diverse manner. In other words, it included different types of street-based work, for example, rag-picking, begging, conducting micro buses and street vending; or dynamics with peers, people, authorities, and the surrounding environment were factors to be considered in the selection of volunteers. Presenting the topic in variety of themes such as substance use and abuse, dynamics within peers, groups and gangs, and abuse of street children were some other factors to be acknowledged in the selection process also. Therefore, versatility was the key word guiding selection of the participants. Moreover, thematic analysis of the gathered data was the method used to assess and compare the versatility of street children's situations. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

In addition, the criterion which guided selection of the professionals was coined under representation i.e. whether they represented national and international organisations who worked on social issues of street children. However, the primary requirement was familiarity with the subject of street children. In the action plan, the mapped organisations were the following: CWIN-Nepal, CPCS Nepal, UNICEF and VOC. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

#### 8.1.5. Sample

In this section, I will describe how the selection was practically conducted with regard to the criteria described above. Furthermore, this selection was conducted during the creation of the action plan also.



After case studies of street children were collected; in total three, the next step involved conducting a thematic analysis of the contents in relation to the criteria which was set for selection of the participants. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of November, we recruited all three volunteers because they met the criteria which we had set. Upon their selection, we acquired their oral, written (two) and audio-visual consents (two) in order to proceed onto the production phase. Although two of the participants lacked guardians, they did have siblings whose permissions were also sought in the beginning of the production process. However, the day when we were supposed to acquire them, the participants withdrew from the process. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

Initially, we were supposed to select two participants. But since two of the street children were affiliated, their participation was considered beneficial because it enabled us to present the dynamics among street children more in depth. Moreover, deviation from the action plan was perceived viable and in interest of representing a truthful depiction of their life stories because they were affiliated in terms of their street activities. Hence, both participants were accepted. Since these two participants, who were identified as children on street, withdrew from the production process and we agreed not to expose information or video material about them, I will not be disclosing any further details about these two participants. (Field diary, week 46 2009.) The audio-visual interviews of these children are kept in the archive. However, once the study is formally completed, the material will be disposed off within a certain period of time.

On the other hand, the third participant (Hero) was identified as a child who lived in the street i.e. a “child of the street.” The different themes coded in relevance to his situation were substance use and abuse, domestic violence, street work and child labour exploitation, poverty and migration, sexual abuse and exploitation, group and gang affiliations etc. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

#### 8.1.6. Producing the action plan

Overall, the production process involved action planning because of the changes that occurred during the process. However, the initial action plan which followed after the

situational analysis was supportive in building foundation of the production. This action plan was devised on the 9-10<sup>th</sup> of November 09.

In the action plan, we decided matters and steps related to production of the product. We devised the specific tasks and formulated a time-management and resource allocation plan. Moreover, the study or product production aim, objectives, expected outcomes, viewer target group (audience), and overall methodology of production were more solidified because of the collected data in the situational analysis process. The thematic analysis of audio-visual interviews (case studies) and transcripts, discussions, observations and field notes (micro level) in comparison with literature review (macro level) supported to develop a story line for the documentary i.e. the script. The product was envisioned to introduce the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal in a holistic manner. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

During this period, the missing links in the action plan were interviews from the professionals who worked with street children. In the analysis, we coded the available information into different categories, for example, causes to the phenomenon, street work, substance use and abuse, sexual abuse and exploitation etc. In this manner, the script was shaped by the case study or voice of Hero. However, during the production phase, we shared decision making with participants regarding how they viewed to present the documentary. Hence, the script was not structured in a radical manner that dictated terms of the documentary production; but allowed room for innovation and participation instead. Because of this factor, studying the theme of street children was essential in order to adapt to the issues raised by street children during the production phase. (Field diary, week 46 2009.)

## 8.2. Production

Before initiating the production phase, we acquired necessary permits from the participants. The script was an essential tool which guided the production process but other participants (street children) inputs were also allowed upon their informed consent. The production phase lasted for a period of two weeks. (Field diary, weeks 46-47 2009.)

When we were about to begin the production, we lost contact with two of the main participants. Therefore, the documentary participants were reduced to one. Nevertheless, we continued the production with the remaining child. Later on, we intersected with the “lost” participants who explained about some of the barriers related to their participation. Apparently, they had burnt the permits and we were supposed to acquire consent from their siblings also. They told us that their peers had instigated fear in them concerning our motivation. We concluded to end our formal relations due to these circumstances. Moreover, we informed the participants that the footage we had acquired of them would not be published or incorporated into the documentary. Thereafter, our plans experienced a shift. We were unable to recruit new participants due to time barriers. Therefore, the documentary process shifted to describe the life story of a child who lived in the street only. (Field diary, weeks 46 2009.)

We continued producing material with the remaining participant. We had a script that was loyal to the participant’s life story and everyday life activities. First of all, it was formulated under the basis of Hero’s output in the interview. In the script, we did not dictate what Hero should say, particularly do or where to be. We allowed space for free expression. The production process was guided through the themes which were familiar to him, for example, glue sniffing or begging etc. Our motivation was to present a day of his life through the lens. (Field diary, week 46-47 2009.)

As mentioned earlier, during the production process, street children’s participation was a viable option also. While we were filming Hero’s life story, our activities attracted participation of other street children within his network. Before their involvement, they were informed about our motivation, the project and its implications. The leader of the group gave his written consent as he was literate. Other street children also provided their oral consent regarding their participation in the production. In the field, I and Ankit Khanal guided the informal discussions and interviews with the participants. Hero belonged to a group of street children whose participation enabled to describe some of the norms and values and activities of the group. (Field diary, week 47 2009.)

During the production, sharing decisions with the participants was a crucial ethical step to take in order to break the filmmakers control over the production terms and allow room for children to express and portray themselves according to their views. In this

manner, street children were able to address issues which they felt was important to expose to the public i.e. to the viewers of the documentary. Street children were active contributors to the documentary. We succeeded to acquire all the material that was needed. Even more, street children's song contributions that were related to street life or street children; or the leader's description of everyday life challenges in the street were some of the contributions that were influenced by the participants themselves. (Field diary, week 46-47 2009.)

Ethics played a significant role during the production process, for example, street children intended to use glue during the production. However, we prevented them from use of any harmful substances. Instead, street children used empty plastic bags which did include any substances at all. Although little coverage is given to ethics here, a more detailed description of it will be provided in later chapters.

The following tables present the participants and the production team. The advocates were interviewed during the post-production stage of filmmaking.

TABLE 2: Participants and contributors to the documentary (SOS.)

Participants/ Contributors	Role	Representation
"Hero"	Main participant	Child who lived in the street and self
Group leader	Sub-participant	Children who lived in the street and self
Peers	Sub-participants	Children who lived in the street and self
Bhanu Pathak	Advocator	Child Protection Specialist, UNICEF- Nepal
Sumnima Tuladhar	Advocator	Executive Coordinator CWIN-Nepal
Kutumba	Music	Nepalese folk instrumental ensemble

Although in the table above, Hero and some of the other participants are labelled to represent children who live in the street, it is important to notify that such labelling should not result at the loss of their individuality. However, such classifications enable

social workers to acknowledge the particular relationship that these children hold with the street. Nevertheless, its use should not shadow the child's individuality.

TABLE 3: The production team (SOS.)

Production Team	Role	Representation
Lawin Khalil Mustafa	Author	Silver Lining Creation (Publisher)
Ankit Khanal	Author	MAG Nepal (Publisher)
Anup Khanal	Editor	Volunteer
Tiina Louko	Photographer	Volunteer
Seri Matleena Pitkänen	Assistant	Volunteer
Roman Kelsang Lama	Assistant	Volunteer
Confidential	Consultant	Confidential

### 8.3. Post-production

To our delight, we received invitations to interview professionals from two organisations: CWIN-Nepal and UNICEF Nepal. In mid-December, I conducted the interviews with Bhanu Pathak; a child protection specialist of UNICEF Nepal, and Sumnima Tuladhar; Secretary of CWIN Nepal. After the interviews, we agreed upon the terms of distribution and exhibition of the documentary. (Field diary, week 47 2009.)

Once the necessary footage was shot, it was time to move onto the post-production phase of SOS. Post-production is the stage of filmmaking when the authors and editors analyse, select and edit the raw footage; re-record the soundtrack of the video such as narration; add the special effects; and finalise the product in order to release it. This stage of filmmaking is considered to take a longer period than the film shooting which takes place during the production stage.

Before selecting the clips, I and Ankit Khanal produced transcripts of the video materials that we had recorded in the production stage. These transcripts were thematically analysed once again. However, this time, it was for the purpose of finalising the product. The planned duration of documentary was half an hour. The

editor of the documentary was Anup Khanal; a volunteer with expertise in graphic designing and video editing. (Field diary, week 48 2009.)

The intensive period of post-production was in the last week of November until the end of December 2009. Since my internship ended in December 2009, I returned to Finland. Nevertheless, the post-production process of the documentary continued in between January and July 2010. Ankit Khanal continued the work in Nepal and I in Finland. However, in this period, only minor editing of errors in the subtitles was made. This period lasted long due to editing challenges caused by virtual communication between authors and the editor. After numerous attempts of editing, awaiting long periods of postal deliveries, receiving failed productions and our inconsistency of work were all factors that stretched the official release of the product to 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2010.

The clips which were selected for the documentary were based on the criteria set in the action plan. Different issues of street children, for example, street work, substance use and abuse, sexual abuse and exploitation or causes which affected children to become street children were some of the themes that shaped the finalisation of the documentary. Moreover, the diverse set of themes served to foster a holistic view about the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal. (Field diary, week 48 2009.)

Since we focused on introducing various issues related to street children's life, an in-depth presentation of different themes was not possible. But this did not restrict us to produce a product which could raise awareness of the various issues concerning street children. In addition, coherence between outputs of experts and street children was a factor to be considered while selecting the material for the production of SOS. Syncing the micro- and macro inputs was vital for presentation of a cohesive and logical storyline. (Field diary, week 48 2009.)

#### 8.4. Distribution and exhibition

This thread will describe how the documentary was published and presented to the audience. Before releasing the documentary, it was presented to the concerned officials: Bhanu Pathak (UNICEF Nepal) and Sumnima Tuladhar (CWIN-Nepal). Written

approvals for publishing the documentary were acquired from both in March 2010. Moreover, the permission to incorporate Kutumba's folkloric music into the documentary was acquired in April 2010. In addition, Ankit Khanal searched for the other participants (Hero and other street children) on numerous occasions. Street children are mobile and it can be challenging to find them. Therefore, we were unable to present the final product to them. The ethical aspect of this issue will be addressed later. After managing the formalities, it was time to present the documentary.

Before presenting SOS to a wider audience, I performed numerous micro screenings in Finland where feedback was collected through open discussions. Overall, it was well received especially the contents received positive feedback. The next presentation was made to social service students of Diaconia University of Applied Sciences. This screening occurred in April 2010. Generally, the feedback was positive.

#### 8.4.1. Oulu187, Helsinki Finland

The second preview of "Shadows of the Street" was in a music and media festival called Oulu187. The festival was held on the 16-17<sup>th</sup> of July in 2010. The event was organised in Oulu; a city in northern Finland. The purpose of the event was to present the documentary to random viewers. However, the event was not a success because of its limited viewers. The audience was not particularly suitable for our activities.

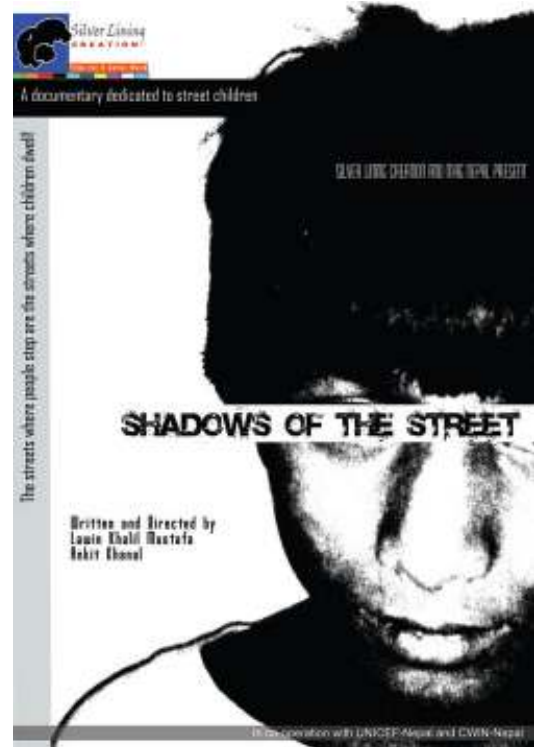


PICTURE 2: Silcreation's products on the stand at Oulu187 (Silver Lining Creation.)

On July 20<sup>th</sup> 2010, “Shadows of the Street” (2010) was officially released in Silver Lining Creation ry Finland. The DVD cover of the documentary is the following:



PICTURE 3: “Shadows of the Street” DVD cover (made by Anup Khanal).



PICTURES 4 and 5: Promotional photos of SOS (made by Anup Khanal).



#### 8.4.2. Screening SOS, Kathmandu Nepal

Silver Lining Creation ry Finland (Silcreation) and MAG Nepal screened officially “Shadows of the Street” (2010) on the 6th of August in Kathmandu, Nepal. In the setting, Ankit Khanal had a major role in organizing and publicity of the event. I also supported the event by writing a sponsorship proposal and managed the process and programme with Ankit Khanal. Apart from that, the support received from different sponsors enlisted below and students of St. Xavier’s College helped to drive the event’s success.

The program was held in Russian Cultural Centre with presence of about 200 people. The audience included the public, institutions and officials from different INGOs and NGOs, for example, American Himalayan Foundation, World Vision International, Save the Children Nepal, Sanga Sangai, Human Development and Community Services (HDCS) and Navjyoti Center. Media coverage was also provided by Himalayan TV, Republica, The Kathmandu Post and National TV of Nepal. (Silver Lining Creation.)



PICTURES 6-9: SOS screening event in Kathmandu, Nepal

The program for the screening event included a drama which was based on street children's life in Nepal. It supported to raise awareness and influence thought on street children-related issues. It described street children's everyday activities and hardships; explained reasons why children were compelled to live in the streets; and presented some of the changes revolving around their social reintegration into society. According to Ankit Khanal (personal communication, 7.8.2010), the drama was one of the key successes of the event. Apparently, it raised much thought about the social issues of street children. Apart from that, the event was entertained by a Nepalese cultural dance performance and a traditional music play, which were held by social work students of St. Xavier's College also. (Silver Lining Creation.)

Although the attempt to involve street children in the event was made, Ankit Khanal was unable to find Hero and others. Their participation would have strengthened the cause. Initially, our motivation was to allow Hero and other participants to host the event also. The reception of the documentary was positive with regard to the topic being such a sensitive issue in Nepalese society. It was well-received as a product for raising awareness. The following include some of the responses:

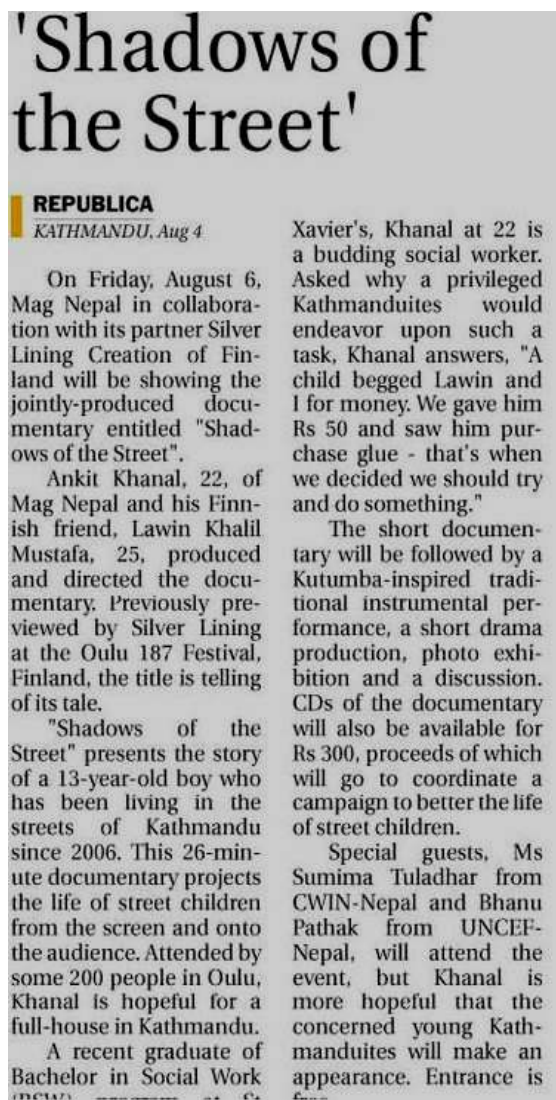
Every child is the future of nation and if we leave them in such conditions, then those innocent kids will have no meaning to their life and more numbers of children will increase that way (Viewer, 6.8.2010.)

A person from the audience asked "You made a documentary which is a really nice job but now what do you think you can do for them?" And In reply, I said that "I am a student of social work. I may not do big things like what the organizations working for street children can do, but I am trying to make people aware that street children are not "dogs," they are just like your children and if they are given the opportunity, they can also build a life where they can live in dignity. And I am also trying to promote in people to establish links between street children and the organizations working for them. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 7.8.2010.)

After the screening event program came to its closure and discussion with the audience was opened, they were found to be positive about the work and were expecting us to do something for the street children now. They also said that only making a documentary is not going to be enough to help them. It won't solve the problem. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 7.8.2010)

It was positive to hear from a principal of school in Kathmandu that he wants to show this documentary to his students in order to raise awareness among the students to not use the derogative word such as "Khate" against them. (Ankit Khanal, personal communication 7.8.2010)

Numerous other opportunities came along with the event. The Committee of Miss Nepal requested the organizers to present the documentary in their Miss Nepal contest in order to interview the contestants. Moreover, Kadambari School of Social Work asked to screen the documentary on the 4th of September in a national seminar which would deal with the subject of child labour. (Silver Lining Creation.)



PICTURE 10: SOS news (Republica 2010, 4).

Nepal Tourism Board, Prisma Advertising, White Horse, Himalayan TV, Republica, The Kathmandu Post, National TV, Photo Concern Private limited, students of St Xavier College and numerous private individuals supported the sponsorship, media advertisement and coverage of the event etc. Without the street children or the participants of the documentary who were at the heart of the event, it would not have been possible to organize an event of such caliber. (Silver Lining Creation.)

## 9. RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I will outline and reflect results of the study. The findings are derived mainly from the chapter “The Situation of Street Children in Kathmandu, Nepal.” However, other sections also contribute, for example, definitions of street children.

The micro level results are from the case study of Hero and findings related to other participants of the documentary. The macro level inputs are from the interviews conducted with Sumnima Tuladhar of CWIN and Bhanu Pathak of UNICEF. Moreover, the learning points through literature review support to describe the situation in the macro level also. It is useful in order to strengthen the reliability of the study through reflection and comparing of findings between the primary and secondary data.

### 9.1. Definition of street children

In the definition of street children developed by UNICEF, Hero can be characterized as a “child of the street.” Although he has a relative, his contact with him is non-existent. Therefore, it is valid to categorize him as a child who lives in the street.

In the case of Kathmandu, street children are popularly perceived to be orphans. However, they are in the minority group. Majority of street children have parents or guardians. Hero is in the minority group of street children who are orphans.

The definition of street children is multi-dimensional. It is challenging to agree on a unanimous definition. However, it is a universal and basic fact that the streets play a cardinal role in the lives of street children. What is more relevant to the definition is the variety of situations or sub-groups under which street children can be identified to have a special relationship with the street. Street children are not a homogenous group. Their life circumstances vary significantly.

## 9.2. Estimations of street children

Statistics reveal different numbers regarding street children in Kathmandu and Nepal. It is challenging to estimate the number of street children on national level. In 1996, CWS and UNICEF reported Nepal to have about 30 000 street children; from which, 26 000 were identified as “children on the street” and 3 700 as “children of the street.” In 2002, CWIN accounted Nepal to have about 5000 street children, where Kathmandu occupied about 500-600 street children. In 2008, CPCS and VOC Nepal reported that Kathmandu occupied about 900-1200 street children. Within a period of six years (2002-08), the numbers of street children in Kathmandu have doubled at maximum. The trend presents an increase. However, this is also questioned by authorities.

## 9.3. Causes to street life

In this section, I will outline the results of why children become street children in context of Kathmandu, Nepal. Therefore, these results will answer the first question or objective of the study. The described causes or results will provide a micro- and macro level picture of the situation. In addition, Hero’s case will be reflected in connection with the macro factors which led him to the street.

Hero is a child who was pushed to live in the street. It was the last resort of the child. The immediate cause which forced Hero to live in the street was domestic violence. In this aspect, he belongs to the majority group of children who come to the street because of violence at home. However, the root cause why Hero became a street child was because of the influences and culmination of events and outcomes in his background, which led him to become an orphan. In terms the root cause, he belongs to the minority group (orphans) of street children who are deprived of parental care.

Hero comes from a poor background and a village. Moreover, his family is from an inferior caste of Hinduism. Excluding his father’s death which was an accident, what led Hero to become an orphan was when his mother passed away. Lack of quality health care services in proximity of his village could have affected the tragedy of his mother.

In the macro level, the rural parts of Nepal are significantly more deprived than Kathmandu. There is a geo-political, socio-religious and socio-economic significance to such deprivation. Although Nepal abolished monarchy and established a democratic state on 2008, challenges related to the caste system and semi-feudalism remains to be addressed. Ethic and caste-based discrimination is a prevalent dilemma which has influenced the impoverishment and exclusion of urban poor areas and rural parts of Nepal. In 2002, CWIN stated that majority of street children in their study were from inferior castes.

Much of the development has also been concentrated in Kathmandu because of the exploitative relations that existed in the feudalistic and social stratification system of Nepal. Although formally abolished, the informal sector requires much development. Moreover, discrimination towards inferior caste groups in relation to their geographic position unveils how discrimination has a geo-political face, for example, the Madhesis in the Tarai region who face double-discrimination due to their regional identity and caste groups to which they belong. Because rural areas face neglect, migration to Kathmandu increased because of families and children's aspirations of a better life. Nevertheless, in the urban areas, many faced marginalization, under which, some children were forced to engage in street work for families' subsistence.

In addition, the political instability caused by the decade long "People's War" also contributed to the phenomenon of street children. About 51 000 families' were displaced in Nepal because of the political situation in the country. Lack of security increased families and children's vulnerabilities, and in the process, it forced some children to the streets. However, these were in the minority group.

As it can be noticed, the phenomenon of street children is affected by numerous social, political, cultural, religious and economic domains. Upon my conclusion, I may state that if the rural areas were not ignored and deprived; if the rural areas were developed in terms of health care and other provisions which respect the principle of equal opportunities; if the rural areas were not deprived due to influences from the caste and political or feudalistic system of Nepalese society; then the tragedy of Hero's mother could have been avoided due to her possible access to health care services in proximity of her village. Moreover, the probability of Hero becoming an orphan and a street child

would have been reduced or prevented. Therefore, the root cause of Hero becoming a street child could have been influenced if the society was guided by principles of equality.

#### 9.4. Life in the street

In this section, I will outline results of the second question or objective of the study i.e. what does life in the street entail for a street child. These results will be reflected in different themes and also in the micro- and macro level.

##### 9.4.1 Street children: visible or invisible?

During the process of SOS, Hero and some other street children faced much neglect by people. Therefore, UNICEF's statement of street children being invisible in society is valid. However, there were some exceptions. But such individuals were in the minority. People who initiate contact with street children do not always have a virtuous motivation. Street children are particularly visible targets to face exploitation and abuse from various perpetrators, for example, other street children or local and international paedophiles. Street children's vulnerability to face such abuse is amplified due to lack of protection from state level and supervision from their guardians.

##### 9.4.2. Street-based work

Hero belongs to the minority group of street children who work as beggars. But he earns according to the second highest group. Hero's income ranges from \$0.71 (lowest) to \$1.42 (highest) a day. By comparing it with Chen and Ravillion's (2008) international poverty line, I may deduct that at the lowest; Hero's income is about half the amount below the poverty line (\$1.25 a day). However, at the highest, it is slightly above it. Nevertheless, at best, his income enables him to buy two portions of rice, which is not much considering that he works in the morning and evenings in order to earn such amount. Hero has been subject to economic exploitation from an employer.

In the macro level, majority of street children practice rag-picking, which is when they move around the streets to collect recyclable goods. Although street children are engaged in different forms of street work where economic exploitation and other forms of abuse can take place, the majority consider being happy at work.

I think that the issue of street children's happiness at work is a double-ended sword. Although it can be positive that they perceive their environment to be "not harmful;" at the same time, it is a backlash for organisations and social workers to promote the alleviation or eradication of child labour. This is because children may lack the will or need to participate in organisation's programmes which aim for their reintegration into society by freeing them from child labour and exploitation, and also by promoting the realisation of their right to childhood. Street children may perceive it to be more convenient to generate income through street work than to engage in activities that are "not productive" in the short-term, for example, non-formal education.

#### 9.4.3. Substance use and abuse

Glue sniffing is a highly used substance by Hero and his peer group. Hero's reasons to use glue include his background and people's hatred. Hero has been pressured by his peers to work and purchase glue.

In the macro level, glue sniffing is a prevalent dilemma among street children in general. The trend of glue sniffing in the public is widespread. Majority of street children have or are still using dendrite (glue). The major reasons for using glue include pleasure, need for belonging in a group, and getting high. Glue sniffing is one of the major causes of conflicts. It is cheap to access and not illegal to use.

The majority of street children abuse at least one type of substance. Alcohol, hashish and glue are the most commonly used substances by street children, and these are on similar levels also. Street children's access to substances is easy.

In my opinion, glue sniffing is a dangerous and a highly practiced trend among street children, which is an issue that requires national level intervention. The trend of glue



sniffing in the public is widespread. Although it can be challenging to prevent the use of substances at national level, society's "values" should not prompt street children to use glue in public. State level policies are needed in order to prevent the use of glue in public. This trend requires anti-normalisation and if the state is able to achieve it, then society should be sensitized to report on its use in public. This is critical in order to monitor that the trend does not revert to its original state. The police and social workers' interventions could be more intellectually managed and dispersed to target-specific areas where glue sniffing is prevalent. Overall, its anti-normalisation in the society requires a strategic and large-scale intervention plan and execution.

Moreover, the availability of substances in the market is an issue to be addressed by the police and state more thoroughly. Shop sellers who sell glue upon awareness of its misuse require sanctioning. However, by my reasoning, sanctioning would not suffice. Counselling and public health campaigns may also reduce the sale and misuse of substances, especially by street children who have misconceptions about the use of substances. Rehabilitative services need investment and development also. Street children suffering from addiction require rehabilitation services for their protection.

#### 9.4.4. Dynamics in peer group

Hero is involved in a group or a gang. Some of the characteristics of the group are harmful, for example, violent clashes with other gangs. In addition, glue sniffing is a prevalent dilemma among his group and Hero has been pressured to work and buy substances. However, there are positive attributes also. Apparently, the group places no restrictions or "membership" rules on their members. But the group does have a value to unite against attacks from other gangs. Hero is exposed to gang violence.

In general, gangs and street children's peers can have a positive influence on street children. These groups or peers can provide protection, support and bonds which build care, loyalty, devotion, or attachment towards each other. Sometimes, street children may even choose to return to the streets due to nostalgia of such relations.

However, groups and gangs can also be detrimental for a street child. In order to seek protection and avoid immediate abuse, street children may involve themselves with groups that hold long-term risks, for example, they may be pressured to adopt the harmful norms, values and rules of the group by engaging in antisocial activities or use of harmful substances etc. Sometimes, street children become abused in these groups also. Majority of street children are affiliated with gangs or groups. Generally, they are involved for the purpose of working together or fighting with other gangs.

In my view, although Hero stated that rules in his group are nonexistent, he may not be consciously aware of the unspoken but existing conditions which are shaped by the norms and values of the group. Firstly, the group has pressured him to work in order to purchase glue. Moreover, the activities embedded in attributes of the group include glue sniffing, begging and rag-picking. It is unknown whether Hero sniffs glue due to his independent choice or peer group pressure. In addition, the group's value revolves around an example such as uniting against external threats. These are some factors which can influence the terms of membership. Hero's notion of the rules being nonexistent can be distorted due to his internalisation of the group's values and norms.

Different internal and external factors dictate why street children become involved in groups and adopt their values and norms. Hero's need to seek protection from external threats influences Hero's choices of admitting himself to an NGO and possibility of breaking the linkages with the group in which he is currently involved. Although Hero can exercise choices because there is no external pressure within his group i.e. peer group's imposition, in his case, the restrictions are rather internal i.e. fear of facing abuse outside the group. This internal restriction is influenced by the violent environment to which Hero is exposed to i.e. possible abuse faced by other street children, street adults, authorities and other individuals of society etc.

Ironically, Hero is addicted to glue sniffing (possibly due to the group) and exposed to violence and psychosocial abuse because of the group and environment where he lives. By weighing up the pros and cons, I believe that it is in the child's best interest to seek separation from the group; at least from the links that poses harm to him. These include relations which have exploited and pressured him into antisocial activities and self-destructive behaviour, or abuses and harms (glue sniffing) which have caused an

emotional and physical damage to him. Providing that such measures of separation are taken, it is important to assure him a safe environment for his growth and development. In the new environment, it would be important to resolve the arising conflicts in order to maintain the child's participation in the programmes meant for his reintegration into society. In my view, Hero is still a child who is not able to mirror the consequences of his actions or influences of the environment.

From my point of view, gangs or groups play a crucial role in street children's life. It should not be overlooked by authorities who work with street children. Social workers involved with street children should be aware of the dynamics which exist among the peers or groups. More importantly, its influence to a street child's development should be assessed. To me, a social worker's building of rapport with a street child and an assessment conducted in isolation of the child's group or gang can lead to unsuccessful results for their reintegration into society. If the peers and groups promote antisocial behaviour and turmoil of a street child, the breakage of power relations is necessary for street children's protection and promotion of best interest.

Moreover, it is not only the group which needs to be taken into account. The environment is also a factor which hinders street children to extend their scope outside the groups. Street children need to be provided an environment where they are freed from the fear of facing risks if they are not involved in their groups. Perhaps development of centres outside Kathmandu or in rural parts of Nepal is an alternative to consider where street children could "escape" to a new and safe environment. However, providing facilities or a different environment is not the solution always. Social workers need to also build rapport with street children in a manner which understands their vulnerability and respects their individuality, views and needs.

#### 9.4.5. Abuse of street children

Abuse is a broad concept which can be divided into different forms. Street children can experience abuse psychosocially, physically and sexually. In terms of these forms of abuse, Hero has experienced all except for sexual abuse. Hero also placed much emphasis on abuse which he experienced in the psychosocial level. The various

perpetrators who have abused him physically and emotionally include his relative and peer group, the police, security guards, other street children, street adults, and other members of society in general. The places where Hero has been abused were streets, NGOs and in custody of police. Within Hero's network, a street child was sexually abused by a foreign paedophile. This was confirmed by the leader of the group also.

In terms of psychosocial abuse, majority of street children experience psychosocial abuse, for example, "Kathe" is a derogative term used against street children; a word which used to have a positive meaning ("the street survivors") for street children. The perpetrators who abuse street children emotionally are mainly street children themselves. However, other significant perpetrators include the police, street adults, security guards, parents, junkyard owners, teachers, and social workers etc.

Regarding physical abuse, the majority of street children experience it. It is everyday life for street children. The main perpetrators are the male. Nevertheless, other abusers include women, street children, parents, relatives, street adults, police, security guards, social workers, street children and NGO staff. The places where street children experience physical abuse include the streets mainly, and also, when they are taken to custody by the police. Moreover, work places, junkyards, and schools are also other places where physical abuse occurs. Majority of street children believe that the reason to their physical abuse is because they live in the street.

Advancing to sexual abuse and exploitation of street children, firstly it is important to state that sex is a taboo in Nepalese society. Similarly, in Nepalese society, children's physical and psychosocial abuse is underrated in comparison to sexual abuse. Sexual abuse of street children is manifested in different forms. The peers may abuse street children in order to oppress them. Street children are exploited and abused sexually in commercial sex work. In addition, the local and international paedophiles target street children because of reduced risks in being accountable to their actions. The state's insensitivity and lack of protection amplifies their abuse. Street children lack supervision from families or guardians and they are invisible in society also. As a result, street children become more vulnerable to face sexual abuse and exploitation and other forms of abuse also.

In general, two out of five street children in Kathmandu are exposed to sexual abuse. Regarding the emotional state of street children, majority hold neutral feelings against them being abused sexually i.e. it is normalized. The perpetrators who abuse street children sexually are street males in general. However, women also abuse street children sexually. Other culprits include Nepalese and foreign paedophiles. The streets and institutions are the riskiest places where street children are abused sexually.

It is apparent that the environment where street children live is violent and harmful to them. For Hero and other street children, violence and abuse is everyday life. It appears to be accepted or normalised by street children and society. Street children are visible targets to experience abuse. They are not only abused by random people or in the streets, but they face it from authorities such as the police and in institutions also. This is unacceptable because if authorities and institutions practice it, then what reason does the society have for making a social change. The law and institutions are supposed to be a model for protecting street children and encouraging change towards how street children are treated and viewed in society.

In my view, it would be beneficial to promote authorities awareness of children's rights and circumstances of street children in order to alleviate or prevent their abuse in institutions. The police and security guard's capacity to interact constructively with street children should be promoted. The implementation of law requires development in order to pressure accountability of paedophiles and reduce the trend or attraction of international paedophiles to abuse children of developing countries. Furthermore, extending outreach work is critical so that social workers and the police can supervise and protect street children from being abused by other perpetrators in the streets and other settings. Apart from these preventative measures, it is also necessary to provide curative measures for street children who have faced and normalized abuse. Therapeutic services are essential for street children who have been exposed to much violence in their life.

Although various developmental issues have been outlined in this chapter, I am in awareness that it can be challenging for the government to address them because the nation is politically in a fragile state and there are numerous social issues in society which require attention. Moreover, corruption and insensitivity could potentially be

other issues that hinder their development. The government has not yet prioritized the street children's protection. The country is reconstructing itself as a democratic state and conflicts between the Maoists and the democrats do not enable the country to progress.

#### 9.4.6. Violation of child rights (CRC)

This thread is concerned with the third question or objective of the study i.e. the different ways street children experience violation of their rights under the CRC.

Once a country ratifies the UN CRC, they are obliged to follow in vision of it i.e. children's rights are supposed to be secured at the minimum level of the convention (article 4). Nepal ratified the CRC in 1990. Therefore, it is obliged to protect the rights of children. However, this is far from reality.

The two central articles of UN CRC which are particularly relevant to street children are the rights to protection from "violence, abuse and neglect" (Article 19) and "economic exploitation" (Article 32) (Black 1993, 9). However, street children are deprived of numerous other rights to which they are entitled to as any other children.

In the case of Hero, a child who is an orphan requires to be given special care by the state (article 20). Moreover, in consideration of the poor background in which he comes from, article 26 states how the poor need to be supported by the government. But it was also the feudalistic state which oppressed and impoverished the rural parts of Nepal or the inferior castes into a state of desperation where families were forced to send their children to the street in order to earn an income for their subsistence.

The conditions and environment where street children live is inhumane, for example, when Hero is fortunate, he is able to have two portions of rice a day. In addition, street is not the environment where a child is supposed to live. It is not a safe environment for children to grow. Article 27 in the CRC stresses the importance of providing a safe environment for children where their basic, physical and mental needs are met. However, Hero and other street children are deprived from this basic right.

Violence, abuse, misuse of substances, and oppression are some of the words which are synonymous to street children's life experiences. Hero has been psychosocially and physically abused by various perpetrators and his friend was sexually abused by a paedophile. Regarding such violence and abuse, there are numerous rights (articles 19, 34, 36, 37 and 39) under which street children are violated. These rights state that children need to be protected from abuse and violence. Moreover, they need to be provided with the means and services that enable them to recover from the harms which they have faced. But majority of street children experience psychosocial and physical abuse. Moreover, a high number are exploited and abused sexually. In fact, some have even normalized and accepted violence and abuse as a part of their life.

Regarding the insensitive practice of authorities towards street children, article 37 in the CRC states that children who offend the law should not be treated in a harmful and degrading manner. Hero has been subjected to physical and emotional abuse by the police. Moreover, many street children have expressed such abuse by authorities.

The examples above were some of the ways under which street children experience violation of their rights. It is challenging to find a right where street children's rights have not been violated under the CRC. The situation of child rights in Nepal and in context of street children provides a rather gloomy picture.

The table below provides an overview of the results and also outlines the different articles of the CRC under which street children's rights are violated. The numeral rankings within the boxes are not prioritized issues.

TABLE 4: Overview of results & street children's rights violations, CRC (UNICEF).

Subject	UN CRC Violations	Micro (Primary data, Hero's case)	Macro (Primary data, UNICEF & CWIN)	Macro (Secondary data)
From home to the street: Causes to children becoming street children	Best interests of the child (Article 3)  Article 4 (Protection of rights)	FOUNDATION TO CAUSES: 1. Poverty 2. Inferior caste 3. Family from a village	1. Civil war (1996-2006)  Security situation increased the number of street children	About 51 000 displaced.  Minority of street children cited the political situation as a cause to street life

<p>From home to the street:</p> <p>Causes to children becoming street children continued...</p>	<p>Right to life, survival and development (Article 6)</p> <p>Article 18 (Parental responsibilities; state assistance)</p> <p>Article 20 (Children deprived of family environment)</p> <p>Article 22 (Refugee children)</p> <p>Article 26 (Social security)</p> <p>Article 27 (Adequate standard of living)</p> <p>Article 42 (Knowledge of rights)</p> <p>Article 38 (War and armed conflicts)</p>	<p>CAUSES:</p> <p>1. Immediate cause: Domestic violence</p> <p>2. Root causes: Becoming an orphan due to mother's lack of access to health care services in proximity of her village and father's accident also.</p>	<p>2. Poverty</p> <p>3. Inequality</p> <p>4. Caste-system and Feudalism Exploitative relations in society.</p> <p>5. Rural areas and urban poor areas face much discrimination. Geo-political and socio-religious significance on socio-economic conditions of families and children</p> <p>6. Migration</p> <p>7. Parent and children's misconceptions</p> <p>8. Domestic violence</p>	<p>Rural areas are ten times more poorer (World Bank, 1998)</p> <p>Discrimination and neglect against rural parts of Nepal is a significant dilemma in Nepal</p> <p>Development work particularly concentrated in Kathmandu.</p> <p>Caste-based discrimination is still a major challenge.</p> <p>Three-fourth of street children were from inferior ethnic and caste groups (CWIN 2002)</p> <p>Majority of street children cited domestic violence as a major reason why they come to the street.</p>
<p>Invisibility</p>	<p>Article 19 (Protection from all forms of violence)</p> <p>Article 39 (Rehabilitation of child victims)</p>	<p>Street children were invisible to the public.</p> <p>However, they were also acknowledged sometimes but these were in the minority group.</p>	<p>Street children are seen as problems mainly. They face much neglect. Begging is the most visible form of street work in which street children are engaged.</p>	<p>UNICEF statement is valid. Street children are invisible in society. But they are also visible targets to experience mischief due to lack of protection and supervision from state and guardians.</p>



Street work	Article 32 (Child labour)	Hero begs  Earns 50-100 Nepalese rupees a day  Exploited in past by an employer	Begging is the most visible form of street work. Street children do various types of work such as rag-picking, begging, conducting micro buses etc.	Minority are involved in begging. Majority do rag-picking and the range of income is 50-500 rupees.
Substance use and abuse	Article 33 (Drug abuse)	Hero and his peers sniff glue. Hero has reduced its use but claims his addiction to it.	Glue sniffing is a prevalent dilemma among street children.	Majority of street children use glue and other harmful substances
Group or gang dynamics	Irrelevant apart from drug abuse, exploitation, abuse and violence. These are found in the following sections	Hero is involved in a gang.  Glue sniffing and working are characteristics of the group. The group unites upon attacked by other groups	Groups and gangs have positive and negative implications for street children. They can provide protection and bond. They can also adopt harmful norms, values and rules.	Majority of street children are involved in gangs or groups, where the reasons include working together or fighting other gangs mainly.
Psychosocial abuse	Article 19 (Protection from all forms of violence)  Article 39 (Rehabilitation of child victims)	Various perpetrators have abused Hero emotionally, such as the police, street children, his group and other members of society.	Society and authorities abuse street children by using derogative words such as "Kathe." They are seen as problems.  The peers abuse in order to oppress and exhibit power in the groups for control also.	Majority of street children experience psychosocial abuse. There are numerous perpetrators but street children are the main abusers themselves.
Physical abuse	Article 19 (Protection from all forms of violence)  Article 37 (Detention and punishment)	Domestic violence was the immediate cause why Hero became a street child.  Apart from that, he has been abused physically by various perpetrators.	Street children are in an environment where they face much violence. Violence committed by the police, street children and gang clashes are prevalent issues which need to be addressed.	Majority of street children experience physical abuse. It is everyday life for them.  Street children believe it is because they live in the street.

Physical abuse continued...	Article 39 (Rehabilitation of child victims)	These perpetrators include the police and security guards.	The peers may abuse street children in order to oppress and exhibit power in the groups for control.	Place where violence occurs mostly includes the streets and when they are taken into custody by the place.  The main perpetrators are men. However, there are numerous other perpetrators.
Sexual abuse and exploitation	Article 34 (Sexual exploitation):  Article 36 (Other forms of exploitation)  Article 39 (Rehabilitation of child victims)	Hero has not been subjected to sexual abuse.  Hero's friend was sexually abused by a foreign paedophile, says Hero. This was confirmed by the leader of the group also.	Street children are major targets to sexual abuse.  The peers may do so as a result of oppressing and exhibiting power in groups for control.  Local and international paedophiles target street children.  Street children are also exploited and abused sexually in commercial sex work industry. The trend of boys involvement is also increasing.	Two out of five street children experience sexual abuse.  The perpetrators are mainly street males but women are also not excluded. There are numerous other perpetrators.

Upon my conclusion, I may simply state that there is a long road before street children's rights can be realised. This can be noticed in the level of rights under which they face deprivation. Street children belong to the group of children whose fulfilment of rights need to be prioritized. They are among the most vulnerable and excluded group of children.

## 9.5 Conclusion

The phenomenon of street children in Nepalese society is a constitution of various influences which root from feudalism, socio-religious and geo-political factors. The caste-system has contributed to the exploitative power relations between different ethnic and caste groups. These factors have widened the inequality gap between urban and the rural, lower and the higher caste, hillside and the Tarai, and poor and the rich etc.

The people, families and children in rural areas of Nepal are poorer, excluded and deprived of basic opportunities and rights in comparison to the capital and more affluent urban areas. Migrant families who come with their children to Kathmandu and other urban areas in hopes of a better life result to find challenges of integration which ultimately can influence children to lead a life in the streets. However, although poverty can scar the conditions of families and children, it is not necessarily the causal factor for children to lead a life in the street. Children can be poor but they can still have attachments to their families which keep them united and secure from the harms of street life. Children like Hero are driven to the streets because of violence and deprivation of care and support from their nuclear or extended families.

Life in the streets is hard. Violence and abuse is everyday life for street children. Majority face it and from numerous perpetrators. Many are trapped in harmful practices such as glue sniffing. Street children find shelter among their peers which can unravel into their turmoil also. Hero is an orphan who was driven to the street because of domestic violence but the root causes lie potentially within the exploitative power relations in society which deprived, impoverished and excluded the rural areas of Nepal and influenced his mother's tragedy. Hero's life story exposes tragedies, abuse, violence, innocence, denigration, survival, pain, deprivation, cleverness and self-destructiveness. "But who listen to their problems?" say street children.

Street children should be encouraged to reintegrate into society. Society should be motivated to perceive them as "the street survivors" and not as "problems" or "lost causes." If society treats street children violently and abuses them in general, why should they choose to reintegrate themselves to an environment so vicious? The change must first start from us; not from them. "Shadows of the Street" is a product which addresses these social problems of street children who live in Kathmandu, Nepal.

## 10. SOS PROCESS AND PRODUCT EVALUATION

Evaluation is one of the key phases of projects which draw out the weaknesses and strengths and assess the overall connection between the objectives, methodology and outcomes of the project or research.

In this area, I will evaluate the product's validity or reliability to represent the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal; make an impact assessment of the product; assess the ethics behind production of SOS; describe the limitations and challenges, risks and mitigations; and finally evaluate my professional development and future possibilities.

### 10.1. Reliability and validity

In terms of reliability, I will describe how the product provides a reliable and valid representation of the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal. The product will be assessed by examining the case studies in connection with the macro level.

Bryman (2008, 55-56) states a single case study does not suffice to provide the basis for making a generalization. But there are different types of cases which represent different aspects of a phenomenon and a case study can contain a combination of these elements. The two types of cases which will be adopted in this evaluation include "the extreme or unique case" and "the representative or typical case." The former is concerned with describing the singularity, specialness or uniqueness of a case which does not apply to the broader or general context. The latter which is also identified as an "exemplifying case," is a type of case which provides the basis for linking it to the general context i.e. something that is usual. Exemplifying cases can be chosen because they provide the possibility to respond to the research questions implemented for a study. (cited in Yin 2003.)

In the case of Hero's, the following table describes the ways in which his story provides a unique or an exemplifying account of street children's situation in Kathmandu, Nepal:

TABLE 5: The uniqueness and exemplifying aspects of Hero's case study

Matter or themes raised in Hero's case study	Extreme and uniqueness (Kathmandu, Nepal)	Representative or typical case, Exemplifying case (Kathmandu, Nepal)
Hero is invisible in society but visible to face abuse		Hero's case is common. Majority of street children sniff glue. It is a prevalent dilemma in Nepal.
Root cause to street life: Feudalism, discrimination of rural Nepal, inferior caste, poverty, and becoming an orphan	Hero's case is unique under the condition that minority of street children are orphans.	Hero's profile: Inferior caste, village, poor background: Possible influence upon his mother's lack of access to health care services in proximity of the village: Potential root cause to Hero being a street child. Under these circumstances, Hero's case is common.  Feudalism and caste-system have widened the inequality gap and impoverished rural areas of Nepal.
Immediate cause to street life: Domestic violence		Hero's case is common. Majority of street children come to the street because of domestic violence.
Hero begs and earns about 50-100 Nepalese rupees a day	Begging is more unique. The minority practice it.	The income received through begging is more common. It is the second highest income that street children earn generally.
Hero belongs to a group or gang.		Hero's case is common. Majority of street children belong to groups or gangs.
Glue sniffing is prevalent dilemma among Hero and his group		Hero's case is common. Majority of street children sniff glue. It is a prevalent dilemma in Nepal.
Hero has been subjected to psychosocial and physical violence		Hero's case is common. Majority of street children face such abuse. It is a prevalent dilemma in Nepal.
Hero has not been abused sexually. But his friend has experienced it.	In case of Hero's friend, his case is slightly more unique. Two out of five (SC) experience sexual abuse in Kathmandu. This does not apply to Hero.	Hero's case is slightly more common. Three out of five (street children) do not experience sexual abuse in Kathmandu.  Nevertheless, sexual abuse and exploitation is a prevalent dilemma in Nepal.

By analysing the table above, it is valid to state that Hero's case study leans more towards an "exemplifying case." Under this basis, Hero's case study to some extent supports to represent or exemplify the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal. The exception under which Hero's case is unique in comparison to the broader context is that Hero belongs to the minority group of street children who are orphans or the minority which beg for their subsistence.

Moreover, his friend's case of being sexually abused is to some extent unique since less numbers of street children face such abuse. However, it has been included because considering that two out of five street children experience it in Kathmandu, the generalisation of street children being visible targets to experience sexual abuse and exploitation holds validity to some degree.

What strengthens the reliability of the product includes the macro level inputs from the interviewees of the organisations. The case study does not stand alone to describe the situation of street children. Other street children and professionals' contributions enable the viewer to compare the theme from the micro and macro level. The outputs of these contributors are correlative and coherent. From this, I can deduce that the activities of the production were managed in a correlating manner. Moreover, the three objectives of the project and contents of the production sync well in terms of raising awareness about the situation of street children in Kathmandu, Nepal.

## 10.2. Impact assessment

Regarding outcomes or impact of the product, the official screening event organised in Kathmandu, Nepal succeeded to raise awareness and influence the audience. The responses of the viewers were positive in majority but some criticisms were received in terms of the low video quality (lack of resources). Secondly, a viewer had commented that producing a documentary does not suffice to influence a social change. The content of the documentary was received well and the documentary sparked dialogue and fuelled some of the viewers' motivation to screen SOS elsewhere and to also participate or support the future campaign of "Survivors of the Street." Therefore, the product presented to be a success in terms of fulfilling our expected short-term outcomes.

### 10.3. Code of ethics in SOS

Media can be a significant platform for promoting children's rights. For instance, its capacity to raise awareness or role as a watchdog is vital for keeping decision makers accountable to commitments made in best interest of children. But media can also exploit and harm children, for example, by publishing material which can risk retribution. (UNICEF 2006, 75-80.) Therefore, children's exposure in media necessitates reflection on the ethical aspects of the conduct. In this section, I will present the ethics behind production of "Shadows of the Street."

For the documentary that we produced, I consulted some research experts of Finland for advices on ethical practices of producing a documentary about street children. Moreover, I also sought advice from social workers in Kathmandu. Because our project bridged between Finland and Nepal, it was important to set an ethical base which would be in line with both countries. In other words, the product needed to be convenient for distribution and presentation purposes in Nepal and Finland.

In this thread, UNICEF's good media practices with children function as an important reference point for reflection of the product's ethical dimensions. Although the ethical reporting guidelines and principles are devised in context of children in general, its application to street children is also possible to some extent.

TABLE 6: UNICEF's principles of ethical reporting (UNICEF 2006, 75-80).

1	The dignity and rights of every child are to be respected in every circumstance.
2	In interviewing and reporting on children, special attention is to be paid to each child's right to privacy and confidentiality, to have their opinions heard, to participate in decisions affecting them and to be protected from the actuality or possibility of harm and retribution.
3	The best interests of each child are to be protected over any other consideration, including over advocacy for children's issues and the promotion of child rights.
4	When trying to determine the best interests of a child, the child's right to have their views taken into account are to be given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity.
5	Those closest to the child's situation and best able to assess it must be consulted about the political, social and cultural ramifications of any reporting.
6	Do not publish a story or an image that might put the child, siblings or peers at risk even when identities are changed, obscured or not used.

In relation to the principles outlined above and consultation received, I can state our approach for producing the documentary was ethical under the following basis:

TABLE 7: Good ethical practices of “Shadows of the Street”

Informed consent	Through local language, children received relevant information about our project motivation, theme, purpose of use, and other necessary information relevant to publication and exhibition of the documentary. Children’s oral and written consent were acquired for production and publication purpose. In some cases, audiovisual approvals were collected also.
Door out	Children were informed about the possibility of withdrawal and removal of material concerning them.
Privacy and confidentiality	Names are not disclosed in the documentary for the purpose of avoiding harm and retribution caused by exposing material that are private to other individuals. Children were in awareness that their face was going to be exposed. But they also had the possibility to mask them. However, participants did not require or request for such measures.
Children’s views	During production, children were given the space for expressing their views. More importantly, they had the possibility to influence contents of the documentary. Although a script for production was followed, the participants could shape it according to their views. The children who participated in the process were in the age group of 13-16 years. Their ability to express their views, events and the circumstances of their life was deemed mature by the authors.
Portrayal: Subjects, not objects	Children were active contributors. Their role was not passive. They could dictate upon the terms of production i.e. it was an interactive production where children were not objectified. Their stories and voices were individual representations of their realities.

### 10.3.1. Ethics in interviewing street children

Ethics is an inherent issue when conducting interviews that involve children. While it is important to acquire an interviewee’s informed consent about matters concerning them,



it is also crucial for the interviewer to consider how the interview process could be conducted in an ethical manner. UNICEF's guidelines set for interviewing children is beneficial for mirroring it against the interviews conducted with street children during production of SOS. The framework under which such reflection will occur is by quoting some of the guidelines and presenting the ethical aspects of our interview conduct.

Do no harm to any child; avoid questions, attitudes or comments that are judgemental, that are insensitive to cultural values, that place a child in danger or expose a child to humiliation, or that reactivate a child's pain and grief from traumatic events (UNICEF 2006, 76).

During the interviews or discussions with street children, at no point, were children referred to as street children. In respect of their individuality, we addressed them by their names. However, what is challenging in the case of street children is that the descriptions of their life stories could trigger a trauma because the cases can be extremely sensitive and emotional. In order to collect these case studies, the participants were in a position to tell about their difficult circumstances which compelled them into street life. Moreover, describing the experiences and hardships of street life can be a risk factor in triggering a trauma.

In my opinion, such risks of harm were mitigated because children were advocated about the implications of their choices. Street children's participation in the documentary was based on volunteerism. Their withdrawal from the process and removal of produced material was an option available to them. Interviewers were delicate in approaching sensitive issues, for example, sexual abuse and exploitation of street children or causes to life in the street. Children were in awareness of their choices and they were not obliged to answer questions which were private and painful to them. In addition, their age group (13-16) and case-based impressions suggested that they were mature to make an informed consent.

Do not discriminate in choosing children to interview because of sex, race, age, religion, status, educational background or physical abilities (UNICEF 2006, 76).

To some degree, if we speak of social status i.e. one's social position in society, UNICEF's guideline is in contradiction with our conduct because our participants were

selected under the criteria of whether they were street children or not. The term ‘street children’ is stigmatizing; but it is still necessary for recognizing children’s specific relation to the street (UNICEF 2006, 40). Despite street children being selected under such basis, their individuality was appreciated. Documentary does not cage their identity under that term. It promotes their individualism through storytelling and expression of views which are unique to the child’s circumstances and thoughts.

Apart from that, it is evident that the documentary is dominated by boys who live in the street. Although it may appear biased, it was not intentional. During the internship period, my observations did not record any girls who were street children. They were rather invisible in Kathmandu or then few in numbers. Their inputs to the product were favored indeed. Moreover, an inquiry concerning their involvement was made when the organizations were contacted. However, since they complied during the post-production phase, their participation was not realistic because of time barriers. Therefore, challenges related to their access and inappropriate timing hindered their participation and influenced the documentary to take such a male-dominant representation.

No staging – do not ask children to tell a story or take an action that is not part of their own history (UNICEF 2006, 76).

In the interviews and discussions, we had different themes to which children answered in relevance to their life circumstances and stories. Furthermore, children were able to make independent contributions to the documentary. Children were not requested to provide material which would have been irrelevant to their life story.

Ensure that the child or guardian knows they are talking with a reporter. Explain the purpose of the interview and its intended use (UNICEF 2006, 76).

This guideline is not necessarily applicable to circumstances of street children. There were various barriers that affected our inability to acquire the consent of guardians. Some street children may not have guardians or they are missing the links with them. As in the case of Hero, his parents had passed away and accessing his relative was unrealistic because Hero fled from his home due to domestic violence (Hero, personal communication 9.11.2009).

In addition, I also sought consultation on the matter. I was informed to acquire the permission of the guardians if it was possible. However, if there were barriers to that, then an informed consent of a street child and a NGO would suffice for the distribution and exhibition of the documentary. In addition, I was informed that the age when a child is considered to be mature for making an informed consent was 12 years. (Anne Meretmaa, personal communication 18.11.2009; Sakari Kainulainen, personal communication 19.11.2009; Pirita Juppi and Sakari Kainulainen, personal communication 2.6.2010.)

The main subject and other participants of the documentary were between the age group of 13-16 years. Furthermore, their maturity was also deemed appropriate upon case-based impressions or assessments. According to Nepal's legislation, children are recognized to be below the age of 16 years (Children's Act 1992, 2). Therefore, some of the selected children could be characterized as adults. However, the international standard recognizes children to be below the age of 18 years (UNICEF).

Children in Nepal are considered to mature earlier perhaps. For this reason, the international standard is not perceived to be valid in the case of Nepal. Furthermore, street children are often regarded to "mature early," but in actual circumstances, they are described to harden earlier (UNICEF and Child Welfare Society 1996, 3). To some degree, these factors strengthen my claim that the age group selected for SOS was "mature." Nevertheless, children's maturity was necessary to assess on individual basis.

Pay attention to where and how the child is interviewed. Limit the number of interviewers and photographers. Try to make certain that children are comfortable and able to tell their story without outside pressure, including from the interviewer. In film, video and radio interviews, consider what the choice of visual or audio background might imply about the child and her or his life and story. Ensure that the child would not be endangered or adversely affected by showing his or her home, community or general whereabouts. (UNICEF 2006, 76.)

The number of interviewers and photographer were three in total. However, the photographer took pictures after the interview. Therefore, two individuals were involved in the interview of street children. One of the interviewers guided the process and the second interviewed and communicated with street children through the local language. The environment where street children were interviewed was a secured space. In the

field, street children were interviewed in their natural environment. To some extent, this added the interviewee's comfort. In our first trial, interviews conducted with street children in the field attracted the public's attention which was unexpected. Although it was harmless, we sought convenience in changing locations frequently and seeking spaces that were rather private. This was done for security reasons and also in order to ensure a private environment where street children could express themselves.

### 10.3.2. Ethics in presenting street children

Previously, I described about the ethical aspects of interviews which were conducted with street children. Now, I shall proceed to emphasize upon the ethical practices of presenting children in the documentary. Once again, the guidelines of UNICEF set the ground for reflection on the ethical aspects of the documentary.

Do not further stigmatize any child; avoid categorizations or descriptions that expose a child to negative reprisals – including additional physical or psychological harm – or to lifelong abuse, discrimination or rejection by their local communities. (UNICEF 2006, 76.)

UNICEF's guidelines set some ethical controversy in presenting street children as street children. Nevertheless, this is inevitable because we are highlighting the social issues of street children. Moreover, though the documentary is about street children, the subjects' stories and other inputs are unique representations of their reality and views.

Documentaries are accounted to promote street children's visibility. In my opinion, by portraying a street child's life story in light of their stories does not stigmatize them – at least to an unethical degree - because viewers are in contact with the child's story and name; and not the label of a street child.

Therefore, their individualism is rather promoted because documentary makers give face to story of a street child. The participants were never referred to as street children in the documentary production. But professionals' use of the term (street children) in the documentary was necessary for the purpose of providing a macro level picture of street children's situation. Moreover, they stress upon the need to perceive street children as individuals.

Always provide an accurate context for the child's story or image (UNICEF 2006, 76).

The documentary script was based on the case study of Hero. In addition, children who participated in the documentary had a valuable role in expressing issues which were important to street children; and not solely to the authors. The narration and story line of the documentary is in line with the interview conducted with Hero.

Always change the name and obscure the visual identity of any child who is identified as:

1. A victim of sexual abuse or exploitation.
2. A perpetrator of physical or sexual abuse.
3. HIV-positive, or living with AIDS, unless the child, a parent or a guardian gives fully informed consent.
4. Charged or convicted of a crime.” (UNICEF 2006, 76.)

The subjects of the documentary were not identified within the criterion that is mentioned above. According to Hero, he has been taken to custody in suspicion of theft. But he has not been condemned. Hero claims his innocence also. For this reason, exposing children's visual identity was justified. Children also had the possibility to mask their identity but none of them chose that option.

Despite that, Hero's name has not been disclosed in the documentary. In addition, Hero described the case of a friend who was abused sexually by a foreigner. The main sub-participant confirmed this story also. Although they had mentioned the child's name, the victim's identity was obscured in the documentary. The parts where the peers' names were pronounced have been removed from the documentary.

In certain cases, using a child's identity – their name and/or recognizable image – is in the child's best interests. However, when the child's identity is used, they must be protected against harm and supported through any stigmatization or reprisals. Some examples of these special cases occur when children:

1. Initiate contact with the reporter, wanting to exercise their right to freedom of expression and their right to have their opinion heard.
2. Participate in a sustained programme of activism or social mobilization and want to be so identified. (UNICEF 2006, 77.)

Street children's participation in the documentary was based on volunteerism. The project was initiated with a positive goal to promote awareness about street children's situation. Moreover, one of the objectives was to sensitize different members of the society to perceive street children respectfully. In addition, during the production, street children expressed interest to have their opinion heard, for example, the main sub-participant's unexpected participation was considered to be beneficial for his best interest because he took the initiative to participate in the documentary. For these reasons, children's visual identity did not require masking.

### 10.3.3. Ethical controversies

In this area, I will address some of the major ethical controversies which occurred during the process.

Confirm the accuracy of what the child has to say, either with other children or an adult, preferably with both (UNICEF 2006, 77).

Hero's life story was not confirmed. Since we were not able to access his guardians, we were unable to confirm his life story. Moreover, we did not consult his peers on the matter. It was not perceived to be ethical because they were private issues to him. However, the sub-participant exposed the case of a friend who was sexually abused by a foreign pedophile. In a coincidence, Hero confirmed this story also. But the rest of Hero's story has not been confirmed. Nevertheless, we informed Hero that we were producing a documentary, for which reason, his life was going to be exposed to the public. He was made aware of the importance to present his life according to how he perceived it "best" i.e. imply the need to present it with loyalty to his background etc.

Secondly, it is our ethical responsibility to be in contact with our participants (street children) when needed. In the post-production period of Nepal, we went on a few occasions to look for Hero and leader of the group in order to present the relatively complete documentary to them. But we didn't succeed to find them. I was in awareness of the challenges related to finding them. During production of the documentary, we were under constant uncertainty on whether they were going to arrive to the agreed points even. Street children are mobile. They spend majority of their time in the street or

they live there also. They are not easily accessible because they do not have the technological means under which we could contact them at ease.

In March 2010, I requested Ankit Khanal to search for Hero and leader of the group again. After three months since we last had contact with the participants, the probability of meeting them was even lower. This was the period when we requested approvals from the interviewees of CWIN and UNICEF also. Ankit Khanal was unsuccessful in his attempts to find the participants (street children) again. We were unable to receive their feedback. Therefore, we were remained with the ethical code to interpret and represent their story in loyalty to their circumstances (data collected on the participants).

In terms of documentaries and ethics, there is no universal standard of ethical conduct for documentary makers except for some guidelines of "Do no harm," "Protect the vulnerable" or "Honor the viewer's trust" etc. Documentary makers face various ethical conflicts or contradictions. Sometimes, the ethical guidelines are not followed or they leave much room for interpretation. Ethics in documentary making is a blurry area, for example, some view that it is correct to pay subjects for their contributions. (Aufderheide, Jaszi and Chandra 2009.)

What I intend to highlight is that there are numerous controversies and "radical" and contrasting opinions under which documentaries are produced and published. As an example, if we look at the documentary "Born into Brothels" (2004), which is an acclaimed documentary directed by Zana Briski and Ross Kauffman, it presents some controversial issues because one of the directors (Zana Briski) was personally involved in children's lives. We can argue that as professionals, documentary makers should have an objective approach to their production. This is because the author risks altering the events and distorting the reality through their personal involvement.

In "Born into Brothels," it is told that for an outsider to photograph Calcutta's red light district is challenging. Therefore, Zana Briski taught photography to children of the prostitutes and inspired them to photograph about the subject. On one hand, it empowered children to learn photography and use it as a tool for their free expression of the subject. On the other hand, it can be viewed as exploitation of children for exposing

the difficult-to-access Calcutta's red light district. Not only is such exploitation unethical, but it may also endanger children because of the syndicate which operates it.

My motivation is to explain that documentary making is a highly questionable field but yet documentaries which lack ethical grounds are published and even awarded despite the raised controversies. This statement is not made to justify that those unethical products should be released. Instead, my motivation is highlight the controversy of the topic and need for developing a universal code of ethics for documentary making.

Documentary filmmakers need a larger, more sustained and public discussion of ethics, and they also need safe zones to share questions and to report concerns. Any documentary code of ethics that has credibility for a field with a wide range of practices must develop from a shared understanding of values, standards, and practices. (Aufderheide et al. 2009, 12-13, 15.)

In my opinion, SOS followed an ethical standard to its optimum level. We did not cause harm to children because they were informed about the documentary and its use in Nepal and other countries. Our motivation was to present the documentary to them before its release. We attempted to find them but filmmakers are not intelligence agents who have the resources to operate an extensive search. Furthermore, we had received their consent in us having editorial control over the product. The following statement describes how documentary makers often function to receive editorial control before even beginning the production process.

Most subjects signed releases allowing the makers complete editorial control and ownership of the footage for every use early on during the production process (Aufderheide et al. 2009, 10).

Moreover, in the post-production phase of documentary making, some documentary makers believe that their allegiance is owed to the audience; and not to the subjects of the documentary. (Aufderheide et al. 2009, 12-13.)

In my view, our allegiance was first to the subjects. Although we had editorial control, our intention was to present it to the subjects before publishing it. But we were unable to find them. Nevertheless, according to me, we have still produced it in allegiance to street children because the documentary was edited and shaped in light of the interview



data of participants. Therefore, I can state that Hero's life was not staged because the production followed the outputs of Hero and his peers' interviews. The activities of begging in the morning or evening, glue sniffing, or cause to street life present similarities in Hero's interview and in the documentary.

Furthermore, during editing, we constantly reflected on whether if our selections posed any harm to the children. As a result, we have removed names and considered the aspects of "Do no harm" to the participants, for example, the identity of the child who had experienced sexual abuse was obscured, or the participants were not allowed to use any harmful substances during the production phase. Moreover, the approvals from UNICEF and CWIN were acquired in order to strengthen basis of the ethical conduct. As described earlier, I was informed that if I acquired a street child and NGO's approval, then the ethical grounds of my conduct were more solid.

Upon my conclusion, I may state that we followed the ethical standards to an optimum level. Since we also had the editorial control over the product, I may state that the right to publishing of the documentary was validated. Although the documentary is loyal to Hero and other participants' contributions, I have yet included the following notice:

The documentary is a representation of the authors' view with participatory contributions from the participants. Although attempted, the final product was not presented to the children because of barriers independent of us. Nevertheless, the storyline follows the child's real-life story. During the production process, Silver Lining Creation and MAG Nepal had received participants' informed consent and editorial control over the product. Therefore, please view the documentary in consideration of these aspects and limitations. (Shadows of the Street 2010.)

#### 10.4. Limitations and challenges, risks and mitigation

In the documentary production process, we faced some limitations, challenges, and risks which will be outlined here. The challenges and mitigation of risks regarding the ethical aspects will not be addressed since they are covered in the chapter of study ethics.

In the development and pre-production, we did not experience much challenges except for finding literature on the topic of street children. We spent a considerable amount of time searching for literature in book shops. Due to this, the time-frame for making a situational analysis shortened a week.

Another limitation of the project was that we did not have professional equipments for making a documentary. However, this did not prevent us from producing it. But it affected quality of the video, for example, in the post-production phase; we were inclined to do the narration through a mobile phone which lowered the sound quality of the documentary. Nevertheless, the narration is understandable and the documentary includes subtitles also. The product is not intended for commercial purpose. Therefore, the quality does not pose any restrictions to our activities. Moreover, contents of the documentary have received positive feedback from the viewers generally.

Overall, project management is a challenging task. Though planning can be supportive in leading a successful project, the “X factors” during the process can significantly affect the outcomes, and in some cases, it may hinder them even. “Shadows of the Street” was initiated spontaneously, where I and Ankit Khanal had about two months (leaving out off-days) to complete it. Though the time frame was relatively sufficient, the matter of uncertainty and unexpected twists, for example, subjects’ participation were on the verge of hampering our goal. During the production process, one of the main risks was uncertainty in subjects’ participation and contribution. There was no opportunity to mitigate that except for having acquired numerous participants as a back-up to which we did not have time. Moreover, keeping the participants motivation was the second. However, the project was based on volunteerism.

Regarding the product, our plan was to present two street children’s life stories where they could be distinguished between a child “on the street” and “of the street.” However, the project resulted in voluntary participation of three participants, from which, two withdrew in between the process. What sustained the project was the remaining participant (Hero). Due to time barriers, collecting new case studies was unrealistic. In terms of mitigation, Hero was hero of the project. Since the documentary shifted towards describing the life story of a child who lived in the street, the limitation

of the product lies in the one-dimensional concept of street children. However, this change also enabled the opportunity to present a more in-depth story of Hero.

Our production team was short in number, for example, I had to operate as the writer, director, interviewer, camera man, and project coordinator etc. In the field, while recording, I had to adopt an inside and outside view simultaneously. This was a challenge because while you are concentrated in making of the film, you have to also analyze your environment, outputs of interviewees instantaneously, and monitor the overall process of production also. Therefore, you had to be concerned with the micro factors of the production and also connect it with the macro picture of where the process was leading to.

In addition, you have to adopt a constant ethical base to your activities with the situations that arose in the field, for example, in disallowing children to use substances or considering the need for children to have a private space for free expression when the crowd gathered around our activities etc. In my view, the situational analysis was an indispensable phase because it enabled us to adapt to the issues raised by street children and direct the process towards the “right direction.”

Another key event which defined success of the project was the interviews with CWIN and UNICEF. In the plan, our motivation was to interview them during the production stage but it postponed to the post-production phase. Although it did not affect our possibility to acquire the valuable inputs, what affected us was the uncertainty whether organizations would comply to provide the necessary interviews to describe about the situation of street children in a macro level. Therefore, the documentary risked being limited to presentation of a child’s story.

#### 10.5. Professional development and “Survivors of the Street”

“Shadows of the Street” (2010) was not only rewarding in terms of my professional development but it was a turning point experience for crystallizing my future aspirations. The project sparked a definite interest in working with and for street

children in the future. I have conceptualized to release a social campaign called “Survivors of the Street” through Silcreation and Mag Nepal. The campaign is in a developmental stage but it aims to promote street children’s visibility, protection and best interest through the use of media and projects to come in the future.

The campaign was announced at the screening event in Kathmandu. It inspired some of the audience to express their support and potential affiliation with it. The campaign is not exclusively meant for Nepal but street children worldwide. (Silver Lining Creation.)

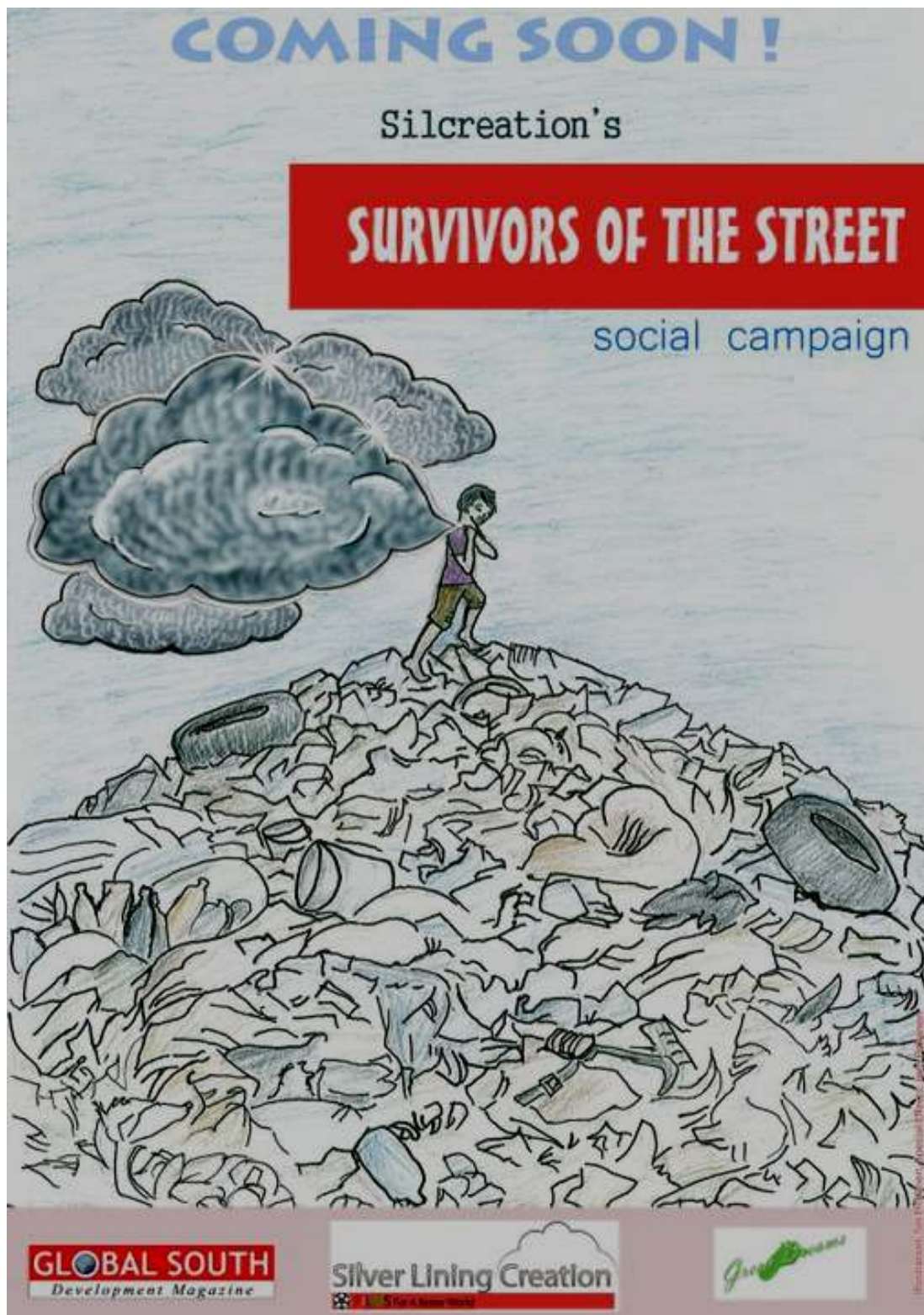
Regarding my professional development, I think that improved awareness is the key for developing one’s capacity to set interventions that could support the target group constructively. The insight which I have received on the phenomenon of street children is an asset for my future work. Since I have gained some level of understanding of the subject, I can adopt a more professional conduct in tailoring services that are relevant to street children’s protection and best interest. This is beneficial for the awareness raising and advocacy programme which I intend to launch in order to promote, for example, the need to view street children as “the street survivors” than as “problems” who are victims of their own cause.

Media is also an effective tool for advocacy work which I intend to use for promotion of vertical and horizontal communication between street children, general public, and decision makers etc. I have gained some degree of competency in this area and my motivation is to activate others to the cause also. In this area, what is also necessary to emphasize upon is the code of ethics in the subject of media and street children.

To some degree, I have gained know-how in conducting assessments of the various dynamics that exist in street children’s life circumstances or relations between their peers, groups and others. Assessments are critical for determining their best interest.

The documentary production lit my interest in media-related studies, especially filmmaking. Overall, the project developed my know-how in numerous ways, for example, in social filmmaking, project management, or in social work with street children. In the future, my motivation is to solidify this experience even further. I look curiously to the days of “Survivors of the Street.” The campaign sets to bring street

children together with others for the purpose of closing the wide gap between them and the society. This day remains to be seen to be believed.



PICTURE 11: “Survivors of the Street” campaign (made by Siri Pitkänen).

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CHHE	Caste Hill Hindu Elite
CPCS	Child Protection Centers and Services
CWS	Child Welfare Society
CWIN	Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Center
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
GSDM	Global South Development Magazine
GSDTV	Global South Development TV
HD	Human Development
HDI	Human Development Index
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
MAG	Nepal Motivation for Achievement Group Nepal
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SOS	Shadows of the Street
Silcreation	Silver Lining Creation ry Finland
SF	Social Filmmaking
SC	Street Children
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
VAR	Video for Awareness Raising
VD	Video in Development
VOC	Voice of Children
WHO	World Health Organisation

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