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'I WANT TO CREATE MY OWN SPACE'
A time-geographic analysis of the lives of children
and young people on the streets of Pelotas, Brazil

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ABSTRACT

Children and young people who drift about the streets working, having fun, relaxing in the shade or committing petty crimes are an increasingly visible part of the dynamics in cities around the world. They are often misunderstood, despite researchers' aspirations to diminish the gap between the common understanding about street realities and the realities experienced by the children and young people in street situation. Researchers attempt to demonstrate this reality by covering the varied aspects of street life such as; street life style, the reasons for migrating to the streets, survival strategies, identity, and agency. Owing to the misconceptions, the activities of these children and young people are frequently misinterpreted by societies in general, and the children and young people are represented as the primary causes of the accretion in social evils, such as crime, drugs, or prostitution.

However, the elements of street life are highly inextricable and should be kept together in analyses of street realities. These inextricable elements include, mentioning but a few, mental and social elements and their interrelations with the physical street environments and vice versa. Moreover, within the social sciences, little focus has been given to aspects such as sadness, depression, low self-esteem, and other mental burdens create by living on the streets. All these aspects, whether human or non-human have different meanings for individuals; aspects are interpreted in a variety of ways and affecting how livelihoods are experienced.

In this thesis, I explore the lives of children and young people living on the streets of Pelotas in southern Brazil using a time-geographic methodology, which provides a useful perspective in order to investigate children's and adolescents' lives on the streets. I have three concrete research questions in this dissertation: 1. What processes impact the multidimensional networks within which children and young people on the streets are connected? 2. How are the relationships of these children and young people with their street environments formed in relation to space and time? 3. What are the processes behind the actions of children and young people on the streets? I investigated 19 children and young people, and their relationships with their multidimensional environment using various traditional methods such as observation, interviews, and focus group

discussions. I also used self-designed exercises and walkabouts and analysed poems, lyrics, and photographs taken by the participants. My interest was primarily on the interconnections between different elements from the mental, socio-cultural dimensions of space, and the physical street environments where my participants were visibly present. Furthermore, I illustrate how they actively structure their lives on the streets.

This dissertation illustrates the how the highly relational nature of street life is shaped by the constantly changing succession of encounters and dispersions of the manifold elements that form the complex networks of the streets. These networks are shaped by multiple intertwined processes, which connect different times and spaces. The legacy of past times, in the form of outdated legislation, repute, or the ways in which street living people are portrayed in the media or even in fiction, impact the networks of children and youths who are living on the streets. Moreover, children and young people actively transform the networks within which they are connected. To a great extent, these same processes, which shape the networks of street children, are behind the activities of the children and young people, i.e. certain elements in the environment are approached physically or in the imagination in order to reach one's own goals. The goals are often related to possibilities to create a better means of survival and live as normal a life as possible, in one way or another. To reach their goals these children and young people create space-time pockets either physically, by socially forming them, or merely imagining. The relationships children and young people on the streets develop with the environment are the result of constant negotiation between one's own desires and wants in relation to what is perceived as affordable in the environment for the person. This complex negotiation is also affected by past experiences, as well as by hopes for the future.

ABSTRAKTI

Lapset ja nuoret, jotka kuljeskelevat kaduilla työskennellen, pitäen hauskaa, rentoutuen viileissä varjoissa tai pikku rikoksia tehden, ovat enenevässä määrin näkyvä osa kaupunkien dynamiikkaa ympäri maailman. He ovat usein väärinymmärrettyjä, huolimatta tutkijoiden yrityksistä pienentää yleisen käsityksen ja koetun katutodellisuuden välistä kuilua tutkimalla useita katuelämän aspekteja, kuten katuelämäntapoja, kadulle muuton syitä, selviytymiskeinoja, katulasten identiteettiä ja toimijuutta. Väärinymmärrysten takia yhteiskunta tulkitsee tämän tästä väärin kadulla elävien lasten ja nuorten toimintaa ja heidät nähdään usein sosiaalisten epäkohtien, kuten rikollisuuden, huumeiden ja prostituution, ensisijaisina syinä.

Elementtejä, joista katuelämä muodostuu, ei voida kuitenkaan erottaa toisistaan, vaan ne tulisi pitää yhdessä katutodellisuutta analysoitaessa. Tällaisia elementtejä ovat muun muassa henkiset ja sosiaaliset elementit sekä niiden yhteydet fyysiseen kaupunkitilaan ja päinvastoin vain muutaman mainitakseni. Yhteiskuntatieteissä ei ole myöskään riittävästi huomioitu aspektien, kuten surun, ahdistuksen ja huonon itsetunnon tai muiden henkisesti kuormittavien tekijöiden, vaikutusta kadulla. Kaikilla näillä aspekteilla, inhimillisillä tai ei-inhimillisillä, on erilainen merkitys eri yksilöille; aspektit tulkitaan eri tavoin, joka vaikuttaa siihen, miten elinolot koetaan.

Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkin kadulla elävien lasten ja nuorten elämää Pelotaksessa Etelä-Brasiliassa käyttäen aika-maantieteellistä metodologiaa, joka tarjoaa hyödyllisen näkökulman kadulla elävien lasten ja nuorten elämien tutkimiseen. Väitöskirjassani minulla on kolme konkreettista tutkimuskysymystä: 1. Mitkä prosessit vaikuttavat moniulotteisiin verkostoihin, joihin kaduilla elävät lapset ja nuoret ovat kytkeytyneet? 2. Miten kyseisten lasten ja nuorten suhde katuympäristöön muodostuu suhteessa tilaan ja aikaan? 3. Mitkä prosessit ovat kadulla elävien lasten ja nuorten toimien taustalla? Tutkin 19 lasta ja nuorta ja heidän suhteitaan moniulotteiseen ympäristöön hyödyntäen monia perinteisiä metodeja, kuten havainnointia, haastattelua sekä ryhmäkeskusteluja. Käytin myös itse suunnittelemiani harjoituksia, kuten kävelykierroksia, ja analysoin lasten kirjoittamia runoja, ja sanoituksia sekä valokuvia, joita he ottivat. Olen erityisesti kiinnostunut henkisten, sosio-kulttuuristen tilan ulottuvuuksien sekä fyysisen

katuympäristön välisistä yhteyksistä. Tämän lisäksi havainnollistan miten kadulla elävät lapset ja nuoret aktiivisesti itse muokkaavat elämiään kadulla.

Tämä väitöskirja osoittaa katuelämän riippuvan monesta tekijästä ja muokkaan-tuvan jatkuvasti muuttuvien kohtaamisten ja erkanemisten vaikutuksesta monimutkaisiksi verkostoiksi. Monet yhteenkietoutuneet prosessit muokkaavat näitä verkostoja yhdistäen eri aikoja ja tiloja. Menneisyyden perintö, kuten vanhentunut lainsäädäntö, maine tai se miten katulapset kuvataan mediassa tai fiktiossa, vaikuttavat kadulla elävien lasten ja nuorten verkostoihin. Tämän lisäksi lapset ja nuoret muovaavat itse verkostoja, joihin he ovat liitoksissa. Suuressa määrin samat prosessit ovat näiden lasten ja nuorten toiminnan taustalla; määrättyjä ympäristön elementtejä lähestytään fyysisesti tai mielikuvituksessa, jotta omien tavoitteiden saavuttaminen olisi mahdollista. Tavoitteet liittyvät usein tavalla tai toisella selviytymismahdollisuuksien kehittämiseen ja mahdollisuuteen elää niin normaalia elämää kuin mahdollista. Saavuttaakseen tavoitteensa kadulla elävät lapset ja nuoret muodostavat aika-tilataskuja joko fyysisesti, sosiaalisesti tai kuvitellusti. Suhteet, jotka kadulla elävät lapset ja nuoret luovat ympäristönsä kanssa, ovat seurausta jatkuvasta vuoropuhelusta henkilön omien halujen ja toiveiden sekä koettujen mahdollisuuksien välillä. Myös aikaisemmat kokemukset sekä tulevaisuuden toiveet vaikuttavat tähän vuoropuheluun.

RESUMO

Crianças e adolescentes perambulando pelas ruas, trabalhando, brincando, descansando nas sombras ou cometendo pequenos delitos. Esta cena cada vez mais é um elemento integral da dinâmica das cidades no mundo inteiro. Tais crianças são frequentemente mal-entendidas, apesar das tentativas dos pesquisadores de reduzir a diferença entre a idéia geral a respeito das vidas nas ruas e das realidades experienciadas pelos moradores de ruas. Os estudos na área cobrem aspectos como modos de vida, motivos de estar nas ruas, métodos de sobrevivência, identidade e agência. Ao desconhecer ou ignorar esses aspectos, a sociedade comumente interpreta as crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua como as causas principais das problemas sociais como criminalidade, drogas e prostituição.

Os elementos que formam as vidas nas ruas são indissociáveis, e devem ser considerados simultaneamente quando analisando as realidades nas ruas. Tais elementos são por exemplo elementos mentais e sociais, assim como suas interconexões com o ambiente físico nas cidades. É notável também que as ciências sociais não dedicam a atenção necessária aos aspectos como tristeza, angústia e baixa autoestima, ou a outros fatores mentalmente preocupantes nas ruas. Todos esses aspectos, humanos ou des-humanos, têm significados distintos para cada indivíduo, e suas múltiplas interpretações também interagem com as circunstâncias individuais da vida na rua.

Nesta tese de doutorado pesquiso as vidas das crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua na cidade de Pelotas, no sul do Brasil. A pesquisa utiliza uma metodologia tempo-geográfica (time-geography), que proporciona abordagens propícias à pesquisa das vidas destas crianças e adolescentes. Nesta tese eu respondo à três perguntas concretas: 1. Quais processos influenciam as redes multidimensionais às quais as crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua estão associados? 2. Como a relação entre estas crianças e adolescentes e o ambiente de rua é formado em relação ao tempo e ao espaço? 3. Quais são os processos por trás dos atos de crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua? Pesquisei 19 crianças e adolescentes e seus relacionamentos com ambientes multidimensionais utilizando vários métodos tradicionais como observação,

entrevistas e conversas em grupos. Além disso, apliquei exercícios que planejei, tais como caminhadas, e também analisei poemas e canções escritas pelas crianças, assim como fotografias tiradas por eles. O foco de minha pesquisa são as interconexões entre dimensões do espaço mental, socio-cultural e do ambiente físico das ruas. Ademais, ilustro como as próprias crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua são agentes ativos na definição de suas vidas nas ruas.

Esta tese de doutorado demonstra que a vida na rua possui aspectos relativos, que se transformam constantemente por sucessivos encontros e secessões, que ao longo do tempo podem ser descritas como complexas redes. Também descrevo os vários processos associados à vida nas ruas, e como estes transformam as redes conectando-as às múltiplos tempos e espaços. Analiso também como o legado histórico, do ponto de vista da legislação obsoleta, da reputação ou representação das crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua na mídia ou na literatura afetam fortemente as redes dessas crianças . Ainda que crianças e adolescentes tenham papel ativo na transformação das redes às quais eles estão associados, tais processos influem de maneira significativa em suas atividades. Certos aspectos do ambiente são abordados de maneira física, táctil, ou por meio da imaginação, de modo que as crianças possam atingir seus objetivos. Estas metas, por sua vez, são relacionadas, de uma maneira ou outra, com oportunidades que visem melhorar suas condições de vida, e de viver uma vida tão normal quanto possível. Para cumprir seus objetivos, estas crianças e adolescentes estabelecem distintas bolsões espaço-temporais, sejam esses concretos, por meio de círculos sociais, ou simplesmente por meio da imaginação. As relações que as crianças e adolescentes em situação de rua desenvolvem com seus ambientes são produtos da negociação constante entre as ânsias e os desejos individuais e as oportunidades disponíveis ao indivíduo. Essa complexa negociação também é afetada por experiências do passado e a esperança em relação ao futuro.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis consists of an abstract, summary, and the following four papers. The papers are referred to in the text with Roman numerals.

I　　　Gadd K. Constraints, incentives and pockets of local order on the streets of Pelotas, Brazil. (Submitted to *Young*)

II　　Gadd K. (2016) Street children's lives and actor-networks. *Children's Geographies* 14(3): 295-309.

III　Gadd K. (2016) Place attachment among children in a street situation in Pelotas, Brazil. *Journal of Youth Studies.* Advance online publication, *DOI:10.1080/13676261.2016.1166193*

IV　Gadd K. Understanding the affects in street children's lives in Pelotas Brazil. (Submitted to *Social and Cultural Geography*)

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1. INTRODUCTION

Children and young people who drift about the streets working and having fun, relaxing in the shade or committing petty crimes are an increasingly visible parts of the dynamics in the cities around the world. Some of these children and adolescents stay mostly on the streets, even during the nights, whereas some of them always return home when the night comes. Common to the majority of children and adolescents in street situation is that they usually live in rather challenging circumstances searching for a livelihood in public spaces in the cities.

Children and young people in street situations, especially those in Brazil, have become targets of a great deal of attention. Journals such as *The Economist* (2000) and the *Daily Mail* (Edmonds, 2014) have published articles about the livelihoods of 'street children', not to mention the reports of organisations such as Amnesty International (2013). In Brazil, children and adolescents in street situations have been inspirations for works of literature such as '*Capitães de areia*'[1], a novel telling the story of abandoned orphan children begging and stealing on the streets of Salvador in the Northeast of Brazil, and films like '*Pixote: a Lei do mais fraco*'[2], a type of documentary film about a boy living on the streets of São Paulo, who is used by corrupt police and criminal gangs. Children in street situations are often also represented in Brazilian *novelas*[3], which have millions of viewers daily. The children and adolescents are not solely represented in a negative way in newspapers, literature, films, or *novelas*. Nevertheless, in the light of the past decades children and adolescents in street situations have often been treated as threats by Brazilian society. The streets are occasionally purged of the children and adolescents by taking them to juvenile justice facilities or even killing them (Ursin, 2013). Probably the most well-known incident is the Candelária massacre in Rio de Janeiro in 1993, when some off-duty police men shot at about 50 children who were sleeping in front of the Candelária church in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Four of the children died immediately, one boy was shot when he escaped,

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[1] Captains of the Sands (1937) by Jorge Amado
[2] Pixote (small child): The Law of the Weakest (1981). Film directed by Hector Babenco.
[3] Soap opera

two were taken into a car and then executed, and one girl died from her injuries several days later (Amnesty International, 2013). Children in street situations are frequently represented as the primary causes of the increase in social evils, such as crime, drugs, or prostitution (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Bernat, 1999). Negative attitudes towards street dwellers are still a reality in Brazil, and the country has faced an increase in police brutality in the last three decades (Caldeira, 2000). Children and adolescents on the streets are often misunderstood by people in mainstream society. They are usually stigmatised and represented as either vagrants, runaway thugs or as the helpless victims of neglectful parents (Beazley, 2002). On the other hand, it is acknowledged that the streets offer the livelihoods, freedom, and belonging that can otherwise be absent from the lives of children and adolescent (Beazley, 2002; Raffaelli & Koller, 2005; see also Sharkey & Shields, 2008 about inclusion and exclusion).

Children and adolescents spending most of their time on the street beyond parental supervision is obviously not something new (Butler, 2009). In Brazilian history, the public streets are spaces that have been considered as the place of the poor whereas private houses in gated condominiums have been seen as the territories of the rich (Da Matta, 1984). In order to comprehend the street children phenomenon of today and possibly the reasons why children and adolescents are treated in such a brutal way, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the origin of the phenomenon.

Children and adolescents encountered on the streets of Brazil are the consequences of historical processes of inadequate policies and poor decision making, as regards the protection of children (Araújo de Morais et al., 2010). At the beginning of the 20th century, children were part (and even before) of the work force. This was because children who had behaved 'against the law' or illegally were 'regenerated' by making them work as they could not be imprisoned until they were older (Araújo de Morais et al., 2010). However, there was not enough formal work for the majority of the population at that time in Brazil, therefore people had to do informal work on the streets. The idea that the children and adolescents on the streets are there because they must have done something illegal or bad is a concept from that time.

A new law, the Minor's Code, was announced in 1927 regarding children on the streets. The aim of the Minors' Code (*Códico de Menores*) was that and it

would improve the livelihoods of Brazilian children and guarantee their rights (Ursin, 2013). However, it was used more as a tool to control juvenile criminality than protect the children and it enabled the government to take into custody all those children who were considered neglected or orphaned, the children of beggars or prostitutes or those who were just too poor (Rizzini, 2006). The military coup in 1964 did not affect any change in lives of children and young people on the streets, and they were still seen as threats to society. However, the regime established a National Foundation for the Welfare of Minors (FUNABEM) and the State Foundations for the Welfare of Minors (FEBEM) (Ursin, 2013) in order to educate young people. Some cities still have these institutions. However, some newspapers in the state of Rio Grande do Sul (such as *Diário Popular* and *Zero Hora*) have published articles during the years of my research claiming that a large number of the young people who have spent time in these institutions return to criminality.

In the 1970s, street children were still perceived as a problem and attention to the problem grew within the development community, especially in Latin America. After this period, the representation of young people living on the streets in academic literature changed from labelling them as 'abandoned minors' to 'street children', to 'the children of the streets' and more recently to 'children in the situation of risk' (Butler, 2009). However, only in the last few years of the 20th century have street children become the target for greater attention by governmental organisations (Araújo de Morais et al., 2010).

The street children phenomenon exploded in Brazil in the 1980s, which has been called the 'lost decade' *década perdida.* In addition to growth in the number of children and young people on the streets, the period is also associated with negative economic growth and increasing inflation (Araújo de Morais et al., 2010). During this time, public questioning grew as to why there were so many children and adolescents on the streets of the country. This is the context in which street children also became visible to society in general, and, furthermore, to academics and politicians (Rizzini & Butler, 2003a). After the 80s in Brazil, an extensive social movement mobilised the population to defend of the rights of children including those on the streets (Ursin, 2013). This led to the development and adoption of the Child and Adolescent Statute, which became law in 1990 (Klees, Rizzini & Dewees, 2000). Thereafter, the

legal system was organised based on the Child and Adolescent Statute, which replaced the Minor's Code (Ursin, 2013). Scheper-Hughes (1989, 1992) criticises Brazilian culture and the way in which the specific architecture of policy, rhetoric, institutions, and politics are largely responsible for the social conditions in regions of extreme scarcity. Despite the recent economic growth of Brazil, and the extensive social welfare programmes such as *Bolsa Família* Family Grant) poverty and violations of human rights are realities on the streets in Brazil (Rosenblatt 2012, 2014). The children in street situations are still considered as 'out of place' and there are not enough improvements even though childhood has become legally protected, child labour illegal, mass schooling popular and childhood more clearly separated from adulthood (Valentine et al., 1998; Ursin, 2013).

Researchers have tried to diminish the gap between the individual realities of the children and young people in street situations and the common understanding of the street realities in order to be able to improve the livelihoods of these individuals. Children and young people in street situations have been extensively studied. These studies cover the varied aspects of street life such as street life style (Panter-Brick et al., 1996; Rizzini & Butler, 2003), reasons to migrate to the streets (le Roux & Smith, 1998; Conticini & Hulme, 2006), survival strategies (Hecht, 1998; Conticini, 2005), identity (Beazley, 2002, 2003; van Blerk, 2005) and agency (van Blerk, 2012; Ursin, 2013). It has been made clear that street dwellers are not solely 'dangerous offenders' but are nonetheless discriminated against and treated with prejudice (Ursin, 2013). In fact, these individuals are highly sophisticated in terms of creating complex coping strategies (Conticini, 2005). However, there are some inextricable aspects affecting life on the streets and individual experiences there should be taken into account in studies with children and adolescents in street situations. Such aspects are, for example, mental strength and how it is interrelated with the social and physical street environments. Moreover, within the social sciences, little focus has been given to aspects such as sadness, depression and low self-esteem or other mental burdens of the streets. All these aspects, whether human or non-human have different meanings for individuals; these aspects are interpreted in varying ways.

To comprehend street life with all its connotations is extremely difficult for a person who has not lived on the streets. However, the things people wish for or aim at, and the resources they possess to achieve these things indicates something about their current situations and livelihood. Do children in street situations aim at getting a higher salary, having a healthy child, being accepted by their mother or merely to surviving to the following day. We can grasp life on the streets even better when by exploring the methods individuals' create to reach their own goals. Time-geography provides a useful theoretical approach to investigate the lives of children and adolescents on the streets as the method concentrates on individual goals and the processes used in order to reach them. Time-geography underpins the importance of situatedness and spatiality when exploring individual lives. This helps in an understanding of the inter-linkages and interdependences of the multiple factors in individuals' lives such as physical surroundings, mental representation, or social relationships. Time-geography ought not to be seen as a theory of explanation but rather as an ecological worldview (Hägerstrand, 1985; Lenntorp, 2004; Smas, 2008). The main purpose is not to produce any factual explanation for events or acts but rather understand the many interconnections among various elements. The main tenet of time-geography is that individual activities are spatio-temporal (Shaw, 2012) and the approach takes into consideration multidimensional space-time and its effects on individuals' lives. Consequently, this approach recognises the world as shaped by multiple actors (or *continuants*) collecting and dispersing in an endless chain of encounters (Hägerstrand, 2004). These encounters may be both human such as memories and knowledge and/or non-human, such as buildings and trees. All experience gathered in past encounters forms the basis of who we are and how we understand the world (Hägerstrand, 2009). Thrift (1996: 9) emphasises the focus of time-geography to be on 'the congruencies and disparities of meetings and encountering, that is, on the situated dependence of life'. Multidimensional elements, such as memories, streets, and groups of people encountered and dispersed form networks in which they are all connected (Hägerstrand, 2009).

This qualitative and longitudinal study focuses on nineteen children and young people[4] in street situations in the city of Pelotas in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil. I want to illustrate the processes mentioned, which I argue are somewhat general, through the particular lives of the participants in my research. The events and encounters in one's life are highly space-time specific as they are intertwined with individual aspects as well. Consequently, some events might be found in other studies in street contexts, others may not.

This research will contribute to the existing knowledge about lives on the streets by amalgamating multiple times, and the aspects lacking in studies with children in street situation, which together forma vast network of encounters or time-geographically; '*the fabric of existence*' (see Hägerstrand, 2009). I will explore the shuttling of the children and young people among other elements in networks and investigate what processes impact the occurrence of the encounters. *The fabric of existence* is too complex to be explored including all its features. In this thesis, situations and lives are presented from the vantage point of street children and adolescents. Despite investigating the lives of the participants from their point of view, I incorporate those views into a wider ensemble of multiple elements and times.

In the Brazilian context Pelotas, the city where this research took place, is a middle sized city with approximately 343 000 inhabitants[5] (IBGE, 2016). According to a voluntary social worker, Vagner Borges Lemos, there are at least 200 children and adolescents spending the majority of their time on the streets in the city centre. The rather small size of Pelotas (on a Brazilian scale) and the limited number of young people on the streets make Pelotas an interesting and comprehensible research area.

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[4] Marcos (16), Erich (12), Fernanda (12), Luiza (10), Vinícius (16), Maicom (16), Gilberto (16), Matheus (14), Demetrius (15), José (13), Jorge (14), Gustavo (11) Rodrigo (12), Gabriel (14), Renato (14), Juliano (10), Arthur (15), Roberto (16) and Lauro (15).
[5] Estimation for population for the year 2015

This explorative thesis has been guided by three interrelated research questions:

1. What processes impact the multidimensional networks within which children and young people on the streets are connected?
2. How are the relationships of these children and young people with their street environments formed in relation to space and time?
3. What are the processes behind the activities of children and young people on the streets?

Having these larger goals in mind, I have written four articles reflecting these research questions. The articles are highly interconnected and each completes the larger exploration of the phenomenon. In **I** article, I illustrated how the children and adolescents studied form their surroundings physically, socially and mentally. I investigated how they transform their environments in order to reach their own goals and create the multiple means of survival in that challenging environment. At first, I reduced the complex *fabric of existence* into these spatial (yet inextricable) dimensions in order to begin to comprehend the dynamics on the streets. This article is a base for all three research questions, and partly answers them all. In **II** article, I explored the lives of the participants in actor-networks showing the actors which *my participants* considered as having the greatest importance and impact on their lives. The analysis was not meant to be totally inclusive, but to highlight the considerations of the participants. This article also provides answers to all of the research questions. Article **III**, which especially answers research question **2** (but also reflects on the knowledge of the previous two articles), explores the processes which affect street children and youths' relationships with the place called the 'streets' and how that relationship evolves in relation to constantly changing encounters with multiple actors. In article **IV,** which responds particularly to research questions **1** and **3**, I investigated the meaning and importance of affects, not yet conscious sentiments, for individuals' lives on the streets. This includes the sentiments or intensities between actors that underpin the importance of embodied knowledge in people's lives.

2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Children and childhood in research

Children and childhood have been subjects of study for centuries. The contemporary paradigm within the social studies of childhood is based on the premises of childhood being a political-cultural construction where children participate in their own representation (Ryan, 2008). This 'new' theorising has been necessary, as especially in sociology, children have been seen as 'adults in waiting' and childhood as a preparatory stage for adulthood (Alanen, 2014).

According to Ryan (2008), three tenets can be found in the new social study of childhood. Firstly, childhood should be investigated as a political and social construction instead of a natural phenomena. Secondly, children should be seen as active, political subjects rather than the products of heredity and environment, and thirdly, childhood research should go beyond modern dualism (individual agency versus structural form, or childhood versus adulthood). However, dualism in the modern study of childhood is still present (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). Children's physical development is evaluated in rather positivist manner comparing a child's personal development with an average child. Through natural developmental stages, a child slowly becomes an adult (see Ryan, 2011) underlining the child – adult dualism. The understanding of children as political subjects is constrained by legislation. Legally, people are defined as children for a certain period of time by assuming that they are not yet competent to fully act as political actors (compared with adults). After childhood, children are expected to become adults through a liminal period of youth (Valentine, 2003). Moreover, a child's development is measured by examining their competence, intellect, and even morality (e.g. Brannen & O'Brien, 1995; Ryan, 2008). These developmental measurements cause a contradiction between positivist developmental science and the contemporary sociology of childhood (Ryan, 2008).

In past decades, the social studies of childhood have portrayed children as more active agents in their own lives (Prout & James, 1990). Nevertheless, Ryan (2008, 2011) argues that we should be careful when speaking about a total paradigm shift in childhood studies. He asserts that the landscape of modern childhood took its shape in Protestant/Enlightenment rationalism and in a romantic opposition to that rationalism. Protestant/Enlightenment rationalism considered children as

irrational and adults responsible for turning children's decent behaviour into a natural behaviour by manipulating children's experiences. The romantic response to this view considered children as authentic and unconscious of their lives (Ryan, 2011: 12). Furthermore, Ryan claims that contemporary childhood discourses proceed from two fundamental oppositions, which structure the episteme of modernity by analysing Foucault's idea of the tension between subjectivity and objectivity or nature and culture (pp.11-12). Ryan illustrates modern childhood with four discursive figures; the authentic child and the developing child (childhood understood more as a natural phenomenon), and, the conditioned child and the political child (childhood understood more as a political-cultural construction). All of these can also be found in science and arts over several centuries, but are still relevant today (Ryan, 2011) as can be seen in the way children's development is evaluated on the one hand, and on the other hand in the way in which children are considered active agents forming their own lives.

Recent research with children has tried to westernise global childhood (Aitken, 2001) by the politics of knowledge construction, valorising hegemonic normative 'modern' and Western notions and understandings (Abebe, 2007). However, categories such as children and youths are always culturally and temporally specific (Hall & Montgomery, 2000). In the Minority World, the nuclear family unit has been seen as superior - where children are passive recipients receiving nurture, socialisation and protection from the influence of adult society (van Blerk, 2012). This is similar to the conditioned child whose parents can protect him/her from certain influences and create exposure to others. Childhood is usually seen as a period of innocence and children who deviate from this are often considered 'wicked' (Valentine, 1996). Children's livelihood strategies and living conditions in different parts of the world are extremely disparate, and the structural circumstances under which they experience childhood are not the same around the world (Abebe, 2007). Neither is the boundary between childhood and adulthood easy to define as the boundaries between these phases are not clear-cut, nor are transitions a one-off or one-way process (Valentine, 2003). However, the biological age of children, which distinguishes them from adults, is sometimes seen as a reason to suggest that all children are similar in the sense of what they are able to do and accomplish (Valentine, 2003) which underlines the discourse of a developing child.

Conventional and global understanding of childhood as being a playful, work-free, dependent, vulnerable, and care-receiving phase of life's course is not suitable for

illustrating childhood in the majority of the world (Abebe, 2007) or, more specifically, in Brazil. In Brazil work has been a part of childhood since the Colonial period, from industrial work to household chores and finally on the streets (Rizzini, 2002). Consequently, milestones in transitions from childhood to adulthood in Western cultures, such as finishing education, having employment, leaving the parental home, and becoming a parent are no longer measures that could be accepted without questioning. Some children and young adults living in marginal conditions, such as on the streets, can easily be considered as children if they were 'evaluated' through the development stage model. On the other hand, they may also have been able to be responsible for themselves for many years, managing tasks that are often considered adult tasks such as finding employment and nutrition or taking care of children. They also seem to have developed the capacity to formulate future-oriented based behaviour earlier than child development psychology would indicate. This view illustrates how the understanding of age or being a child or an adult can be considered performative rather than biological (Valentine, 1997) as is expressed in the discourse on the political child. Thus, it is interesting to pay attention to the ways in which young people themselves understand this boundary crossing (Valentine, 2003) or whether transitions exist.

I would rather not categorise my research as (merely) a geographical childhood or youth study. Even Raffaelli et al. (2001) reasoned that researchers should rather concentrate on examining the street youths' subjective experiences of street life than reflecting experiences which reflect some external factors such as age, gender, or living situations. Some participants in my study became 18 during the research, yet they felt that playing could take them back to the childhood they considered they had not had. They considered childhood as something one practices rather than something one is in. Consequently, childhood is not biology defined but rather a performative or processual identity (Valentine, 2003).

2.2.   Children and young people in street situations – the definition

When, so called street children are considered they are usually compared with the hegemonic, normative ideas of childhood discussed in Chapter 2.1. They are seen as 'out of place' when begging and working in public spaces, as children should be at home, in school or other private dwellings (Ennew, 2002; Abebe, 2008). The term for a child who spends the majority of his/her time in public spaces is challenging to determine. Often terms such as 'street' and 'child' together form an

idea that a child is in a place 'not for children'. Consequently, the identity of the children hanging about on the street is easily understood to be tightly connected to the streets (Hecht, 1998).

The first tentative suggestion to concretely characterise street children was the one given by the United Nations Children's Fund in 1989 where children *on* the streets and *of* the streets were distinguished (Araújo de Morais et al., 2010). Children on the streets referred to those children who spent a considerable amount of time on the street but returned to their home at least occasionally. Children of the street had lost this contact. Hecht (1998) raised an interesting point questioning how many times a child needs to sleep on the streets to become a street child. At the beginning of the 1990s, researcher Mark Lusk distinguished four types of street children: 1. street workers with tight connections to their families, 2. independent street workers, 3. street children, and 4. children of street families (Rizzini & Butler, 2003). However, the Brazilian context needs to be completely understood. A large amount of research supposes that staying on the streets would naturally mean the opposite to being with a family (Araújo de Morais et al., 2010). Actually, according to the most extensive study about Brazilian children in street situations shows that nearly 69 % of the participants reported that they were living with their families (Noto et al., 2004).

The term 'street youth'[6] includes children and adolescents spending the majority of their time on the streets. Thus, the concept encompasses young people who actually live and sleep at home but search for employment on the street as well as those who have left their families totally or have just a little contact with them (Hecht, 1998; Raffaelli & Koller, 2005). The United Nations (UN) definition of a street child or youth is:

> 'any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults (Inter-NGO, 1985).

Ursin (2013) points out an important fact when considering street children by citing Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman:

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[6] Youth or young people are often understood to mean people between 16 and 25 years of age (Valentine, 2003).

'[A] poor, ragged child running unsupervised along an unpaved road in a *favela* or playing in a field of sugar cane is just a 'kid' […]. That same child transposed to the main streets and plazas of town, however, can be seen as a threat or a social problem: a potentially dangerous (or potentially neglected) *menino de rua*, a 'street kid' (Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1998: 358).

This highlights the importance of understanding street children or being on the streets as a way of life rather than only based on facts considering the amount of time a child spends on the streets. It is rarely about either being on the streets, or staying at home, but rather a continuous process of coming and going (Ursin, 2013). Young people on the streets are in many ways like their peers on the streets (Butler, 2009) and thus, we should avoid a mechanistic division between the children living in their own homes and children living in public places.

2.3.   The street and street life

There is no definite place called the street where 'street children' live. When, street children talk about the streets or about their lives on the street they do not solely refer to physically being in a public space. They describe the street life, '*essa vida*', as a way of life, which includes aspects they consider 'no good' (Hecht, 1998). These 'no good' aspects are activities such as criminality, smoking, not working, and most of all perhaps using drugs (article **II**; van Blerk, 2012). The use of crack has increased in Brazil (Carvalho & Seibel, 2009) and this can be seen on the streets as well. '*Essa vida*' – 'this life' – is a very context specific phenomenon, which is challenging to comprehensively translate. In his study, Hecht (1998) discovered that discussion revolved largely around the children's relationship to their mothers. Being at home was often actually about being with one's mother, despite the quality of the home (Hecht, 1998).

Street life rarely begins from one day to another. It usually happens gradually (Hecht, 1998). In the beginning, when the child normally merely starts working on the streets, s/he gradually becomes familiarised with a 'street culture' via groups on the streets or through people they already knew from before (Butler, 2009). The reasons for children and adolescents to migrate to the streets have been recognised globally (Conticini & Hulme, 2006). These include factors such as family dysfunction and poverty (Hecht, 1998; Panter-Brick, 2002; Raffaelli et al., 2001). Often the street is an escape from conflicts or violence within a family (Butler, 2009). Some seek a feeling of mastery or freedom. Some keep avoiding household

tasks or unpleasant or even dangerous incidents at home, and some return home at night after spending time on the streets because they need to contribute to the family income (Hecht, 1998). Occasionally, a child is not the direct victim of violence, but the constant presence of violence impels that child onto the streets.

The relationship with the home is rarely totally broken regardless of the amount of time a child spends on the streets. However, visits to their home and communication with family members becomes more sporadic with time (Butler, 2009). Despite the negative aspects of home life, family relationships appear important for street children's understanding of who they are (van Blerk, 2012).

Researchers have found that individual children and adolescents adapt to the street context differently from each other (Raffaelli et al., 2001). There are certain rules on the streets and behaviour outside these 'rules' is not always encouraged. Street dwellers develop their social organisations and networks, hierarchies, and territorial domains linked to the sharing of resources, which is tightly connected to physical survival on the streets (Bernat, 1999; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). New beggars acquire knowledge of the routines of the activity and the various styles by serving the older and more experienced (Abebe, 2008). The family and community life are sometimes associated with negative powerful relationships and forced interdependencies of which the street often offers a haven (van Blerk, 2012). Regardless of their livelihoods, children and young people on the streets use their capacities, sophistication, and creativity in a number of ways underlying their agency (articles, **I**, **II**, **IV**; Kovats-Bernat, 2006). However, the longer children live on the streets and the older and bigger they become, the more likely one has the signs of street life (Butler, 2009) both physical, such as bullet wounds or knife scars, and the mental signs such as difficulties in trusting anyone. Some studies have, in fact, discovered that many youngsters have difficulties readapting to life off the streets (Hecht, 1998; Raffaelli et al., 2001).

The lives of the children and young people in street situations cannot be spatially compartmentalised into the home or the streets or other locations. Instead, they must be seen as building relationships within and across spatial boundaries (van Blerk, 2012) as well as within and across times. It is important to examine more closely street children's complex relationships in order to fully understanding the production of street life (van Blerk, 2012).

2.4. Time-geography

2.4.1. The origin of time-geography

The origin of time-geography is in the field work of the Swedish social scientist Torsten Hägerstrand (1916 – 2004), which he conducted in Asby parish in the 1940s and in his dissertation in 1953 about the space-time processes of the spread of innovations (Persson & Ellegård, 2012). In the mid-1960s, Hägerstrand presented his ideas of time-geography more officially (Lenntorp, 1999). Since then, the time-geographic approach has been gradually developed by Hägerstrand and his colleagues in Lund, Sweden, as well as through contacts with other colleagues from various disciplines across the world (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012).

According to Hägerstrand himself, time-geography is an ecological research approach or a world view highlighting the interconnectedness of human and nature (see Hägerstrand, 2009; Ellegård & Svedin, 2012). Time-geographic research concentrates strongly on human activities, yet it has also been used for research on 'things' or 'continuants' (see Hägerstrand, 2009), such as commodities (Smas, 2008) and artefacts created by a human combining of resources and ideas, which would, like human beings, exist until they are destroyed (Ellegård & Svendin, 2012). Consequently, the approach enables an integrative analysis of material and immaterial elements, cultural and economic dimensions, and social political aspects (Smas, 2008). Hägerstrand wanted geographers to 'restore the links and re-establish a balance between the biophysical and the human branches of geography which are now mostly carrying on their business widely separated from each other' (Hägerstrand, 1976: 330).

2.4.2. The principal tenets of time-geography

Hägerstrand underlined that there is no clear cut boundary between landscape and society (Hägerstrand, 1982) and that there are many populations in the landscape, both, human and non-human (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012). He wanted rather to talk about living landscapes or 'dioramas', yet not the dioramas of museums, which only 'show animals and people suspended in their normal environments' (Hägerstrand, 1982: 326). He remarked that a diorama includes various invisible elements, such as memories and feelings or norms and rules, which continuously keep forming the living landscape (1985, 2009).

Time-geography presents some general claims about human brings i.e. human life starts and is lived continuously in space-time without being able to be paused in the middle or divided between two physical locations at the same time (Smas,

2008). Consequently, the paths of individuals can be represented in trajectories, as people cannot avoid drawing these trajectories. However, these paths do not illustrate different elements in a person's life. Moreover, people can *be* mentally elsewhere and bring strength and motivation (or apathy) from the past or future expectations. Additionally, information technology has made it possible for people to interact with each other virtually without physical contact. However, even Hägerstrand stressed that people (or things) should not be reduced to trajectories in time and space because people retain memories from the past, respect (or do not respect) rules, and mirror the future expectations in relation to the past and their current knowledge (1982, 2009).

Space and *time* can simultaneously be understood as absolute and relative (and relational), yet a time-geographic analysis requires both these perspectives (Smas, 2008). Space, according to Hägerstrand is challenging to comprehend before it is materialised or 'filled with quanta' (Hägerstrand, 1991: 135). The division of space into dimensions (i.e. physical, socio-cultural and mental), enables the comprehension of space. The physical dimension of space comprises the physical things around us. The socio-cultural dimension includes cultural products, myths, norms, legislation and art works, whereas the mental dimension refers to knowledge, thought, perception, memory, and emotion (Kranz, 2006). Every 'event' requires a certain slot in space-time, which easily entails the creation of power relations. Hägerstrand (1985: 196) illustrated this idea with a simple example of an hourglass in which one grain cannot fall from the upper side to the lower without the grains under it falling first. However, the space-time slot, which requires a bird to make a decision to change its path of flight in order to avoid a collision with a car, is challenging to understand, as the time is so short (Hägerstrand, 2009). However, it perhaps binds together the evolutionary time of birds as species to the exact event of decision-making. If the time is conceptualised as absolute or linear, it begins in the past, and moves via the present, where everything we observe *seems to be* present, to the future. The dialectical relationships between elements are highlighted by relationality (Pred, 1981). Relative time indicates that not only visible or seemingly present elements in the environment affect each other. Logically, physical objects can have an impact on each other through physical touch. On the other hand, things which are no longer visible and present (e.g. memories) or things which are not yet touchable but already visible in the environment (e.g. the approaching group of people) may affect people and their activities (Hägerstrand, 2009). Regardless of

the conception of time, the so-called *the now* is the only possibility to actively affect or change things (Hägerstrand, 2009). The now is 'in time-geographical sense, at the same time the constant present and the steadily ongoing transformation of future to past' (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012: 21).

2.4.3. Some of the main concepts of time-geography

A project is a fundamental concept in time-geography that was developed to help to comprehend the world on the move (Hägerstrand, 1982). It is based on an assumption that many undertakings of people are affected (possibly only unconsciously) by a purpose or meaning. The concept is so broad that it can be applied to various activities that are required in order to reach a *goal* (Hägerstrand, 1982). Goals can vary from simple tasks such as preparing a meal to living (Smas, 2008). Regardless of projects being goal-oriented some (re)actions can occur unconsciously (or not yet consciously) as in the example of the bird earlier. Nevertheless, the (re)action could probably be traced to a goal to stay alive or uninjured. The concept of a goal is interesting and broad. There is no strict conceptualisation of what a goal can or cannot be. A goal can be understood as a perpetuation of the actually-real present or an ideal-possible abstraction set in the future. Goals can also be imagined by individuals even through opposites; a person may want something opposite to a current situation, for example, without totally acknowledging what that situation could be.

Nevertheless, in everyday life, people aspire to reach major or minor goals. They try to bundle together with other people and resources they somehow consider useful for their project (Hägerstrand, 1973, 1982, 2009). However, these actions are constrained. Hägerstrand (1973) illustrated the *constraints* through three categories. Capability constraints refer to one of the claims of time-geography; the incapability to be bodily in two places at once, and also the need of human beings to sleep at regular intervals. Capability constraints also refer to factors such as lack of knowledge. Authority constraints refer to laws, regulations, and traditions constraining individual action. Coupling constraints then describe the need to couple with the necessary people and resources to complete tasks. These attempts may, however, be hampered by a number of factors, such as the availability of resources or a lack of time to complete the coupling. These constraints depend somewhat on the *situation,* which is an important concept in time-geography. However, situations may not explain everything. Hägerstrand rationalised this by writing that 'the situation is undetermined until a project defines it' (Hägerstrand, 1982: 325). This highlights the individual situatedness in

the flow of life with his/her goals and meanings to things around him/her. Situations as such do not follow preceding situations but they are always in relation to other situations. Situations can, to a certain extent, be retraced back to historical conditions that still have an impact on the present (Smas, 2008).

People are not merely spectators of this living landscape or diorama. To reach their set goals people actively try to form their environment. To decrease the hampering power of constraints, people try to constitute so-called space-time sections. These sections are called *Pockets of local order (PoLO),* which people establish to perform activities that must be shielded from destructive outside-world influences. PoLOs are endowed with time, the right resources, and the space to enable or at least to facilitate their goal achievement (Hägerstrand, 1973; Lenntorp, 2004). However, these elements in the world are highly intertwined. Consequently, the very idea of a 'PoLO' could be contested in a highly globalised world, where 'escaping' external elements is difficult. On the other hand, attempts to create some kind of global order through international law or trade treaties for example could be seen as a tentative means of forming a global scale PoLO in order to decrease the impact of 'external' elements. Nevertheless, in PoLOs, people try to facilitate their action by creating the necessary conditions and resources (Ellegård & Vilhelmson, 2004). These pockets can be of various scalar (physical) levels (Lenntorp, 1999), socially formed, but also merely imaginative. A city can be seen as PoLO where a certain infrastructure is created to enable the activities of the inhabitants, and where people share certain rules and norms. A home is another example of a PoLO, where the owner has designated the habits of the PoLO (Ellegård & Vilhelmson, 2004). However, even a music-devise, such as an MP3-player, which establishes imaginatively experienced and solid boundaries around an individual, thus creating a less inviting atmosphere and perhaps hindering people from coming to talk, can function as a PoLO (Ito et al., 2009). These notions especially help time geography to overcome the 'dot on the map' view of individuals (McQuoid & Dijst, 2012). Nevertheless, common to all these pockets is that within them it is easier to conduct a certain activity (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012).

2.4.4. Criticised time-geography
The fact that the time-geographic approach was developed gradually has enabled critique along the way the approach has been developed. Time-geography has been criticised for being too materialistic and mechanical in describing individuals in space utilising resources (e.g. Lenntorp, 1999; Schwanen, 2007; Ellegård &

Svendin, 2012). Possibly some of this critique is justifiable as time-geography was part of a research project using measurable quantities (Hägerstrand, 1991; Smas, 2008). Moreover, Hägerstrand considered physical materiality an important condition for human existence (see Lenntorp, 2004; Ellegård & Svendin, 2012). However, as Ellegård and Svedin (2012) argued, the reasoning for Hägerstrand's interest in materiality was his concern over theories that disregard material reality, human responsibility, and the sustainable use of resources. He wanted to provide tools for an understanding of the interconnections between natural and social phenomena.

These material underpinnings and the concentration on nature were understood to attract attention and concern at society's expense (Friberg et al., 2009). It is true that in its beginning time-geography did not fully explore concepts such as 'people', space or 'technology' (Scholten et al., 2012). As Scholten et al. (2012: 587) concluded the concepts were described 'technically and theoretically, the individual was non-sexed body structuring itself in non-defined (public) spaces of society and juggling with technology'. In fact, Hägerstrand worked hard to create an exact but general enough approach that could be used by both, natural and social scientists (see Ellegård & Svedin, 2012). Hägerstrand repeatedly expressed that individual paths and choices in life are never separable from the context and personal backgrounds, and that individual values impact the goals and projects of individuals (see Hägerstrand, 1983, 2009).

Nevertheless, the lack of required discussion about societal aspects raised feminists' critique towards time-geography, as some thought the approach did not considering differences between individuals but instead saw the world from a masculine point of view (Rose, 1993). Rose (1993) however, found some parallel interests between time-geography and feminists' interests as she wrote: 'time-geography shares the feminist interest in the quotidian paths traced by people, and again feminism, links such paths, by thinking about constraints, to the larger structures of society' (Rose, 1993: 18). Nevertheless, she argued that time-geography was not suitable for considering feminine subjectivity, which is often formed in routine domestic work (1993: 27-27). It is true that if one explores merely the diagrams of individual paths and trajectories, s/he only explores the observable. However, every individual interprets and experiences spaces in living landscapes or dioramas from their own individual positions. These interpretations and experiences then form the subjectivities of people. Furthermore, the time-geographic approach, through the concepts of goals, projects, and constraints

provide tools to analyse individual possibilities for action and movement and thus, can generate the societal concerns of both genders (Friberg et al., 2009). Moreover, time-geography has actually been widely used in gender studies during recent years (Jarvis, 2005; McDowell et al., 2006; Friberg et al., 2009; Scholten et al., 2012).

The criticism that time-geography has encountered has concentrated on its applicability to social issues. Giddens (1984) and Gregory (1985) argued that a time-geographic approach did not acknowledge processes and there were no discussions on power issues in societies. Hägerstrand's ecological world view is the most clearly present in his posthumously published book (see Hägerstrand, 2009). This view highlights the understanding of the world as being in constant movement and this is even illustrated in the name of the book '*The fabric of existence'* which describes the formation of the world as a weaving-like process where the fabric is made. As Ellegård and Svedin (2012: 21) describe the 'process of weaving the fabric of existence is ever ongoing where human individuals pursue their projects and create and utilise individuals from other populations for their human purposes'. Hägerstrand described these processes with the concept of *front line of the fabric* which is 'the now' where decisions are made and societies and the world formed. Despite the fact that he understood the existence of individuals (and even artefacts) as limited between birth (or creation) and death (or destruction), he acknowledged individuals and others as having been parts of their parents before birth or raw materials before the creation of a commodity or artefact. This line of thought shares similarities with non-representational thinking and Actor-Network Theory. The most recent use of time-geography can have made it appear rather anthropocentric. One could question whether this approach would still be helpful if it was without a purposive human subject at its core. However, time-geography has been applied to non-anthropocentric studies such as that of Long and Nelson (2012) on the wildlife home range delineation or for example complex human-animal-environment relationships as in the research of Wolch (2002). Such research into the relationships between humans, animals, and the environment highlight time-geography as having a much broader approach than an anthropocentric approach to the human being in focus.

Furthermore, the division of space into dimensions and the representation of individual paths in diagrams have been considered reductionist underlying a Euclidean space. Though the division of space into dimensions may appear

artificial or simplistic, it enables the researcher to delve into the context and to approach the complex fabric of existence better. The diagrams should be taken as tools for making the point of individuals being located in space-time (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012). In my understanding, the idea of the processes of weaving the fabric negates the simplistic Euclidean idea of space. It helps to conceptualise how different scalar levels, and the material as well as the immaterial world together with different times are intertwined in the making of the world.

2.4.5. Time-geography in this research

Hägerstrand's aim was to provide tools to explore the restrictions that people have to cope with to be able to live their lives and make choices (Ellegård & Svedin, 2012). I have used these tools in this dissertation. In this research, time-geography has guided the beginning of the field work and enabled familiarisation with a theme which I knew a little about. It has also formed a basis for my analysis. The division of space into dimensions enabled me to delve into the context and attain a better approach to the complex interlinkages of different elements on the streets. The subjective elements, constraining (and inciting) goal achievement are highly context related. However, the concept of constraints helped me to understand why certain actions on the streets were enacted instead of other actions, as well as helping to create the concept of incentive alongside the constraints.

However, time-geography does not conceptualise the constraining mental aspects, yet Hägerstrand acknowledged them as elements affecting the behaviour of individuals. Nor are the incentives affecting individual actions conceptualised. In this research, I have added the concepts of mental constraints as well as physical, social, and mental incentives to supplement the traditional constraints of time-geography.

Pockets of Local Order, presented in this research, are descriptive tools enabling the investigation of how individuals are able to form their multidimensional environs. The possibility to form PoLOs often manifests in personal life situations and, thus, helped me to understand individual action on the streets.

In this dissertation, I have recognised the similarities that the time-geography and Actor-Network Theory (ANT) share. ANT explores the world through the interconnectedness of actors (both human and non-human) in the world (Allen, 2011; Roberts, 2011) – people, objects, animals, and ideas all jostle together in a

network. Society and our understanding about it are formed through the interactions between the actors in networks (Hitchings, 2003). In fact, each actor is an actor-network in themselves, as actors comprise the elements that make them what they are (Latour et al., 2012). According to ANT the various relationships between actors create new actor-networks which then, construct our heterogeneous worlds (Latour, 2005; Latour et al., 2012; Sheenan, 2010). However, actors do not act totally freely. The activities of others may restrict someone's own activities and, thus, activity is connected with the idea of enrolment (Hitchings 2003). Actors may try to enroll other helpful actors into 'their networks' to succeed in their activities (Ruming, 2009). This manipulation of other actors is called 'network engineering' in the actor-network literature, meaning that some entities exert power over others so that their own desired action can occur (Hitchings, 2003). Thus, both approaches recognise that the world is shaped by multiple actors crossing paths in an endless chain of encounters (Hägerstrand, 2004; Latour, 2005). Hägerstrand (2009) has added that all experience gathered in past encounters forms the basis of who we are and how we understand the world. The most cited time-geographic articles may give the impression that Hägerstrand's approach to the human subject is intrinsic and somehow defined by their projects, whereas Actor-network theorists are often seen to be focused on relationships and define subjects as extrinsically trying, in fact, to decentre the knowing subject. Whereas ANT tends to concentrate on the evolving network topology, time-geographers are often seen to focus on the forward-going quality of the actors, which appear more like network nodes in ANT terms. However, this is a question of how both approaches have been used so far. In fact, subjects or actors in time-geography can be seen extrinsically as human subjects that are not born pre-programmed, but rather constantly reformed or defined by relational capacities via other elements in their networks (or in Hägerstrand's terms fabric of existence) which is again familiar from ANT. ANT facilitates the investigation of the interconnections between these actors, which at first seem incommensurable – for example, a cardboard box, a street child, and a tree. Together, ANT and time-geography reveal how actors give meanings to other actors and why certain actors may not be important to certain individuals. ANT demonstrates the connections of even surprising actors in different spatial dimensions; then, the goals and projects of time-geography can enable us to understand the usage of other actors. In these ways, ANT and time-geography reinforce each other, producing a combined research approach that is highly suited to geographical research into communities or social groups, like that of

street children. However, this is the first research combining these two approaches.

As most of the elements in the environment are intertwined, I noticed that it was necessary to conceptualise one of the interconnections of the countless elements. One example of an element which can be seen as embodied, mental, and connected to physical, social, and mental surroundings are *affects* (see Hui, 2011). Affects are intensities that are sensed and perceived by the body when it is in interaction with other elements (Shields, 2011; Dowling, 2012) such as the physical qualities of places, other people, knowledge, and memories, to mention only a few. Affects vary according to time and circumstances, but they are also historically and culturally different (Anderson, 2006; Davidson, Park & Shields 2011; Seyfert, 2012). The affective approach (or ANT) has not been combined with time-geography before. Nevertheless, the concept of affect truly merges the multidimensional spatial elements and various times. Time-geography together with the affective approach also corrects the rather structuralist idea of time-geography still espoused by some. The aspect common to all these approaches is the interest on clusters creating meanings, and effects or affects.

This research focusing strongly on street children does not, nevertheless, make the time-geography approach appear less anthropocentric. However, acknowledging all the elements shaping the fabric of the street children in the constantly evolving fabric of existence or actor-networks would go beyond a doctoral dissertation.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND THE CHOISES OF METHODS

3.1. Research design

This research is a longitudinal descriptive ethnographic case study in which I have broadened the understanding about the street children phenomenon with an in-depth engagement with the particular case of the street children and youths of Pelotas (see Ruddin, 2006). One of the strengths of case studies is the possibility to investigate cases in their real life contexts and illustrate the particular situations (Yin, 2004). In case studies, cases often result in defining the population, and in fact the generalisability of case studies has frequently been questioned (Ruddin, 2006). Ethnographies face the same challenge of generalisability. Ethnography is a detailed and extended research approach allowing ways of life to become gradually apparent during extended periods of participant field research (Cloke et al., 2004). Long periods of participant observation were imperative to guarantee the quality of the in-depth data for this research (see also Ursin, 2013). However, academic research with street dwellers is often based on 'snapshots' from the field instead of long periods of time (van Blerk, 2005). Nevertheless, a longitudinal research approach is encouraged for research in street contexts, as it enables the comprehension of how street dwellers experience and understand space and time and this understanding evolves (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). In addition, longitudinal ethnographic case studies enable the comprehension of how time and space and the understanding of them are interlinked with the personal, micro scale, and the social and structural macro scale (Corsaro & Molinari, 2000), which was essential for my research.

Since 2007, I have researched the livelihoods of the children and young people in street situations in the city of Pelotas. The city is situated on the shores of lake *Lagoa dos Patos, a*bout 250 km from Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (RS), and 135 km from the border of Uruguay (see Figure 1). Typical to most of the cities in Brazil, Pelotas experienced a massive urbanisation resulting in both environmental and social challenges such as that of street children. Even though the street children phenomenon does have some commonalities around Brazil and the world, it is not a universal phenomenon that is identical in different locations. I started the research by evaluating the development plan of the Pelotas municipality concentrating on how street children were taken into

consideration in the plan. I also evaluated all the suggestions and the decisions made by the Pelotas' municipal council between the years 2007 and 2013. From 2009 onwards, I have concentrated on producing in-depth knowledge about the livelihoods on the streets of the children and young people in a street situation. As my whole research was conducted without any broader research project, I let the participants be the specialists in their field.

Figure 1. The state Rio Grande do Sul is the southernmost state in Brazil. The map on the right shows the location of Pelotas on the shores of lake *Lagoa dos Patos.*

3.2.   The participants

The group of participants in my research consisted of 19 children and young people (17 males and 2 females aged between 10 and 17 when the research commenced) who spent most of their time on the streets. I recruited participants into the research individually from the streets. I chose to focus on young people in the central area of the city. The livelihoods and dynamics on the periphery are somewhat different and families' living spaces often spread in more public spaces, which do not necessarily make the children street children. Often in this kind of study, children are contacted through, or when they are in, various institutions such as churches, day centres or prisons, for example. However, I also wanted to meet young people who were not necessarily connected with these institutions. Thus, after having observed people in the city centre of Pelotas I approached

those individuals spending most of their time on the streets playing, begging, and working.

I spent a comprehensive amount of time with the participants of this research over three periods, covering various seasons and times of the day in 2009, 2012, and 2013. Each fieldtrip lasted about three months, during which I spent at least twelve hours per day (sometimes more) on the streets covering all the days of the week and all the times of the day. However, I never slept on the street. I encountered most of the participants in every field trip, but not all of them every time. Some had been imprisoned or in were in rehab. One boy was killed at the age of 15 by police bullets (later I was told that the policeman, who shot him, was found killed in his own car some weeks after he had killed the boy. I do not know whether this is true). All of the participants were originally from less advantageous neighbourhoods of Pelotas such as Getúlio Vargas, Vasco Pires, Navegantes, Dunas or Castilhos. The houses in these neighbourhoods often lack sanitation and electricity systems as some of these houses were unauthorized buildings. Most of the participants' families were one-parent families, with frequently changing stepparents. All the participants had several siblings, yet not all of them lived at the family home.

As my fieldtrips were spread over a period of five years, some of the participants reached legal adulthood during the research. Consequently, some quotations in this thesis are from individuals aged over 18. I decided to include them in the research as they were all under-aged at the time the study commenced and have been on the streets ever since. When the participants are referred to in this thesis, their names are given combined with their age in parentheses and the year of the interview. Therefore, the same name might appear with various numbers representing age. The original quotations in this article were in Portuguese and I have translated them by myself.

3.3. Data production methods and the data

It is often difficult to verbally express the knowledge produced in various encounters and through spatial and embodied processes. Consequently, I could not rely solely on interviews. I tested and used explorative, participatory methods to produce data, such as walkabouts around important places for the participants. The children and young people studied also took photographs, drew pictures, and wrote poems and lyrics. Similar to Hecht (1998), I also let the children of this study

interview each other. They advised me of the tones of voice to use in the interviews and the order of the questions. Consequently, the questions and their order actually became interesting data. I also spent considerable time observing the participants' comportment, such as facial expressions, postures, and reactions in different situations. These reactions, like shivering, or turning the head down, provide significant information about the particular situation and on-going relationships. Thus, the children did not have to rely on words alone. Non-verbal techniques often incited discussion (O'Kane, 2004) that would have otherwise been challenging to initiate. Furthermore, I took time to observe the weather, temperatures, smells, and other peoples' reactions in various situations in order to reflect on them together with the information I obtained from the participants.

The data for this research is comprised of 963 pages of field notes, including notes from the discussions and interviews, 36 drawings by the studied children and youths, five poems and 10 lyrics. Additionally, I have analysed 334 photographs of which 178 photographs are of the researched children, 66 of different locations, and 90 of various objects, such as tattoos or a crack pipe to mention but a few. Of these 334 photographs, the children and young people of this research took 55 photographs of people in different situations (they knew these people) and 14 pictures of physical locations, or of more specific objects. Thus, 270 of the photographs were taken by me to support my field notes. I also had 12 minutes and 56 seconds of video recordings. In excellent case studies, researchers use various data production methods in order to make his or her explorations as robust as possible (Yin, 2004). Thus, I utilised various methods to produce data, including traditional interviews (individually and in pairs or smaller groups), focus group discussions, and daily observation techniques, all of which are widely used in ethnographic research (e.g. Cloke et al., 2004). The children and young people of this study chose the locations for our focus group discussions and interviews; often so that the discussions occurred when the children felt that the time was right and in the locations we happened to be at the time. I planned some themes I considered important for the research. However, as I wanted to understand their views I often let the studied children guide the conversations. For instance, themes such as 'how does abuse feel like' came from them and was tightly connected with the current events on the streets. Quite frequently, even if the children could talk about any topic, their discussions often came back to themes like families, violence, authorities, food, drugs, happiness and future goals.

Furthermore, I interviewed three workers in the city council of Pelotas[7] at their work place, three policemen on the streets, and a municipal deputy responsible for children's wellbeing. The data, from those interviews and the video recordings, is part of the background information on this research.

3.4. Analysis

I used the whole data covering the different phases of these children and young people's lives on the streets in all the articles. I listed the changing situations and life events of the children and young people in this research (e.g. migrating between the home and the streets, deaths or arrests of relatives or friends or themselves, or the daily delights and infatuations with someone or the struggle for comfort) and their reactions, attitudes, sentiments and opinions in these various situations. I also explored the activities of the participants and the locations of those activities in the physical area of Pelotas.

I analysed the interview data concentrating on the life goals of the participants by using theory oriented content analysis. In this way, I obtained a grasp of what street life is all about; what they tried to do there and why they were on the streets. This first part of the analysis led me to analyse the experienced constraints and incentives the participants encountered when they tried to achieve their goals. This clearly revealed their livelihoods on the streets. The concept of incentives is not in the original time-geography approach, however, I let the theory orient the analysis, but not restrict it.

Secondly, I used empirically oriented content analysis to discover the methods whereby the participants manipulate their multidimensional environment in order to reach goals. I used 'etic' codes (see e.g. Cloke et al., 2004), to mark activities (also mental processes), which means that I coded the data with phrases I considered as referring to methods to reach a goal. Regardless of this analytic phase being empirically oriented, it was possible in this way to distinguish the Pocket of Local order, although Hägerstrand did not conceptualise mental PoLOs in the original time-geography approach. The repertoire of methods to transform the environment on the streets is rather particular and because of this, the concept of PoLOs functioned well as a descriptive tool for analysing the various

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[7] I went through all suggestions made to the city council of Pelotas and the decision making between the years 2009 and 2013.

methods to transform the environment, which can also include a social and mental transformation.

In order to acquire a more profound knowledge of the experiences the children and young people had of their city I conducted a thematic content analysis colour coding the time-geographical spatial dimensions (physical, social and mental). I colour coded the elements of the data to mark their belonging to specific spatial dimensions. Such codings were, for instance, physical places with the same colour as the physical spatial dimension, friends coloured with the same colour as social spatial dimension, and violence and memories coloured with the same colour as mental spatial dimension, to mention but a few. These colour codes already highlighted the interconnectedness of the dimensions as violence as an act could have been coloured with the colour of the social spatial dimension but also the mental dimension due to the marks it had probably left on a person's identity. Consequently, the whole data was colour coded in this way, including the photographs. In general, there were fewer markings with the colour of physical places compared to those of social and mental spaces. The longer the person stayed on the streets or the more dangerous and negative events the person experienced, the greater the number of markings emerged on the colour of mental elements. On the other hand, the age of the person, the time on the streets and the gained knowledge appeared to result in more markings with the colour of physical elements as the experience of the properties of various physical surfaces, for instance, accumulated.

Then, I analysed how the relationship with physical places and with different elements in these places (e.g. social relations, memories or perceived physical qualities) evolved in relation to the time on the streets i.e. for how long the individual child had been on the streets at the moment of a certain interview or at the moment of a drawing or a photograph or if something especial had recently happened such as the death of a friend or violent abuse by someone. Later I asked the children to colour code places (they could choose the coloured places) according to their attractiveness and their feeling of wellbeing in those places. Then I compared the colour codes the children made of the physical places and events that had occurred in those places with my own colour coding, based on the interviews and discussions. In this way, I could detect patterns such as killings or abuse as events in a place which often resulted in colour codes indicating less attractive physical places. I compared the colour codes of the children to see the commonalities between them. The colours for mental and social elements

appeared more often compared with those of marking the physical qualities of places. Mental and social elements appeared important regardless of whether they were positive (e.g. memories from good times or events) or negative (e.g. deaths, abuse, humiliation). The findings of this phase I generalised by analysing the findings based in the attachment theory and other research about children's and youths' relationships with places, so at this stage the once again analysis became more theory oriented (see article **III**).

To be able to analyse the aspects of the street life, which were not yet conscious to the children and young people in this research, I made intimate and detailed descriptions of the events. I analysed the photographs taken of the events. I made thematic content analysis as regards the photographs taken by the children but also of those I took. This was in order to be able to find elements such as the physical qualities of the places of the events, the people, the light or shadows in the events and also the embodied reactions of the participants and other people. I combined the specific photographs with the description of the same event or the place, but also with the interview material. Moreover, I investigated the photographs with the children and young people, and discovered what elements they noticed in the photographs after the situation had taken place. Alone, I investigated the photographs on my computer screen and thus, I was able to zoom in to specific parts of the photograph if necessary. Together with the children, I occasionally had opportunity to use my laptop, but more often we investigated the photographs merely on the screen of the camera. I also encoded with different signs the visible or reported kinaesthetic sensations of the participants and compared the children and their sensations. I wrote everything down into my notebooks. Then I compared my analysis of the elements and descriptions of the events and places with the ones made by the participants by looking for similarities and differences. I went through the whole data in this way twice as I reflected on the older data with the newer data after each field trip. I analysed the data by mostly paying attention to elements related to coping on the streets and to the goals the individual children had revealed or expressed by action. However, I did not let the theory orient the analysis totally, however, the goals, projects and constraints are directly from the time-geography approach. Thus, I was able to distinguish the mental aspects as ways of affecting relationships with environs, to mention just one. The repetition of this analysis after each field trip enabled the perception of how (and if) the participants' own analyses of the places and events had changed. I considered that the analysis of the child had altered if s/he mentioned two or more new elements in

an event or considered the event as positive even though s/he had considered the same events as negative previously. I compared the analyses made by the children with their previous analyses but I also made a comparison between the children and young people in order to be able to discover commonalities in their analyses (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. An example of how different elements of the spatial dimensions were marked in the photographs so that I could compare the elements mentioned. The black circles indicate physical elements, the red ones indicate social elements, and the yellow ones mental elements.

I used a game I invented (the sudden looking in a certain direction) to analyse the ability of the children and young people to detect various elements in the environment. This exercise[8] enabled an interesting analysis of how this ability

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[8] In the exercise the person looked in a certain direction I gave for a couple of seconds. After that, he turned around and described the diorama to me. Diorama does not include solely physical elements in the landscape but also people, regulations and norms to mention but a few (about diorama see Hägerstrand, 1982, 2009). Thus, the children and young people did not mention merely physical qualities, yet they were important. They also noticed people and their postures and made analyses quickly about their underpinnings and whether these people could cause any harm. The elements detected were many.

evolved in relation to the time spent on the streets, constant knowledge production, and the age of the children and young people (by this I do not mean that those elements that were not mentioned in the exercise would not have an impact on encounters in that environment, but it was interesting to note how the mentioned elements varied and changed).

I analysed the content of the visual data (drawings, pictures taken by the participants) I analysed the times (i.e. the time of the day, the week and the time of the year, but also, the time more relatively such as the time spent on the streets and the time without drugs), situations (e.g. if the children were expecting something or if something special had just happened) and physical places where they could not or chose not to express themselves verbally. In a similar way to Young and Barret (2001), I noticed that through the visual data I was able to analyse the ways in which the participants perceived physical locations such as prisons, cells in which they locked at police stations, or dangerous neighbourhoods where they bought drugs.

Occasionally, I had to analyse the data while collecting new data, which is often the situation in case studies when a researcher has the opportunity to observe and interview participants several times and participants' narratives and/or behaviour may differ greatly from an earlier version (see e.g. Yin, 2004: 3). Sometimes I let my participants analyse their own stories. Some merely commented, whereas some really analysed what space, for example, is made of (see Figure 3). I did not do this with everybody due to different levels of interest towards the research and the level of drug addiction of the participants. There are two examples below (Figures 3 and 4) of the help I received from the children and young people at this stage of the analysis.
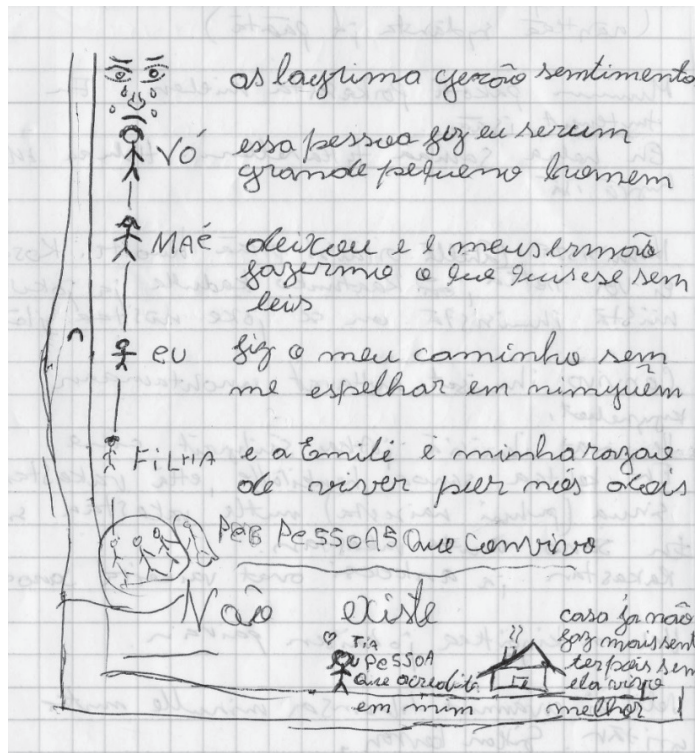
Figure 3. An analysis made by a boy (14) about various elements shaping 'his space'. Those elements include his granny, mother, daughter, physical places, and the parts that do not exist yet but are in his dreams.
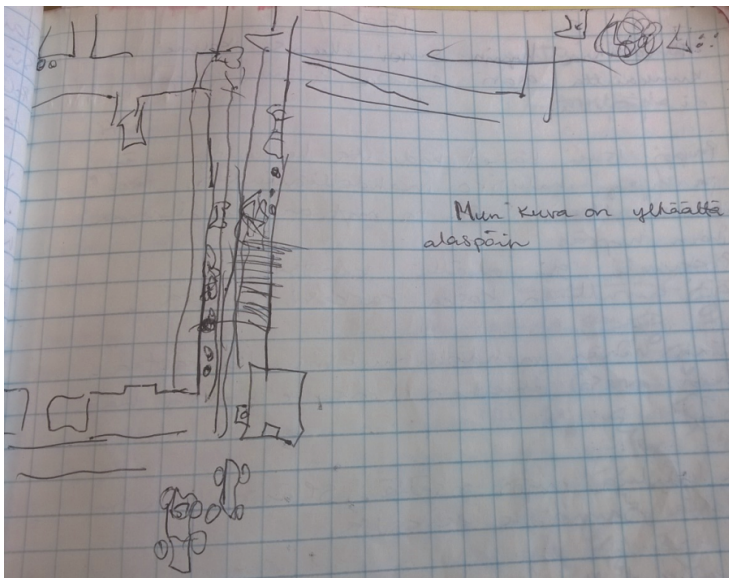

Figure 4. The picture is a map of a drug trafficking spot including an analysis of the normal course of events if the police came.

3.5. Challenges and limitations of a longitudinal ethnographic case study

Although ethnographies and thus, participatory methods, have been commonly used in geographic research since the beginning of the 19th century (Anderson, 1999) they have been criticised because ethnographic findings are not absolute truths mined from the field (Hoggart et al., 2002). Consequently, the ability to generalise ethnographies from one case to another, especially those that are based on one or a few cases, has been questioned (Yin, 1994; Ruddin, 2006). Campbell (1963: 6-7, 17) argued that case studies 'are of almost no scientific value.. Any appearance of absolute knowledge, or intrinsic knowledge about singular isolated objects, is found to be illusory upon analysis.' However, as Ruddin (2006: 798) reflects, we should discuss whether ethnographic case studies should even produce any generalisable truths 'as it is essentially a problem of positivism'. Instead, as Mitchell (2000) argued, ethnographers should generalise their findings to theories rather than to other cases. On the other hand, Flyvbjerg (1993) claimed that social scientists should believe in the power of particular context based cases rather than in a generalised theory. Moreover, as Flyvbjerg (2001: 70) reminded researchers that researchers interested in behaviour and conduct, must investigate cases in particular circumstances as it is those circumstances the conduct is based on.

Participatory research methods have other challenges as well. They emphasise local knowledge, but some individuals have the skills and authority to express their own personal opinions as if they were opinions shared by the whole community (Mosse, 2001). I overcame this dilemma by interviewing participants individually, and also spending time with each of them separately. On the other hand, participatory methods enable the analysis of whether opinions expressed in discussions and interviews are common to a larger group of people or simply the individual's own as some people's behaviour, or narratives on another occasion, for instance, can contradict with the outlook of one particular person (Ansell et al., 2012).

This research was difficult to organise in a strict manner due to the fast changing situations on the streets and the often turbulent world in which people live on the streets (see Lalor, 1999; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). Consequently, I chose methods to produce the data at each moment. A group discussion that went well one day could be impossible another day. Sometimes there was no one on the streets. The research also demanded a considerable amount of time. Long

discussions or interviews were not suitable due to the participants' short attention span caused by the need to remain vigilant to dangers and opportunities on the streets (Raffaelli et al., 2001). Consequently, I wanted to spend time in an intensive way with the participants so that I could continue a conversation that was paused for one reason or another.

3.6. My positionality

My own status as a white, blond, relatively young woman most certainly affected my research (yet compared with the youngest children in this research I may have appeared rather old). In the local people, it mostly provoked admiration but could sometimes cause irritation and even concern. Children and adolescents in Pelotas' streets do not always trust 'normal people' (*os normais*) as they call people who live in private houses. However, I presume that my slightly different appearance had the effect of making the children see me as being different from the other 'normals' (yet I have to say that there are a lot of white, blond people in Pelotas as the legacy of Europeans in southern Brazil is so visible).

The nature of my in-depth study required that the participants trusted me, but also that I trusted them. Before my first communication with the children and adolescents on the streets I received advice from Daví, who also 'looked after me' on my first field trip. Daví, whom I had met by chance through a common friend, had had his own rough path in life, and had an idea about how I could approach the children and young people on the streets. He said that trust would probably be gained if I sat on the pavement with the children in white shorts and offered them *Chimarrão* (Brazilian tee) or drank juice with the same straw. The advice was good and ultimately, I did not encounter any trust issues. At first, some children were more cautious of what they said, but soon they noticed I that I was not going to report them to the police or publish anything they did not want me to publish. Certainly, there might have been things some of children did not tell me, but I never felt that this would have been because of a lack of trust. As mentioned, it was imperative to trust the participants especially during the night time. I also never felt threatened by my participants. However, when crack cocaine became more used among the participants I became more careful at night time. I did not feel that the children would do anything to me after having smoked crack as they mostly became rather afraid after a 'stone' (after the rapidly passing euphoria and sometimes rage). My concerns were more related to the drug dealers higher up in the hierarchy, and the incidents on the street, which have become more common

recently in Pelotas, caused by the eventual drug debts. My links to the children and young people participating in my studies could have endangered me. Normally though, the participants advised me when it was better for me not to stay close to them. Once a boy (13), for example had stolen drugs from a dealer and was hiding from the dealer, and he thought that it would be better if we did not meet for a while. In 2012, a larger group of children and young people in my research group advised me to stay further away from them at the carnival celebrations, as they knew they would probably be involved in fight with another group of people.

The fact that I already had a partner in my home country, Finland, during my first field trip probably had the effect that I did not experience any flirting from the research participants as Ursin (2013) did when she was conducted her field work. I was treated often as Miss or *Tia* (auntie). However, by some means I still felt that I became their friend or even a kind of mother figure to some. One boy (13) once said to me that he believed that God had sent me to them to ask how they experienced things.

As a consequence, I affected their street experience and their lives. I could not claim to have been complete outsider in terms of influencing the results. Nor did I want to be totally outsider as my research required some kind of insideness. Nevertheless, I never tried to change the life paths of the participants. It hurt sometimes to witness a relapse after drug rehabilitation, but I never judged anyone. However, I often tried to discover the reasons that might have caused the relapse at a particular time (probably wishing that they would somehow acquire the strength (*cabeça forte*) to stop using drugs again or go back to work).

I could say that the participants, to a certain level, saw me as one of them, as I started to understand and even use their street slang, I was loyal to them by not reporting their locations or eventual crimes to the police. At least I was not seen as one of 'the normals', even though there was always a huge gap between us. A few times, some participants escorted me to my home, a white, beautiful, gated block of flats where a portiere opened the gate for me as I was coming in. After which the participants returned to run their errands or to sleep in their cardboard box. I must have appeared to be struggling with the disparity as many participants told me they felt good about themselves when 'normal people' saw a lady from such a house give them three kisses on their cheeks to say hello or good bye.

Even though street dwellers are mostly seen as threats to society, I felt more uncomfortable in the presence of the police and security guards. I was fortunate to only be involved in one incident with the police when they separated our discussion group and I was told that I was not allowed to continue my research. Earlier I mentioned Daví, who accompanied me during the first field trip. However, during the last two trips, I was accompanied by Cleiton, who had been one of the first children working in the main avenue in Pelotas in the early 80s, and whom I met in 1999 for the first time. These escorts stayed sometimes close to me so that they could warn me by whispering in case they noticed something that could cause danger. At times, they stayed further away and only observed the environment so that I could talk with the children in peace. In this way, I could concentrate more on the things the participants were talking about rather than having to be concerned with possible dangers in the streets. I tried to be on equal terms with the participants, but the research is mine; therefore, I was the person who determined what has been used in the final thesis.

3.7.   Ethics in this research

As regards the ethical aspects these were carefully considered throughout the entire research. The Ethical Committee of the University of Turku evaluated my research plan concerning the ethical aspects (the statement favoured my research). Consent was requested from the participants although they did not write anything, and I orally presented the study with its purposes to them. I thought that it would not be ethical to only rely on their reading skills assuming that they could have signed the consent. Nevertheless, the participants were informed about the study; they understood in which they were involved and their rights as research participants to quit their participation anytime they wished. I also underlined their right to refuse to answer any questions they did not want to answer or not to participate in discussions they did not want to participate in. I promised not to publish anything without permission. Sensitivity towards the feelings and beliefs of these individuals was imperative in creating trust-based relationships with them. I avoided any negative consequences that could occur both to my participants and myself because of my study. For example, the field diary was written in Finnish, to make it almost impossible for it to be understood if it were lost in this Brazilian town. Anonymity and confidentiality must be carefully managed for street children and adolescents as writing about the locations of their activities and with whom they had contact, could result in harm

or even endanger them, particularly if the activities were considered illegal (van Blerk, 2012).

I did not want to consider the participants of my research as oppressed or in any way less knowledgeable than myself. They expected me not to trust in them but I presume that my 'way in' to the group depended on the trust I showed towards them. In addition, I considered the trust I showed towards them as a way to be correct with them. I let them borrow my camera and sometimes I asked someone to buy us coca cola or water as we were starting a group discussion and I was always given back the change. I consciously chose not to suppose that I would lose my belongings.

I did not want to pay financially for the interviews, but at the same time I wanted to compensate the time the participants spent in focus group discussions, walkabouts, or interviews. I chose to offer something to eat and drink every time we had one of these sessions. However, I also offered food and drinks to the children and other young people who were not part of the study just to show that they would be offered something to eat regardless of whether they participated in my research or not. I helped with official documents like birth certificates and treated eventual wounds caused by fights or accidents when running among passing cars. After coming home to Finland I also visited a 14-year-old boy in rehabilitation virtually as he did not have anyone to visit him there.

4.   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1.   Multiple times forming the lives on the streets

My approach to street life is relational, acknowledging its evolving nature. Numerous encounters among manifold elements such as attitudes and moods, behaviours, relationships with people, together with the physical qualities of the places keep evolving in space and time, giving street lives their current configuration. As I explored the livelihoods of the children and young people on the streets of Pelotas, I noticed that multiple time elements form their lives on the streets as they jostle together with different spatial dimensions. The now (see Hägerstrand, 2009) is the time in which all physical practices and thinking occur. However, the motivations to do certain practices for instance bring different times together shaping the practices in the now. Our past experiences transform our expectations of the future and consequently, often the choices we make in the now. This could also be clearly seen on the streets.

People, who do not spend the majority of their time on the streets, position children and young people on the streets automatically into a context that is a mixture of history and current social relations. 'Normal people', as my participants called people living in private houses, in general, do not have extensive knowledge about street life. The legacy is still strong of the time when children, who had done something bad ended up on the streets. Not everyone has read such famous literature such as *Capitães da areia,* which actually has some realistic connection to modern day street life, but have formed their opinions by reflecting on the information in the media and from *novelas.* These images of street life often impact the ways in which children and young people on the streets are seen. Consequently, the ways in which children and young people on the streets are treated is a legacy of Brazilian history. In reality, young people on the streets are often stigmatised and "presumed to be offenders, even when there is no offence; drug addicts, even if they never used drugs; and 'vagrants', even if they work hard" (Rosenblatt, 2014: 21). People on the streets, such as my participants, are undoubtedly seen in a negative light in Pelotas without any thought or investigation of their lives. Subsequently, history and even fiction become elements forming the now on the streets; *Capitães da areia* may have an impact on the lives of the modern day 'capitães' despite the fact that it was published long before the births of any of the participants of this research.

At the beginning of my research, the participants expected me to see them as thieves and drug addicts as they believe all other people see them in that way. The first person I talked to was Matheus (14). During the first few minutes I learned that he was not an orphan like Pedro Bala, the protagonist of *Capitães da areia.* Matheus' mother had left Matheus and his father some years before. Matheus did not know where his mother lived at that moment. The boy had left his home because of the drug use of his father. The father and his friends often gathered in Matheus' home and he feared the eventual fights between his father's friends. Jorge (14), who came along next, was an orphan and had been on the streets for years. However, he was not sure for how many years he had spent on the streets, but he remembered having been to at least four *carnavals* on the streets after his parents died in a car accident. Quite early, I noticed that the conception of linear time on the streets differed slightly from mine. Time was often conceptualised by reflecting on how much of a certain activity could be practiced in a certain time, in Jorge's case carnivals. Jorge had sold the family home together with his younger brother, who was living with their relatives at the time I met Jorge. Jorge, however, did not want to live with the relatives and he hid in the shadows when he saw any family member approaching. Next day, I met José (13) who had paid for a hit man to kill his stepfather. The stepfather had shot José's mother in her stomach to abort an unwanted baby. The hit man did not succeed and the relationship between José and his stepfather did not improve. José and some of his brothers were living in their grandmother's house, but José (according to him) was tired of taking care of the family income alone and left to be on the streets and was followed by two of his brothers Gustavo (11) and Gabriel (14). Erich (12) who considered José as his brother was not allowed to go home, as his stepfather did not like him. Occasionally, he slept in José's grandmother's house, regardless of José's location. Often however, Erich wanted to stay by José's side looking after him. Demetrius (16) sought protection from the streets as his former community was not welcoming towards him. This is not unusual. Lorraine van Blerk (2012) has reported similar experiences although not from Brazil but from Cape Town. The reasons the participants of this study had to leave their homes mirrors the reasons found in the largest survey of street children's lives in Brazil (Secretária de direitos humanos sa Presidência da República – SDH, 2011) but also globally (Hecht, 1998; van Blerk, 2005) (see Table 1). These reasons are not in line with general beliefs formed as a result of the colonial legacy, and discussed in the introductory section, according to which all children and young people had necessarily had to do something bad to 'earn' a life on the streets.

Table 1. Information about the children and young people in my research.

Name	Age (in 2009)	Reasons to be on street	Where sleeps normally	Drug use	Periods at home
Marcos	16	Drugs	On the streets	First marijuana and inhaling glue and thinner, last two years crack	Not at home, but in a rehabilitation centre
Erich	12	Stepfather	In José's grandmother's house	First no, last two years marijuana, inhaling thinner	Could return home in by the end of the research
Fernanda	12	Sexual harassment	Mostly at home	No, (smokes cigarettes)	Lives at home
Luiza	10	Contribute family income	At home	No	lives at home
Vinícius	16	Parental death	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	One longer period with a girlfriend
Maicom	16	Domestic violence	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	No
Gilberto	16	Avoiding disagreements	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	No
Matheus	14	Violence, abandonment	4 first years on the street	Inhaling glue and thinner, two years crack. Now nothing	Moved together with a girlfriend in 2012
Demetrius	15	Drugs, mothers drug trafficking	4 first years on the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	Returned home at the end of 2012
José	13	Stepdad, disagreements	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	Some weeks periods at home and in rehab, now lives with a girlfriend
Jorge	14 (died in 2012)	Parental death	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last year crack.	No (now dead)
Gustavo	11	Stepdad, brother on the streets	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last / previous year crack.	No
Rodrigo	12	Money, leisure	At home	First no, last two years marijuana, inhaling thinner	Lives at home
Gabriel	14	Stepfather, disagreements	3 first years on the streets		No, but in prison. Lives now with a girlfriend
Renato	14	Contributing to the family income	At home	No, has been selling drugs	Lives at home
Juliano	10	Friends, no place at school	At home	Inhaling thinner	Lives at home
Arthur	15	Disagreements	4 first years on the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	First no, but now lives at home
Roberto	16	Drugs	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	No
Lauro	15	Parental death	On the streets	Inhaling thinner, last two years crack	Some periods at his grandmother's house

Children and young people in street situations are all engaged in similar daily routines around the world (Alves et al., 2002). The youngsters on the street in Pelotas usually earn money by begging, through small jobs in sidewalk restaurants, washing and taking care of cars, or juggling at traffic lights. Some

commit petty crimes in order to obtain money. Some of the informal employment opportunities are similar to the ones their peers had a hundred years ago, like helping out restaurant owners and their clients. Today, children and young people are still often engaged in this kind of activity or in other 'service branches': they often offer to carry groceries in front of supermarkets (Huggins & Rodrigues, 2004) such as *Supermercado Nacional* in Pelotas (Figure 5.).

Figure 5. A child waiting in front of the supermarket to be given some change, food, or the opportunity to carry groceries.

Income can be earned wherever there are people - as I highlighted in article **I**. Nevertheless, some locations have the status of being more suitable for certain activities than others. For instance, the area of Gelei Gelo, a small shop, was usually considered a place for begging whereas the area of Zum Zum, an ice cream bar, was more often related to being a place for hard workers (see Figure 6). Consequently, children and young people spending time in those particular places are often connected to a certain kind of activity. In addition, *Avenida Bento Gonçalves*, for example, was considered a better place to earn money, whereas the city centre was better for food, according to my participants. Places where

people gather in Pelotas have changed during the years, but some locations have remained famous among the people. The street Quinze de Novembro has been one of the best commercial streets since the late 19th century (Figure 6). It is the street where the best hotels, bookshops, and fashionable clothes shops where located over two hundred years ago. Still today there are three traditional landmarks of Pelotas; *Diário Polular* (the local newspaper), *Livraria Mundial* (a popular bookshop) and Café Aquários (a traditional gentlemen's cafeteria) (Magalhães, 2000). The activity spots of the street children highlight these city dynamics, which have their origin in the late 19th century.

Figure 6. The map illustrates the important locations for everyday activities. The red symbols show the locations of the most beneficial traffic lights, the yellow symbols show the locations of children's employment opportunities at a side walk cafeteria and in a flower shop, and the blue symbols show the locations of restaurants offering the left overs form cheap meals to street dwellers.

Children and young people on the streets are not wanted in every location of the city. The role of the patrolling police force, the *Policia Militar,* is a major factor for the spatial spreading of the activities on the streets (Ursin, 2013). Some areas are patrolled to discourage children from returning to these places and new ones from arriving (Hecht, 1998). This is easily reminiscent of the time of the Minority Code in Brazil as discussed earlier (see Chapter 2.2). Roaming around on the streets is not necessarily tolerated in Brazil. In fact, the outdated legislation, a legacy from colonial times, enables street children to be arrested for 'vagrancy' (defined in Article 59 of the Brazilian Act on Criminal Contraventions) (Rosenblatt, 2012: 236). Some of the participants tended to avoid the places where policemen often patrolled; some said they were not afraid of being arrested.

As legal earning possibilities are sometimes scarce, robbery is not unexceptional among the people on the streets. However, many related that they tended to rob other street dwellers rather than from 'normal' people. The younger ones said that especially the older ones (or physically bigger) sometimes took the belongings of the smaller or younger ones. However, age is not always the factor that positions an individual at the top of the hierarchy, as I revealed in the article **I** using the case of Gustavo, who was quite aggressive despite his young age. Demetrius (16), who in turn, is petite in size, was regularly disturbed by the bigger ones: '*They can come and take our belongings. Once I lost my Styrofoam to someone. He didn't kill me. Probably because I just gave the thing* (Styrofoam) *to him*'. It is not a new finding that the streets are violent. Violent abuse and maltreatment are characteristic factors of street-life (Araujo de Morais et al., 2010). This is the case not only in Pelotas or Brazil, but globally (Beazley, 2002). Nor is it only the case in modern day Brazil; streets have had violent connotations for over two hundred years (Araujo de Morais et al., 2010). However, I do not want to make any comparison between homes and the lives on the streets, as homes can also be experienced as violent places. In fact, life on the streets sometimes provides opportunities that the children did not have at home and can also seem less violent (Aptekar, 1994: Araujo de Morais et al., 2010).

The motives for migrating to the streets and the experiences gained in that environment has an impact on how the streets are currently perceived (article **III**; Raffelli et al., 2001) making the time more relative. Thus, the reasons for migrating to the streets should be recognised. Those who *could* go home, if they accepted the dynamics of the home were clearly more satisfied with the streets compared with those who were happy with their lives at home until parental

death, abandonment, abuse or the like (article **III**). Maicom (17) and Jorge (14) were the only ones who had left home and no longer came and went between their home and the streets. According to time-geography the present is our viewpoint on which we see the past and predict the future (Hägerstrand, 2009). This was also illustrated in the article III in which I showed how the current perception of the streets has an impact on the ways in which the participants saw their future possibilities. Moreover, the future expectations and dreams affected the way in which the present was experienced. This reflects the interconnection of different times in the lives on the streets.

Lives on the streets are greatly affected by inextricable elements including physical, social, and mental elements as revealed in article **I**. In article **II,** I stressed that one and the same element can lead to both a negative and a positive direction depending on the other elements encountered (see also Ursin, 2013). Even a small change in attitude can change networks (Ursin, 2013). Trying to solely capture or represent these elements would probably not bring any new information about livelihood on the streets. Consequently, the environment ought to be seen as multidimensional interconnected processes incorporating different times in terms of affects, memories, beliefs, and future expectations, as well as social relationships and the physical qualities of places. Moreover, it is interesting to explore the meanings children and young people in street situations give to the other elements around them in a variety of situations. The children and young people in this research mentioned various elements affecting their lives as shown in the II article. The meanings that people give to the elements in their surroundings have an impact on the ways in which these elements are used, abused, and interpreted. It is interesting and extremely important to understand the evolvement of the processes through which the street diorama with its many elements is enacted, manipulated, and transformed.

4.2.   The importance and the meanings of the elements in a street environment

The way in which a street diorama appears depends on the viewer (see e.g. Hägerstrand, 1982, 2009). The streets of Pelotas are, on the one hand, quite clean, rather safe during the day time, and full of elegant shops offering opportunities for consumption. Norms and legislation are mostly known and respected, and the streets represent public spaces, which people use on their ways to different places. On the other hand, the streets are locations where people carry out private activities such as sleep and take care of their hygiene.

Shops are not available and represent the marginalisation of certain people. The official norms and rules are secondary in comparison with the rules 'of the streets'. How a diorama such as the street appears depends, at least partly, on what one wants to do there or in life in general. This research has shown that the importance and the meanings the children and young people in the streets give to different elements in their environment need to be thoroughly comprehended.

Time-geography is concerned with individuals' negotiation for space-time and resources such as tools, other people, and the knowledge needed to carry out various tasks and achieving desired goals (Scholten et al., 2012). Street life is about the constant negotiation for these elements. The reasons for migrating to the streets affected the goals my participants had on the streets (article **I**) bringing the personal past to the present experience. José's expression raised agreement in the others: *'The main goal* [on the streets] *is often just to survive'.* Smaller goals such as finding food, safety, or employment were often set in relation to this greater goal. As mentioned in the section on time-geography these goals can be different and vary from eating a meal to living a good life. Nevertheless, the goals often shape the way people perceive their surroundings. Goals change in space-time, and often living on the streets alters a person's goals compared with those they had when they lived at home. This aspect is explored in article **I**. Therefore, purposive behaviour changes with the experienced conditions. The person's own goals and perceived situation have the most effect on the meanings they give to elements in the environment.

When the street is one's living environment and resources, such as food, money, clothes or caring (to mention but a few) are scarce, especially creativity needs to be used for giving new meanings to the resources available in order to be able to complete desired tasks and to remain positive about the sense of the self. To comprehend street children's and young people's behaviour it is imperative to comprehend the ways in which the physical qualities of places, social relationships as well as mental elements like knowledge, imagination and decisiveness are used and enacted.

Physical elements in public spaces, such as certain the qualities of the ground (sand or grass) or even shadows or surfaces of the fences obtained unexpected meanings in the lives of the participants in my research. These physical elements could incite unpleasant sensations at certain moments, as revealed in article **IV**. The way in which the eyes of my participants developed to perceive these physical

elements changed their view of the places. A certain place could be experienced as safe because of its elements enabled escape for instance. To my knowledge, this same phenomenon has not been found in other street children studies. However, when Ameel and Tani (2012) explored parkour practitioners she noticed how the views of the city changed for the parkour practitioners. Their knowledge of which surfaces were slippery, for example, affected their views and movement in the city (Ameel & Tani, 2012). In addition, physical elements such as styro-foam or a cardboard boxes can be acquire the meaning of a bed - offering a relatively warm place to sleep in case a person needs a safe and warm place to sleep and does not have a warm bed. Additionally a tree, for example, can offer safety by blocking possible ways of being attacked by someone passing by, if there is nothing else offering security (article **II**) (see Figure 7). The participants described how they lack responsible people taking care of them, and this results in their reliance on trees or walls to offer security.

Figure 7. A boy sleeping between a sidewalk cafeteria and a tree offering safety.

The streets, money, and supermarkets or restaurants as physical places, are not relevant per se in the lives of the participants as illustrated in article **II**. For these children and young people, the guards permitting or refusing entrance to supermarkets are more important, or restaurant owners who determine whether they have something to offer can be seen as examples.

The importance of social relationships on the streets is significant. Relationships with other people can, at best, offer security and a sense of belonging and at worst, spread fear (articles **II**, **IV**). The human actors that the children and young people of this study considered to be the most influential in their lives were other children and young people in street situations, '*normal people'*, the police and guards. These other people were considered important because street knowledge is often produced by following and observing these other people and their behaviour on the streets. The social networks for example, through which street knowledge can be gained effectively, are vital in the street environment (Raffaelli et al., 2007). Those, who have been on the streets longer, can pass on the knowledge they have gained. They have 'collected' the signs of the street life and they know how these signs can hamper employment or function an as advantage if one wants to get into rehabilitation for instance. As a means of gaining knowledge, social relationships are significant as street-life knowledge improves survival on the streets.

Violence on the streets has various meanings and it is used for a variety of purposes. Nevertheless, it is a life-threatening aspect of street life. The integrity of street dwellers is often violently dishonoured through abuse and torture. You have to recognise a person with a gun one participant informed me. Moreover, violence is also used as one crucial coping strategy. Acts of violence, as I illustrate in article I, are not always based on hate or anger. Sometimes they merely needed in order to obtain the reputation of being capable of acting violently and thus a higher position in the hierarchy of the streets. In cases where the participants in this research were able to provoke feelings of fear in others they were perhaps left alone. The violence the participants suffered from the authorities was mostly experienced as unnecessary. However, the violence of family members was experienced as much more insulting and painful as then the violence came from some people *who should love us*, as I heard countless of times. This comparison shows how elements such as violence can attain various meanings, which then affects the children's and young peoples' behaviour. It also explains why a thing

such as a blow is given a different meaning when it comes from a mother as compared with a 'normal person', who street dwellers expect to hate them.

Social relationships on the streets may compensate for the lack of family ties. Even if the feeling of belonging to something was not a conscious goal, street living children and young people wish to be a part of a group, as they perhaps did not feel part of their real families (Beazley, 2002). The smaller children especially were able to form quite united groups with great solidarity; they could trust these group and experience a form of belonging to them (articles **II**, **III**, and **IV**). The solidarity could be seen between José and Erich who considered each other as brothers regardless of one being of a darker skin than the other. At the beginning of my research, Erich (12) always gave the notes he had earned to José (13) whereas José gave the coins to Erich. They explained that in this way they would not lose everything in case one of them was robbed. This kind of formation of responsibility relationships is normal in street context, in which children and young people can establish substitute families to replace their own families (Hecht, 1998). The presence of other children brought the feelings of safety to the participants at the beginning of my study. The smaller children gathered especially at night to offer each other both heath through physical touch and security by the mental representation of a group, which would be stronger in an eventual fight compared with a child alone. This sense of belonging to a loyal group changed during the participants' time on the streets, and also shaped their feelings towards the street as a living space and other people as companions (article **III**).

The importance and role of mental elements on the streets need to be thoroughly understood in order to be able to prepare far-reaching development plans for this heterogeneous population. The participants in this study often said that being positive was as important for survival as food. Such mental elements were for example *cabeça forte*; a decisive and strongly positive state of mind, which was of great importance to the children's and young peoples' goal of survival and remaining mentally healthy. According to the participants and other studies with street children, mental strength provides a significant advantage for survival (Raffaelli et al., 2001) enabling a positive approach to the constraints encountered (for more about the experienced constraints see the article **I**). One excellent example of positioning one's self in the context of constraints was that of Jorge's (14), presented in article **I**. He tried to take the constraints in his life as tribulations from God and as part of a greater plan. He believed that if he could show the God that he was worth helping his God would help him escape from street life. In

order to be able to think like Jorge, *cabeça forte* is mandatory. Erich (12), in turn, described (article **I**) how he imagined his mother and siblings in order to feel their presence. He related that when he managed to obtain that motherly representation his heart stopped beating too fast and thus he could rest. However, I consider the example of Demetrius (16) as one of the most significant, illustrating the importance and usage of mental strength on the streets. Demetrius said he disembodied when he was maltreated and tortured so that the blows would not be able to hurt him anymore. His example highlights the meaning of strong mental strength on the streets and its importance for staying mentally healthy.

As described in article **IV,** the participants' bodies may sense intensities and reactions may occur. In this research, I have called these intensities bodies sense as affects, as I revealed in the Chapter 2.4.5. The intensities, sensations, or affects that the participants in this research perceived on the streets are of vital importance. These affects, consequently, bind the history of the participants into the present in which the majority of the living and activities take place (Shields, 2008). Those who had been on the streets longer advised the new comers to remain sensitive on the streets and to be prepared to react in fast changing situations based on their sensations (see more about the affects in article **IV**). Our experiences impact the instant predictions we make about possible future events, yet the predictions may be unconscious (Shields, 2008; Hägerstrand, 2009: 223). When I started my research, the participants would mention the *feelings* they felt when something happened, but they could not recognise the reasons for some of their actions. As I showed in article **IV**, this changed however, and the participants began to understand the sensations in their bodies and even name them. Some of the participants had even reached a state where they could analyse their surroundings with only a quick look around: In the quick look they could detect some elements and evaluate others which they had not perceived yet and then react (which can also mean staying still). The way in which the participants in the research expected encounters to evolve was a combination of their experiences and also what they had heard about how *things always turn out.*

In addition to the elements mentioned above, there were activities such as working and consuming drugs that had important, twofold meanings on the streets. Earning money is time-consuming. The result of work activities is that they constrain the children and young people's leisure, but they also keep them away from illicit behaviour with other things they consider harmful, such as consuming

drugs. The participants described how drugs occupy such an enormous part of their brain that future aspirations no longer fit in. On the other hand, unfortunately, drugs and alcohol are also commonly seen as incentives for acquiring the strength to carry on with the life (Paludo, 2010; Neiva-Silva, 2008). This is due to the need to forget their depressing life situation in order to be able to continue within it (Neiva-Silva, 2008). Consequently, this gives an additional meaning to employment as it not only provides money, but enhances the ability to avoid drugs.

These elements, discussed in this chapter, are essential as they have an enormous impact on children's possibilities to enact their daily routines e.g. rest, work, find nutrition, and have leisure time. Embodied knowledge, affects, goal achievement, and future expectations are formed in combination with past experiences and calculations as regards what could happen in the future. Those elements the participants lacked, they tried to compensate for by using their creativity to invent new meanings for the available elements. Moreover, street children and young people on the streets are not only spectators in their lives, but rather active agents transforming their environments in order to be able to survive there.

4.3.   Transforming the multidimensional environment

Children and young people in street situations (as any other people) have certain elements in their lives constraining and, on the other hand, inciting their activities (article **I**). This research shows that in order to reach their goals (e.g. sleeping, being treated with dignity, and having some kind of self-esteem) children and young people on the streets actively transform their multidimensional environments and create multiple means of survival.

I have demonstrated (article **I**) how the children and young people in my research tried to establish, conceive and merge the time and the resources needed in the Pockets of Local order (here after PoLOs). In these physical, socially produced or imaginative pockets or sections of multidimensional space, the time and other elements needed are bundled so that the children and young people could carry out their tasks. Depending on the goals of the individual, s/he will try to approach (physically or in the imagination) certain things or people and avoid others. The goals varied, often depending on the time each individual had spent on the streets at that particular moment (article **I, III**). These goals were related not only to

physical and socio-cultural dimensions, but also to mental dimensions that are all spatio-temporal and interconnected (Hägerstrand, 1985).

Physical transformations of their personal environment were challenging for the participants as discussed in article **I**. They could not build anything tactile of their own in public spaces, so they sometimes occupy abandoned dwellings or doorways. However, they were often sooner or later chased away from these shelters (article **I**; van Blerk, 2013). Often the only way to master a physical place is to leave belongings in the place or cover the face with a piece of clothing to reach the goal of achieving a sense of privacy. A physical place that had a negative image for a person, however, could be turned into a paradise-like beautiful location by being there with important people (article **I**, **III**). The participants in this research carry out this kind of transformation of physical places in order to feel positive in as many places as possible when the possibilities to transform the physical environment are limited. Consequently, some tried to manipulate their social surroundings (article **I**, **II**, **IV**).

The social transformations of the street diorama were practised by different actors such as the municipality or people living in private homes (article **I**, **II**; van Blerk, 2013; Rosenblatt, 2014). The on-going goal of the City Council of Pelotas is to form a place in the city centre without children or other young people roaming around begging, and this aim is furthered by discouraging people to give anything to beggars. This campaign clearly constrains the street dwellers' goal of earning money and food, which leads to a situation where the children need to use more creativity in finding resources such as food.

Street-dwellers themselves transform the street diorama by establishing their own 'rules' among street-dwellers (Raffaelli et al., 2007). The participants in this research, as many other children and young people in street situation, often apportion the streets so that as many of them as possible can generate a livelihood (Huggins & Rodrigues, 2004). One rule was that it is necessary to respect other peoples' '*spots'* and ask other street dwellers first if the spot is someone else's and whether it is fine for him/her to work in that specific spot. If no one has been working recently on the spot it can be occupied. Children and young people working on the streets changes the overall image of places, as can be seen on the street Quinze de Novembro in Pelotas, for example. This is one of the best locations in the town for children and young people in street situation to find food. Today, in addition to Quinze de Novembro, streets such as the parade

of Andrade Neves and Sete de Setembro, and Avenida Bento Gonçalves are locations where children and young people in street situation have the best employment opportunities. However, they are also the locations where they make the social disparities most visible, as people from various other backgrounds gather on those streets (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Boys begging in front of a restaurant on the street Sete de Setembro between the streets Andrade Neves and Quinze de Novembro

The rules and norms on the streets are social transformations (sometimes invisible) of the environment and do not only refer to the streets as physical spaces. These rules and norms are shared, acknowledged, and practiced among street-dwellers in Pelotas wherever they are (sometimes even when they periodically live at home). Some street children and young people may share their knowledge with new comers and some may even offer protection with their presence (Ribeiro & Ciampone, 2001). Thus, the participants aimed at coupling

with the right people at the right time. These processes of coupling and dispersing are social transformations of the street diorama. Some, like the brothers José (13) and Gustavo (11), tried to form their social environment by acts of violence. The boys committed manslaughter in order to provoke fear in others. By this act, they tried to establish imaginative boundaries around them offering safety. Especially José in fact succeeded in his attempt to establish such boundaries.

As described in articles **II** and **IV,** street children may also aim at changing the overall atmosphere in their own favour. 'Life in the streets is defined by action, by movements and by gesticulation more than by speech' (Diógenes, 1994: 24). Indeed, with practices such as changes in postures, looks or other bodily practices street children and young people shape the atmospheres around them (see article **IV**). The ability to actively transform the environment develops on the streets with the realisation of different possibilities and creativity to invent new methods. As described in article **IV,** especially at the beginning of an individual's street life some action may not be fully consciously motivated but rather results from a change in the atmosphere. Later on, the participants in this research illustrated how they in fact learned some methods whereby they often succeeded in manipulating the atmosphere in their favour. The knowledge of how to transform others' feelings is relevant on the streets. The participants reasoned that they benefit from being able to create both positively and negatively interpreted sensations. Most of the participants tried to appear strong in order to get respect, but on the other hand weakness and pity provoke feelings that could earn money begging or change the overall image of the street dweller by showing a hard working side. As an example, once we were going to have something to eat at a hamburger restaurant after a focus group discussion. Jorge (14) said he did not want to come because he was taking care of a car in front of a store in Av. Bento Gonçalves. He did not want to lose the trust he had gained from the person who often hired Jorge to take care of his car.

The examples of Demetrius, who needed to throw stones at his disturbers, and who was not feared or respected by other street dwellers or the authorities, show he especially needed to create other means to remain resilient. He was not able to transform the physical, nor the social environment in his favour to any great extent. In order to achieve certain aims, such as the feelings of positive self-esteem, the security or strength to carry on with life Demetrius and other study participants tried to transform their mental environment. In line with my findings (article **III**) other studies have shown that if children and young people in street

situations can concentrate on the positive aspects of the streets, they more easily find resources (e.g. nutrition, leisure activities, working opportunities) in the street environment (Raffaelli et al., 2001). When the environment is hostile, children and adolescents need to find alternative ways to experience the environment positively regardless of the hostility. *Cabeça forte* (strong head) mentioned in Section 4.2 is one of the most important means of transforming the mental environment. Previous positive experiences, even imaginative ones, enable the formation of a strong head. This state of mind can compensate (to a certain degree) for the lack of physical connection and affection from the family, as we could see in Erich's example (article **I**, **II**) where he related that he imagined his mother and siblings in order to relax and be able to sleep. This phenomenon has also been found in other studies with street children. Children often try to form positive mental representations of important people, like mothers, to occupy the space of negativity (Hecht, 1998; Paludo & Koller, 2005). On the other hand, *Cabeça forte* also enables mental withdrawal from certain things such as the negative image of oneself or the pain felt in the body caused by electric shocks or blows. A strong head can also help to avoid drugs and alcohol if beautiful images occupy the place of the drugs in the brain as José (15) put it. These transformations of the mental environment or the imagination are important. I often heard how it did not matter if the thoughts or goals were realistic or completely unobtainable. The participants frequently told me how the most important thing was to dream about a better future, even if everything indicated that the goals or the dream was unrealistic.

The street children actively, creatively, and with sophistication used the available limited resources to transform their multidimensional environment in order to be able to do certain things. People experience different constraints and incentives as explored in article **I**. Consequently, the need and desire to transform the environment vary also in space-time and between individuals. The subjective factors constraining and inciting goal achievement helps us to understand why certain actions are enacted instead of other actions.

The methods of transforming the environment, such as the street rules, highlight the presence of street knowledge. Transformation processes are related to this knowledge of the dynamics of the streets, and to past experiences of what has incited certain tasks before. On the other hand, when setting and considering their goals, the children and young people actually directed their concentration to

the future time. This is interesting because regardless of the goal realisation being a matter for the future, it strongly affects the perceived present situation.

4.4. The perceived abilities to transform the environment as manifestations of life situations

One of the results of this research is that the ways in which children and young people in street situations transform their environment (or are able to transform it) illustrate the situations they have experienced. In fact, the methods the person invents to create the means of survival manifest the way in which the individual perceives his/her opportunities in the environment and their overall life situations. Movements and activities often depend on the temporal availability of perceived livelihoods (Abebe, 2008; van Blerk, 2005) or the lack of certain livelihoods or the resources. This encourages individuals to give new usages to affordable resources or otherwise getting the livelihoods needed.

The physical movements of the participants in this research were often restricted as they were regularly chased away by the authorities from the locations they had chosen. The context in which street life is lived presents the participant's micro-geographies that were fairly localised (van Blerk, 2012). Even though some studies (Young, 2003; van Blerk, 2005) indicate the freedom of children and young people on the streets, my results are in line with van Blerks (2012); all the participants, with two exceptions[9], had not been outside of a relatively small area in Pelotas during the whole research period. Arthur (15) often said that: '*our places have different smells than the places of the rich'.* Here he is referring to restrictions on enter shopping malls or roofed market streets, or going through the city blocks such as *Galleria Malcom* which units the streets Quinze de Novembro and Voluntários da Patria. These spatial restrictions manifest the social position of these individuals. José (article **I**) described how he, as a home-living-boy could enter a bakery to buy bread, but had become a marginal 'dirtbag' who was refused entrance to nice smelling boutiques and even the same bakery he used to frequent. José, who had tried to go back home a couple of times often compared

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[9] The two exceptions were Erich (12) and Lauro (16). In 2013, when Erich's (15) stepfather was imprisoned and Erich's mothers life was otherwise endangered, Erich was reunited with his mother and they moved to the state of Santa Catarina on the northern side of Rio Grande do Sul. In addition, Lauro, when he had had his 20th birthday was planning to move to Santa Catarina. According to him, he would receive house building materials from the municipal government if he left the streets. However, by the end of my last field trip, he had sold the materials in order to buy crack.

the situations on the streets and those of more affluent ones in private homes: '*It* [rain] *soaks a poor one, it soaks a rich one. However, the rich one can enter a house he built or use a brolly, the poor cannot*' (article **I**). Thus, the possibilities to transform and utilise physical spaces could not be taken for granted by the research participants.

As illustrated, the physical formation of pockets on the streets is restricted. However, the children and young people formed social arrangements such as their own rules and traditions to incite their goal achievement. The new comers on the streets may lack the knowledge of how to shape the environment, which might position them in a risk situation if they were not able to approach someone who could help them.

The examples I have given so far, and in the articles included in this thesis, indicate that disrespectful treatment is not unusual on the streets. In the previous section, I discussed José's and Gustavo's engagement in manslaughter regardless of their young ages. I have received a comment that criticised my analysis of the pockets of local order. The commentator did not understand who could be interested in these pockets in cases where a child had committed manslaughter. I consider the reasons behind this act of violence important. These individuals were not treated with dignity and the method they perceived as 'the only option' to gains respect, eliciting the feelings of safety and increased integrity, was this act of violence. The boys felt that they needed to form their social environment through this violent behaviour. José even said to me: '*I don't like fighting Miss, but I have to show the others that they shouldn't mess with me. Only in that way they leave me in peace*'. I consider that in such cases everyone should be interested in these invisible barriers being able to offer a young person a perceived security which is otherwise jeopardised. Children and young peoples' life situations vary from each other. Not all are able to form a social environment that creates a network of fear (article **I**, **II**, **IV**) or manipulate affects (article **IV**). Demetrius, as highlighted above, did not manage to achieve the respect José and Gustavo attained. The inferior position of Demetrius constrained his formation of physical and social pockets, as his possessions were regularly stolen (article **I**), he did not elicit fear or respect and he was often mistreated.

Individuals, such as Demetrius, who stay healthy and survive the streets, and eventually achieve a life away from the streets, need the capacity to form their mental environments. They need, to a great extent mental strength, but also

knowledge. Street children construct their mental strength from incentives such as positive events and memories (even imagined ones) (Paludo & Koller, 2005; Westphal, 2001). Those who are incapable of building that strength are even more vulnerable. The aspect of relying on mental representations of positive things, whether in the form of memories or pure imagination, clearly highlights the situation of a young person. An individual who needs to rely on mental representations of a caring figure, who does not really have that figure, lives in a precarious situation.

The knowledge is often gained through success and mistakes on the streets and sensitivity, especially in the beginning when a person starts spending more time on the streets (article **IV**). What makes the aspect of sensitivity and knowledge creation vital is that the participants often said that they could not afford to make many mistakes as mistakes can cost one's life. This underpins the importance of possibilities to couple with other street dwellers in order to produce knowledge. However, children may not be able to attain this knowledge, which endangers their situation on the streets. There are different types of knowledge that the participants experienced as important for them. One is the knowledge about the rules of the streets e.g. how to approach other people, how to manipulate affects or spread fear, how to escape, or about the different ways to make a living and the different locations for earning money (van Blerk, 2005). Another thing is to learn how to live in such a way that the street leaves as few marks as possible. The participants showed the physical marks that life on the street had left such as bullet wounds and scars made by knives. These marks also carry the knowledge of violence. The participants often advised me that in a case where I encountered violence in my life a bullet would be better than a wound with a knife, as the wound of a bullet, according to the participants, would be clean. The bullet marks, however, linked their carriers to street life which, according to the study participants, constrained their employment. Vinícius (18) once said to me that one can always get scars from a knife, but bullet wounds are more difficult to explain to an employer (he has a bullet wound and several knife wounds in his abdominal). Vinícius said that one should consider asking someone physically abusing with a knife to avoid the facial area so that the wounds, the marks of the streets, would not constrain employment. The conversations such as this one demonstrate the inferior position of street living children and young people. If individuals cannot build physical barriers around themselves for protection, or cannot rely on social relationships in order to get support from abuse and need to

ask someone to abuse in a certain way so as not to hamper employment opportunities, clearly illustrates that person's life situation.

During my whole research project, only one participant was lost. In one way, they (except Demetrius) find themselves in life situations in which they feel a certain kind of mastery and control over their lives, yet it does not necessarily bring positivity towards street life. This knowledge and mastery, after all, can be contradictory in terms of obtaining a life from the streets (article **III**, **IV**; van Blerk, 2012). Street knowledge is about skills and competence on the street, including the practical wisdom of the rules and cultures on the streets (Ursin, 2013). However, as Ursin (2013: 28) remarks, although street knowledge brings "relational power and has the capacity to generate profit, it is of a little use in the mainstream society and thus difficult to transfer, making it problematic to escape from the street culture and the engagement in the illegal economy".

4.5.   Goals and accumulated experiences shaping the perception of the streets

Individual goals change during life on the streets and thus, so do the experiences of the street. This longitudinal research demonstrates that a person's own goals and accumulated experiences have a strong impact on how the streets are perceived. The way in which the street is experienced in the beginning of street life is affected by the reasons one had to migrate to the streets (article **III**; Ursin, 2013). The perception of places is in relation to previous circumstances and the experiences from those homes and communities to which the children, in many cases, still belong (Rosenblatt, 2014). This was also illustrated in my article **III**. Those children who had ended up on the streets because of parental death or who had been chased away from home, often perceived the streets in a negative light. Whereas those who had the goal of avoiding abuse, household tasks or poverty or those who wanted to hang around with their friends for instance could more easily experience positive aspects on the streets. Therefore, the way in which the street appeared to the participants is significantly affected by the goals they have (see also Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003). One question is whether the environment supports the realisation of the individual's personal goals (Scholten et al., 2012). As revealed in articles **I** and **III** younger children had such goals as experiencing freedom. First, the street experiences are reflected towards the experiences from home, and the streets may offer sensations and opportunities that the children and young people did not have at home (Conticini & Hulme, 2006; Ursin, 2013).

The feelings towards the streets and the sense of belonging to that environment are also embedded in highly complex, intertwined networks of spatial, social, and individual elements (article **II**, **III**; Young, 2003; Ursin, 2013; van Blerk, 2013). The time-geographic analysis made in article **I,** showed how the relationship with the environment is negotiated and renegotiated in encounters with the physical elements of the environment, other people, and past memories (e.g. killings or happy events with important people), changing life goals (to experience freedom or to have a home), but also through individual mental processes (e.g. turning a physical place into a pleasant one through success in activities in that place). Through these negotiations, the urban space can change from friendly to unfriendly (Ursin, 2013). The more negative experiences accumulate the more difficult it becomes to remain positive. Younger children or street-newcomers often declared more positive emotions about the street compared with those who had been on the streets for many years. This was partly due to the fewer negative events encountered on the streets in the beginning compared with a street career of years.

Experiences such as a feeling of being able to manage and take care of one's self on the streets often entail a sensations of independence and self-reliance (Ursin, 2013; Barker, 2014) which help the formation of a positive relationship with the environment (article **III**; van Blerk, 2005). When the knowledge of the dynamics on the streets increases and the familiarity with the physical qualities of places, abilities, and characteristics of other people grow the better my participants felt on the streets (see e.g. Lewicka, 2011). The ability to analyse sensations on the streets required a high degree of street knowledge produced during the time on the streets. This knowledge and consequently the feeling of mastery stimulate positive feelings in the children and young people towards the streets. In fact, the mental image or interpretation children have of their situations is significant for their relationships with the environment. Actually, one's own interpretation is sometimes more important than the place per se (Stedman, 2003) and in this regard mental strength is important. In cases where the participants were able to see something positive in their situation they tended to have more hope for the future. Consequently, they also tried harder to find opportunities on the streets.

However, the goals changed and the older youths had different hopes and thus, their interpretations of their situation changed. Sooner or later, the streets stop offering positive sentiments to young people. Whereas in the beginning, the streets offer a feeling of belonging to a group and some kind of solidarity, when

the time on the streets is extended some social relationships may be disrupted (article **III**); this is greatly due to young people's involvement with drugs. The older participants in this research often spoke about their hopes for their own homes and families where they would return to after a day at work (article **III**; see also Ursin, 2013). The older an individual is, the more frequently discrimination and disrespect occur, usually peaking during adolescence (Butler, 2009). Positive events, but also the brutality of the streets, accumulate in the minds of the children and young peoples. Past experiences become part of the present through mental processes like memories and expectations of the future. Consequently, a strong head impacts children's mental environment significantly, but also their perception of the whole space-time.

5.   CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I have explored lives of children and young people in street situation in Pelotas using time-geographic approach. I have investigated 19 children and young people, and their relationship with their multidimensional environment. My interest has been on the interconnections between elements, from the mental, socio-cultural dimensions of space, and the physical street spaces where the children and young people of this research are visibly present. The concentration of this dissertation has been on the amalgamation of various elements in the lives of the children and young people. Additionally, I have aimed at understanding the interconnections among these elements. In this dissertation, I wanted to answer three concrete research questions; the first 'what processes impact the multidimensional networks within which children and young people are connected?', second 'what are the processes behind the activities of children and young people on the streets?', and third 'how are the relationships of these children and young people with their street environments formed in relation to space and time?'.

Firstly, I have shown, using concrete examples, how the networks of the manifold elements, within which the children and young people of this research are connected, are shaped by multiple intertwined processes connecting different times and spaces. Street lives are highly relational in nature and formed by constantly changing chains of encounters and the dispersions of elements. The elements or factors children and young people themselves considered among the most influential in their lives were other street-dwellers, 'normal people' and one's own state of mind, to mention but a few. In addition, their reputation, as individuals and as a group, has a significant impact on their lives on the streets. The legacy of previous times, in the form of outdated legislation, or the ways in which street living people are portrayed in the media or even in fiction, impact the networks of street living children and youths. Moreover, children and young people themselves actively transform the networks in which they are connected. Some elements in the living landscape or diorama, such as meaningful and respected people or a powerful reputation are considered beneficial and thus approached whereas other, such as the police or security officials are often avoided. As other people try to master 'their' networks, children and young

people may end up connected with certain elements against their will, such as fights or drugs.

Secondly, I have demonstrated how, to a great extent, these same processes are also behind children's and young people's activities. Some elements in the environment are approached physically or in the imagination in order to reach one's own goals. Many activities are targeted at creating better means to cope on the streets and incite survival. Children and youths create pockets of local order in which they can live as normal a life as possible. Consequently, some activities are related to the processes of creating these pockets. Such pockets can be, for example occupied houses or invisible boundaries around the person enabling a more casual attitude towards abuse or torture or networks of fear. Networks of fear create an atmosphere in which the person spreading the fear may be treated with more respect. Thus, the manipulation of the environment does not include merely the visible formation of the diorama. It also includes social manipulation and conscious and unconscious knowledge creation in order to change one's own state of mind. The much discussed positive state of mind is often build upon positive events and encounters, but also upon the prospect of the future bringing different times – both of which greatly affect the now. However, not all activities are conscious, and good examples of such unconscious activities are the affect based relationships that children and young people have in some encounter.

Thirdly, I have illustrated how the development of children and young people's relationships with the environment are the results of constant negotiation between one's own fears, desires and wants in relation to what is perceived as affordable in the environment for the person. This complex negotiation is also affected by past experiences, as well as by hopes for the future. Relationships with the streets, in all their connotations, evolve through time and the physical sites in the city. Nevertheless, these processes are never isolated from mental and social processes. These processes, through which the relationships develop, include familiarisation and conscious attempts to experience the place in a certain (often in positive) way. The relationship with the environment is also highly intertwined with bodily sensations such as affects in different locations and mental processes such as the feelings of mastery, dignity, or freedom. When life on the street becomes extended, the more challenging it becomes, but also the more challenging life outside the streets appears. Children and young people often manage to develop unbelievable spatial embodied knowledge, which incites the feeling of mastery over one's own life. This knowledge is produced in a certain

time and context. However, is not easily applied when living in a society outside the streets.

Any far reaching developmental projects for children and young people on the streets require an understanding of the activities of these people. Among the few papers in this field, this dissertation theorises the spatio-temporal dimensions of children and young people's relationships with their surroundings. The analysis of the complex interacting processes over time, which affect the relationships with the environment from the point of view of the 19 young people participating in the study, has both theoretical and practical significance. With the knowledge presented here, it is possible to understand the processes behind the activities of people living on the street. We have tools to investigate why certain activities are taken instead of other. This methodology enables the analysis of subjectively perceived life worlds as it is not restricted merely to research with children in street situation. The same research approach can be applied to different populations in different locations.

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