JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY
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Vulnerability among children and youth in São Paulo

A qualitative study of children living in a slum area, in an occupied building and on the streets.

Main subject: Social Work

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Abstract

Children living in vulnerability as living on the street has been a well discussed issue for a long time. The importance of addressing the factors of why children are living in vulnerability along with what concrete actions that can be taken to help these children to a safer life have formed the ground for this study. I conducted five semi-structured interviews with adults working with children and youth living in vulnerability in São Paulo, such as living in an occupied building so called occupation, in a slum area so called favela or on the streets. To receive a deeper understanding of the issue, four observations related to the different vulnerable living conditions were implemented. There are several factors found in the study that are arguing for the fact that children living in favelas or in an occupation are living well and are not living in vulnerability. The social movement engaged in these situations is providing the children with housing and other social rights, such as education and personal growth. On the other hand, there are numerous factors found in the study that confirms that children that are living on the street are living in vulnerability, since they get exposed to situations of violence, crime, drugs etcetera. One of the main reasons found in the study of why children are living on the streets in São Paulo are because they run away as a consequence of abuse or maltreatment. Another main reason is that they are kicked out or sent to the streets by their parents due to moral issues, for example unwanted pregnancy or homosexuality, or to earn money for the family, respectively. Overall, the study revealed that there are laws, public policies and social programs to guarantee children's and youth's rights, such as the constitution of children and adolescent rights. These have not been implemented properly or the people that have the right to access the policies or programs are not aware of them. Another conclusion drawn from the study is that there are some concrete actions that can be taken to help children and youth living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a better life. For example, that they should be provided with housing, education and social rights. To enable this, the government should refund the social programs that they have been cutting funding from, such as Bolsa Família [a Brazilian social welfare program for poor families].

Keywords: Brazil, São Paulo, favela, occupation, children living in vulnerability, children living on the street

Sammanfattning

Barn som lever i utsatthet, mer specifikt barn som lever på gatan har varit ett omdiskuterat ämne under lång tid. De faktorer som beskriver varför barn lever i utsatthet tillsammans med vilka konkreta åtgärder som kan vidtagas för att hjälpa dessa barn att få ett tryggare liv har utgett grunden för den här studien. Jag har genomfört fem semistrukturerade intervjuer med professionella vuxna som arbetar med barn som lever i utsatthet i São Paulo, mer specifikt de som lever i en ockuperad byggnad, i en favela eller på gatan. Dessutom genomfördes fyra observationer relaterade till de olika utsatta levnadsvillkoren för att få en djupare förståelse i ämnet. Ett flertal faktorer upptäcktes i studien som argumenterar för det faktum att barn som lever i favelan eller i den ockuperade byggnaden lever väl och befinner sig därför inte i en utsatt situation. Den sociala rörelse som är engagerad i dessa situationer förser barnen med boende och andra sociala rättigheter, som exempelvis utbildning och personlig utveckling. Å andra sidan finns det flera faktorer som bekräftar att barn som lever på gatan befinner sig i en utsatt livssituation, eftersom de utsätts för våld, kriminalitet och droger och så vidare. De huvudsakliga anledningarna till att barn lever på gatan i São Paulo är på grund av att de rymmer till följd av att de har utsatts för övergrepp eller misshandel. Det kan också vara att de har blivit utkastade av sina föräldrar på grund av moraliska frågor såsom oönskad graviditet eller homosexualitet eller att de har blivit hänvisade till gatan av sina föräldrar för att tjäna pengar till familjen. Sammantaget visade studien att de lagar, allmänna riktlinjer och sociala program som finns till för att garantera barns och ungdomars rättigheter inte är ordentligt implementerade eller att de personer som har rätt att ta del av dem inte är medvetna om att de existerar. En annan slutsats som har dragits utifrån studien är att det finns konkreta åtgärder som kan vidtagas för att hjälpa barn och unga som lever i utsatthet i São Paulo till ett tryggare liv. Till exempel genom att förse dem med boende, utbildning och sociala rättigheter. För att möjliggöra detta bör regeringen återinföra de bidrag till sociala program som har blivit minskade, som exempelvis Bolsa Família [ett brasiliansk socialt välfärdsprogram för fattiga familjer].

Nyckelord: Brasilien, São Paulo, favela, ockuperad byggnad, barn som lever i utsatthet, barn som lever på gatan

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

Concrete factors about why children are

living in vulnerability in São Paulo:

It starts with the fact that there is a lot of discrimination and a lot of bullying, so the kids carry the vulnerability with them. It is not just vulnerability for not having a house or not having anything. They are born vulnerable. They inherit it from their parents, so wherever they go, if they're not supported by anyone their future is death because of the discrimination they suffer.

- Respondent 5

1. Introduction

As mentioned by respondent 5 in the quote above, the concept of vulnerability is more than just the lack of physical assets, such as a house and material belongings. It is something that the children and youth are born with. One of the consequences is exposure to bullying and discrimination by the government and other citizens. Albertson Fineman (2008) has developed the concept of vulnerability and argues that vulnerability is universal, constant and immanent in the human condition. The possibility to harm, injury and misfortune is ever present in human life. Institutions, such as the family, can provide some shelter but are themselves vulnerable structures susceptible to harm and change and are unable to eliminate individual vulnerability. Further, the author stresses the importance of a more responsive state and a more equal society and to attain this, the state would have to be responsive to and responsible for the vulnerable subject.

The importance of addressing the factors of why children are living in vulnerability along with what concrete actions that can be taken to help these children to a safer life have formed the ground for this essay. To investigate these issues, five semi-structured interviews with adults working with children and youth living in vulnerability in São Paulo have been implemented. The vulnerable living conditions in this study are living in a slum area so called favela, in an occupied building so called occupation or on the streets. Four observations related to the different vulnerable living conditions were implemented to receive a deeper understanding of the issue. Further, the factors that children get exposed to as well as some other factors that have an impact in their lives will be addressed.

Social movements, by definition in Brazil are made up by poor people and working-class people and they stand for different things, for example occupying empty buildings, according to respondent 1. In this study, three different social movements were involved. One for each of the living situations explained in this essay. In Brazil, the slum areas are called Favelas and they are in areas with poor conditions, steep slopes or stationary water (Young Laing, 2014). In this study, the favela is an area with a few buildings occupied by a social movement. The area consists with one big building and behind that, an alley with several smaller buildings. An occupation is in this study an empty building that are occupied by people that are members of a social movement and are in need of housing. The members are occupying the building,

which is legal to do in Brazil if the owner has not payed taxes for five years. Then, they are putting pressure on the government to convert the building into housing. Once people live in an occupation, they do not have to pay rent. In this study, an occupation and a favela have similarities in the way that they are both occupied by social movements and are mentioned as occupations by the respondents. The difference, in this case, is that the occupation is one building and the favela is several buildings that are occupied.

Thompson (2013) describes homelessness among youth as a situation where the residence is instable, they have limited contact with their families and they have become connected with the culture of homelessness. The characteristics of the homeless youth are described as high-risk with, for example, educational difficulties, substance abuse, victimization and trauma (Thompson, 2013). There have been two different observations of homeless people in this study. One where I observed a social assistant working for a centre of support for homeless people. They worked with addressing homeless people on the streets. The centre receives economical support from the government, but most of the people working there are from a social movement. Another observation took part without observing a professional adult but observing people on the street.

1.1 Purpose and aims

The purpose of the study is to investigate the factors of vulnerability of the children and young people living in the favela, the occupation and on the streets in São Paulo, Brazil. The aim of the study is to identify perspectives on life situations of children from people working with children living in vulnerability in São Paulo. The study will enlighten different people and societies about challenges and strengths in the favelas, on the streets and in occupations. For example, of situations of poverty and other social, psychological and physical aspects that these children get exposed to.

1.2 Research questions

1. What are the main reasons for children living in vulnerability in São Paulo?

2. What concrete actions can be taken to help children living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a safer life?

2. Background

In the 16th century, Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese and was colonized up until the official breaking of ties occurred on October 22, 1822 after Dom Pedro, the prince and govern of country at the time, declared independence (Brazil, 2010). Now, with a population of around 207,6 million people (2016), Brazil is the biggest country in South America, considering the number of citizens. (The World Bank, n.d.)

Brazil is a Presidential Federated Republic where the head of state and government is elected by the people every fourth year and the states have political autonomy. The current president, Michel Temer will be in office until December 31, 2018 (Brazilgovnews, n.d.). The country is divided in five regions based on geography and has 26 states and a Federal District where the capital Brasília is located. There are 5500 municipalities within the states, in total, where the local government is autonomous and can create their own (reasonable) laws and collect taxes. The elected mayor and the legislative body is running the municipal area in terms of legal aspects. Although, the municipalities are limited from any judicial matters or actions and the courts are only organised at a state level (Brazil, 2010).

2.1 Social programs and children's rights in Brazil

Since the Federal Constitution of 1988 enrolled the model of the social welfare and specified the various social rights of Brazilian people, the state has guaranteed that low income Brazilian families have access to healthcare, education, housing, employment and other rights. The aim of these benefits through government programs is to reduce poverty and inequality. Bolsa Família is an income grant for families in extreme poverty and is based on the income per person. The grant is available for those whose children are between zero and 17 years old. To be able to receive the program, there are some conditions that the beneficiaries has to follow (Brazilgovnews, n.d.).

On December 12, 1948, the General Assembly resolution 217A(III) adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which pronounce that every child, regardless if you are born in a wedlock or not, are entitled to the same social protection. Moreover, the motherhood and childhood are eligible to special care and assistance. Further, Brazil promulgated different Degrees of International Rights of the Child, such as child prostitution, child trafficking and adoption, inter alia. In 1988, the Brazilian Constitution determined that it was the duty of the family, the society and the State to ensure the children's and adolescent's social rights of health. Things like the right to life, health, nourishment, professional training, education, leisure, freedom, respect, dignity, culture, and family and community life, as well as to keep them from all forms of negligence, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty, and oppression. The Constitutional principles are in the areas of child health and social welfare, child education, child labour and exploitation, sale and trafficking of children, and juvenile justice (Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, 1988).

2.2 Overview of the context of São Paulo

The São Paulo state has a population of more than 41 million people and the capital city with the same name is the largest city in Brazil, even the largest in South America with around 21 million citizens. São Paulo is one of the country's and the continent's most significant areas that contribute to more than a third of Brazil's GDP (Gross Domestic Product) [translates to BNP (Bruttonationalprodukt) in Swedish]. The city of São Paulo is located in the South eastern part of Brazil and due to the size of the city, it is an important place for business and pleasure travellers around the world. São Paulo is specifically rich in historical, political and cultural value and have parks, museums, statues and galleries. Tourism is a significant part of the city, which hosts several events throughout the year (Brazil, 2010).

Since homeless people are dependent on the weather conditions, the weather has a direct effect in their every-day-lives. The city has very unpredictable weather conditions with a monsoon-influenced climate. The average temperatures in summer (December to February) are between 17 and 28 degrees Celsius and in winter between 11 and 23 degrees Celsius. It is raining a lot in São Paulo, more in summer than in winter (Brazil, 2010).

2.3 Street children

The national council for children and adolescent, CONANDA, have conducted a national survey on homeless children and adolescent and found that there are 23 973 children and adolescents living in "street-like-situations" in all of Brazil. There are 23,2 percent sleeping on the street and 59 percent are sleeping in the home of their parents and work all day on the street. 44,13 percent are between the ages of 12 and 15 and the majority are males. The most common reason cited in the survey for living on the street is poverty. Another reason that is cited is domestic abuse, where 8,8 percent is sexual abuse (Direitos da cirancạa, 2018). The number of children and adolescents sleeping on the streets in Brazil are around 9830 (59 percent that are sleeping at home are removed from 23 973). The total number of homeless people of all ages in São Paulo is 16 000 (2016). The number increases by 2-3 percent every year (Los Angeles Times, 2016).

2.4 Review of previous research

In this section, three articles of previous research will be presented. The article *Slums and Affordable Housing* (Young Laing, 2014) is an overview of different articles and addresses the subjects of policy and advocacy, population and practice settings. The entry investigates key definitions, causes and characteristics of slums globally (some specific counties are also mentioned, for example Brazil) as well as social work practices and community development approaches used to decrease the development and the spreading of slums. According to Young Laing (2014), slums are called favelas in Brazil and the factors that define them are that they are located in areas with poor condition, including stationary water and steep hillsides. There is a core connection between poverty and slums when people seek opportunity in urban areas, since one main consequence of poverty is the lack of access to adequate, indissoluble and safe housing (Young Laing, 2014).

Further, the author presents what Davis (2006) explains as slums of hope and slums of despair. The key distinction is if there is active planning in place or not, respectively. Young Laing (2014) presents an intervention that include pro-poor planning referring to UN Habitat (2012), which stresses that families should be ensured access to basic social amenities and infrastructure, such as decent housing, water, sanitation, education and health facilities. One

conclusion drawn by the author is that social workers need to develop intervention models and/or policies to help increase access to decent and affordable housing as the work to meet the UN Millennium goal of ending poverty and improving quality of life goes forward (Young Laing, 2014).

The second article *Children of the street: why are they in the street? How do they live*?, by Bhukuth and Ballet (2015) is a socio-economic analysis of the addressed issue through various articles and other literature. The focus is on a global view but there are some specific counties mentioned, for example Brazil. The article explains which factors that can be crucial to children of the street as well as the role of poverty, domestic violence and parental neglect. Children on the street are seen as a particularly vulnerable population and they are subject to some form of institutional violence, since they are denied the right to live and fully develop in a safe environment. The authors stresses that there is a misunderstanding about the living conditions and difficulties that these children face, for example drug-related crime and poor mental health, but there is no empirical evidence that can support this.

Further, Bhukuth and Ballet (2015) refers to Ballet, Bhukuth and Radja. (2007) who separate between four categories of children of the street. These categories are based on the poverty hypothesis, abuse and neglect hypothesis, families where parents' childcare is insufficient or families where parents send their children to work on the street (Ballet et al., 2007). If the children are not able to work or earn enough money once they are on the street, they steal to survive or even work as drug couriers and in prostitution. Some children enter gangs as a way of protecting themselves, which has both negative and positives sides. One conclusion that is drawn in the article is that violence against the street children is a sign of State impotence, but also a sign of a larger failing within society to deal with wider inequalities. Therefore, every effective approach must consider how to best distribute funding to enable the initial effects to have more far-reaching consequences (Bhukuth & Ballet, 2015).

The third article, by Ursin (2016), *Contradictory and Intersecting Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion of Street Youth in Salvador, Brazil*, is based on longitudinal research in Brazil. The research includes narrative interviews with young homeless people, semi-structured interviews with middle-class residents, police officers and local businesses and participant observations. The

article addresses the exclusionary discourse that produces stigmatizing labels on poor people in general and boys and young men in particular. Socio-spatial exclusionary mechanisms, such as surveillance cameras and violent policing etcetera as well as inclusionary mechanisms are investigated. The reason for using police violence against the children and adolescents is a preventive strategy to find out if they give up and return to the social and geographical periphery or not.

Furthermore, Ursin (2016) refers to Wacquant (2003) that means that there is a "zero tolerance" approach which has made politicians' and police forces' commitment to eliminate the street crime beneficial. "Yet, brutal – and sometimes lethal – police violence target poor, young men as they are perceived to be the main source of deviance and violence." (Ursin, 2016, p.46). The author mentions some challenges within the school system and describes that the school environment among poor children and youth has drastically increased. There are over-crowded classes, lack of resources, poor salaries for teachers and frequent strikes. One of the conclusions drawn in the article is that the othering, which is rooted in the colonial and post-colonial mind-sets, is about the desire to impose a social and geographical distance between the elite and the homeless people in order for the elite to remain in their insular worlds (Ursin, 2016).

3. Theoretical framework

Martha Albertson Fineman (2008) has developed the concept of vulnerability and argues for a more responsive state and a more equal society. A vulnerability analysis starts with considering how the state has responded to, shaped, enabled and curtailed its institutions. Vulnerability is universal and constant as well as immanent in the human condition with the always present possibility to harm, injury and misfortune. The vulnerability approach does not only focus on discrimination against specific groups, but also concentrates on the structures of the society and to develop a more complex subject around which to build social policy and law. The responsibility of the state towards individuals and institutions can be redefined with the use of this complex.

In addition, Albertson Fineman (2008) stresses that the vulnerable subject should be the centre of the political and theoretical strives and represent the actual lived experience and the human condition. To attain a more equal society, the state would have to be responsive to and responsible for the vulnerable subject. Institutions such as the family can provide some shelter but are themselves vulnerable structures susceptible to harm and change and are unable to eliminate individual vulnerability. Further, the author explains that the institutions have a significant role in maintaining and extending inequality and argues that this is the reason why the state needs to be more active and take responsibility for that reality.

Albertson Fineman (2008) refers to Kirby (2006) who explains "assets" to be advantages, coping mechanisms, or resources that can be used when facing misfortune, disaster and violence. Kirby (2006) stresses that there are four different assets that provide individuals with resilience (the result of overcoming difficulties or successes) when they are exposed to vulnerability and determine the present quality of life. The four assets are physical (property and physical and material belongings), human (education and health), social (belonging to social network) and environmental (nature and non-timber products) (Kirby, 2006). Further, Albertson Fineman (2008) explains that individuals are often positioned differently from one another in the systems that allocate assets, which leads to some being more privileged and some relatively more disadvantaged. These systems interact with each other and affect the inequalities further to create effects that are more devastating or more beneficial than each separate part would be. A good and early education could triumph poverty, especially when coupled with a supportive family and a progressive social network. There is a universal human fragility that has had some part in the construction of the societal institutions. This shared vulnerability makes it apparent that human beings need each other, and the structure of the institutions must be in response to that fundamental human reality (Albertson Fineman, 2008).

4. Data and method

The study has been conducted through interviews and observations during the time period Mars 21 to May 1, 2018. According to Bryman (2008) the different definitions of ethnography and participant observation are difficult to distinguish. Both methods are similar in the way that the participant observer/ethnographer immerse themselves in a group,

observing behaviour, listening to conversations and ask questions during a specific, and usually a long period of time. Further, both entails gathering other data, through interviews and documents. The difference between participant observation and ethnographic fieldwork is that the second one is preferable in studies with a specific focus on the culture in the group. The term ethnography is both a method and a research process, as presented above, and the written product. In this study, a micro-ethnography has been used, which Bryman (2008, p.403) refers to as "focusing on a particular aspect of a topic" in a shorter time period. In addition, five interviews were conducted.

In this section, I will first present the role of the interpreter and the gatekeeper, who has had an important role in the study. Second, the method discussion will be explained. That will follow with how the data have been collected through interviews and observations. After that, the data analysis with thematic analysis will be presented, along with the themes found in the study and how they were found. Further, the evaluation criteria with the concepts of trustworthiness, credibility, authenticity and dependability are explained. At last, the respondents of the study and the fieldwork settings of the four observations are presented.

4.1 The role of the interpreter

The professional interpreter was introduced to me through the cooperation with Coelho Growth Foundation and was hired by me for six days to interpret between English and Portuguese in interviews and observations in the implementation of the study. Other than to interpret, the interpreter had the role of the gate-keeper and introduced me to the field and the first respondents as well as being the link between me and the respondents in terms of communicating time and place, for example. The interpreter has lived in Brazil for many years and has worked with, for example, sociological issues, which gives both a deep and a broad knowledge about crucial aspects in language, culture, society, people, government etcetera. Overall, the interpreter has had a big and important role in the research and have in many ways enabled me to implement the study.

The interpreter also had the role as, what Berg (2009) refers to, the gatekeeper, who is a person in a position to give the researcher access to the research settings. This person can

have a formal or informal role in protecting the settings, people or institutions that the researcher wants to study, and can both inhibit and promote the researcher (Berg, 2009). The gatekeeper introduced me to the first three respondents and the last three respondents was approached by us.

4.2 Method discussion

The method used in the study is ethnographic fieldwork with semi-structured interviews and observations. These methods were chosen based on the purpose of the study, which were to investigate the factors of vulnerability of the children and young people living in the favelas, in the occupation and on the streets in São Paulo, Brazil. To collect the material, interviews and observations were conducted with people working with children living in vulnerability in São Paulo. Since the study took part in another society with a different culture, an ethnographic fieldwork enabled a deeper understanding of the addressed issue. To analyse the material, a thematic analysis was used, where themes and sub themes have been found in the data. This method of analysis was chosen due to the various of themes and sub themes that where found in the material.

The previous research has been collected through the Jönköping University library search monitor called Primo. I have also used the search monitor called Campell, Encyclopedia of Social Work and Sociological Abstract. The words that have been used in the search are different combinations of vulnerability, children, homelessness, drug abuse and criminality. Since the subject is relatively broad, there were a lot of research that can be relevant for the study. For example, articles that addresses homelessness, alcohol and drug use among children and young people, gang involvement and prevention of gang involvement, slums, poverty and mental health. I chose to use a few of the articles that could be directly related to the result of the study to receive a deeper view of the issues.

The research questions and the purpose and aims were based on my interest in what I wanted to study. The four topic areas with related questions in the interview guide were based on the research questions and the purpose and aims and subject that I thought would be interesting and relevant for the study. I performed semi-structured interviews to enable the respondents

to address the issue in a way that they wished to and at the same time keep them from talking about irrelevant things. The first three interviews were performed with respondents that the gatekeeper/interpreter introduced me to. The first observation was conducted in an occupied building together with respondent 3 that were involved in a social movement. The fourth and fifth interview were performed after me and the gatekeeper/interpreter met two women working with attending homeless people on the street. We passed by and talked to them and they referred us to their office. The gatekeeper set up a meeting with two other women from the social movement working with attending homeless people on the street and occupy buildings. I performed interviews with the women and an observation of a favela/an area that was occupied by the same social movement. An observation of people living on the street with the sixth respondent was also performed and we got in contact in the same way as above.

None of the respondents of the study were currently working directly with children, which can make the answers seen as less relevant. However, some of the respondents had been working with children earlier, some were working with families and some had been working indirectly with children. Therefore, each respondent had relevant answers to the questions asked in the interviews. The result and analysis are based on the respondents subjective understanding of the questions and the specific issues and can therefore not be generalized to other contexts. Although, I have strived to understand the answers in the way they were meant to be understood, my preunderstanding of life in general and this study in particular has, unavoidably, affected the interpretations of the answers.

4.3 Collecting data

The sampling in this study has been based on convenience sample, which Bryman (2008) means is the accessibility of participants that defines who will be a part of the study. I have collected data primarily with interviews and observations. The interviews have been recorded and there has been note taking both after the interviews and after the observations. An interpreter has been used during interviews and observations to interpret between English and Portuguese. After collecting the material, I transcribed the English audio from the interviews. The time and place for the interviews have been set up based on the respondent's wishes. The ethnographic fieldwork involved four observations, whereof three were

conducted in a specific area, with a specific person and in a specific period of time. The forth observation was implemented in a certain area with a limited, but not coherent time period.

4.3.1 Interviews

As Baily (2007) writes, the interview is used for the purpose of seeking information directly related to the research. I used a semi-structured interview, which means that I constructed an interview guide with pre-determined topic areas and related questions. Further, the author says that the questions do not have to be asked or answered in a chronological order and if a question is answered before it is asked, the interviewer will skip to ask that question (Bailey, 2007).

I have performed five interviews with five respondents. Three of them were males and two were females. I estimated each interview to last around thirty to forty-five minutes. The interviews lasted between 27 minutes and one hour and 40 minutes. Each interview was introduced with reading the purpose and aims of the study and the Information letter with my contact information, which the respondent got to keep, then signing the Forms of consent. Every interview was based on the questions in the interview guide. In some cases, a question was skipped because the respondent had previously answered it, or the circumstances of the respondent made the question irrelevant. There were follow-up questions asked related to the specific answer of the respondent.

4.3.2 Observations

According to Bailey (2007) observation is fundamental to field research and is a way of seeing the situation with one's own eyes. There are two ways of performing an observation, which are covert and overt. I did an overt observation, due to, for example, ethical principles such as lack of informed consent. The observation can be done as a participation, merely an observation, or a bit of both (Bailey, 2007). In my case, I did merely an observation in the way that I only observed and never took part in any way.

In every observation, the interpreter was present. The first observation took part in an occupied building in the city centre of São Paulo with the respondent 3. The people that where present in the building at that time had been asked in advance by the respondent if I could visit. Oral consent was given in the situations where me, the interpreter and the respondent were invited into someone's apartment. We never entered an apartment without the owner present and without an invitation. No formal interviews were performed, and it was up to the apartment owner to tell me things if he or she wanted to. The second observation was in a favela with 135 families living in several buildings occupied by a social movement in the north side of São Paulo. This observation took part when there were a lot of people present in the favela, who did not know why I was there. Therefore, I took notice of them but turned the focus on the respondent of the observation.

The third observation was in the city centre of São Paulo observing social workers attending homeless people living under a bridge. When we arrived at the spot, the respondent introduced me and explained why I was there and that the focus of the observation was on the respondent and not on them. It was up to the people living there to talk to me if they wanted, no formal interviews were performed. In each observation, I asked questions to the respondent, to add to the ethnographic description. The fourth observation was conducted on the main road Paulista Avenue during a limited but not coherent time period, where I observed children that where supposedly homeless.

4.4 Data analysis

To analyse the conducted data, a thematic analysis was used. Bryman (2008) states that this approach is one of the most common in qualitative data analysis but unlike many other strategies, a clear background or a clear cluster of techniques are not entailed in this approach. Thematic analysis implies themes and codes, which are, for some writers, more or less the same. For others, themes can transcend other codes or be built up out of groups of codes. One idea can be to construct themes and subthemes by reading and re-reading transcriptions or field notes (Bryman, 2008), which is the way that the themes and sub themes have been gathered in this study. The author refers to Ryan and Bernard (2003) that present examples of what to look for when searching for themes. For example, the authors mention repetitions (topics that recur), metaphors and analogies (in ways that the participant

represent their stories), similarities and differences (how topics are discussed in different ways by the participants) and missing data (reflecting on what is not talked about in the data) (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). In analysing the material, I used repetitions, some metaphors and analogies and similarities and differences to search for themes.

At first, the two research questions ("what are the main reason for children living in vulnerability in São Paulo?" and "what concrete actions can be taken to help children living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a safer life?") are themes of the study. These themes were found after looking for repetitions. This since the research questions are a main part of the study and are repeatedly asked to all respondents of the interviews. Another theme is factors of exposure with the sub themes violence, prostitution, drugs, drug trafficking and the law of the street. This theme and sub themes were found after looking for similarities and differences and after reading and re-reading the gathered material. Several of the respondents brought up these subjects. At last, education, the role of the family and the role of the government are themes that were also found after looking for similarities and differences and reading and re-reading the material. Although metaphors and analogies were sometimes used by one respondent, they did not form any themes in this study.

The answers are mainly based on the questions that I have chosen to ask the respondents, which makes the material in some ways limited. However, a lot of different levels of subject are mentioned in the material. For example, the micro and personal level where the children and youth are in focus. The meso level, where non-governmental organizations and social movements are talked about, and macro level, where the role of the state and the government are brought up. In addition to the themes, issues like personal and psychological growth, leisure, peer support, religion etcetera have been found repeatedly in the material.

Although there are some themes and sub themes found in the material, there are two themes in the data that can be seen as missing. The first one is about the fact that the children and youth living on the streets are growing up faster than other children. They become responsible for every part of their life, such as to earn money, find food, protect themselves, comfort themselves and find a place to sleep. How does this affect the children? Another

theme that is not mentioned in the material is the future of the children and youth living in vulnerability, what they can expect from the future and what they want with the future.

4.5 Evaluation criteria

Validity and reliability are central evaluation criteria in quantitative research. However, Bryman (2008) questions the relevance of these concepts in qualitative research. Instead, he suggests that it is necessary to adapt validity and reliability or alternatively use alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research including trustworthiness, credibility, authenticity and dependability (Bryman, 2008).

4.5.1 Trustworthiness

The term validity can be substituted by the concept of trustworthiness as an evaluating standard of field work. Trustworthiness is about performing and introducing the research in such way that the reader is convinced that the research is worthy the attention and that the reader can believe and trust the results (Bailey, 2007). The quote in the very beginning of this essay introduces the reader in medias res, which is an expression in Latin that means "in the middle of things". Then the introduction and background information follows, along with previous research, results and analysis and discussion etcetera. Nevertheless, it is up to the reader to decide if the research is worthy the attention and if the results can be trusted.

Further, Bailey (2007) explains internal validity to be about the conformity between what is presented as results and the social phenomena that are studied. When the researcher can produce an accurate presentation of the setting he or she has achieved internal validity. However, in this study, the term has been replaced with the credibility concept, which entails believability, authenticity and plausibility. If the results are judged as credible, the researcher has used adequate and rigid methods to gather and analyse the data and must show that the content has been derived from the data (Bailey, 2007). The method used in the study was ethnographic fieldwork with interviews and observations that can be seen as rigid and adequate for the specific purpose and aims of the study. The thematic analysis was used to analyse the material gathered through the interviews and observations. Although this way of analysing the material suited this specific study, there are other analysing methods that could

have been used as well. For example, narrative analysis. Therefore, it is up to the reader to decide if the research is credible.

The authenticity concept includes four criteria, which are fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity and catalytic authenticity. Fairness is about if the research in a fair way represent various aspects among members of the social setting. Ontological authenticity implies if the research contributes to a better understanding for the members of their social setting. Educative authenticity means that the research can help members to better value the perspectives of other members in their social environment. Catalytic authenticity is about if the research has acted as a strength for members to act and change their situation (Bryman, 2008). The fairness can be argued for in the vary of respondents participating in the study as well as the different observations. The respondents come from different backgrounds and work with different things, which gives broader perspectives and answers for the research. Regarding the ontological, the educative and the catalytic authenticity is something that has been strived for in this study. Although, it is up to the members of the social settings to decide that.

4.5.2 Dependability

Dependability is a parallel to reliability in quantitative research and is used in this essay. It entails that the researcher ensures that complete records of every phase of the research process are saved and accessible, such as problem formulation, selection of research participants, fieldwork notes, interview transcripts, data analysis decisions etcetera. Peers should then act as auditors for the purpose of establishing how this have been and are being followed (Bryman, 2008). Documents used in the study, such as information letter, signed forms of consent, interview guide, transcriptions, signed secrecy agreement by the interpreter, recorded interviews and fieldnotes are saved and stored in safety. The essay has been peer reviewed.

4.6 Ethical principles

I conducted the ethnographic fieldwork using Bryman's (2008) ethical principle, mentioned below, with the aim to act in an ethically appropriate way. Each respondent was informed of

the purpose and aims of the study, received the information from the Information letter and signed the Forms of consent. In the ethnographic fieldwork, in addition to the respondents' consent, the people present received advanced notice and gave oral consent of my presence. In the situation when I observed the professionals from a social movement in a favela, there were too many people to get consent from or to give advanced notice to. I took notice of the people but did not use anything other than the observation of the professionals. It is not my intention to publish anything that can cause distress, harm or discomfort to the participant or someone in their vicinity. I respected and protected respondents of the study and their work, making the material confidential.

In general, there are different ethical aspects that has to be reviewed in a study. Bryman (2008) describes that there are four issues of ethical principles. These are: whether there is harm to the participants, lack of informed consent, an invasion of privacy or if deception is involved. All principles overlap somewhat and are used together in social research (Bryman, 2008).

Example of harm to the participant can be to participants' development, physical, loss of self-esteem and stress. According to Social Research Association's (SRA) Ethical Guidelines, the "social researcher should try to minimize disturbance both to subjects themselves and to the subjects' relationships with their environment" (Bryman, 2008, p.118). To avoid harm to the participants, the respondents that have been participating in the study are not directly affected by the addressed issue. However, it can be perceived as difficult for the respondents to participate. As I understood it, the respondents were okay before, during and after the interviews and observations and they had the right to interrupt whenever they wanted to.

The principle of informed consent means that the intended participants in the research should receive as much information as might be needed to enable them to make an informed decision about whether they want to participate in the study or not. According to Bryman (2008) the SRA Ethical Guidelines means that, when participation is voluntary, the participants should be aware that they have the right to refuse at any time and for whatever reason and that they can withdraw data. Nor should they be under the impression that they are required to participate (Bryman, 2008). Each respondent of the study received an

information letter before participating in the study and then signed a consent form. The letter informed them that it was voluntary to participate, they had the right to interrupt if they wanted to, that the material was going to be used in the study and that the information would be kept confidential.

Bryman (2008) explain invasion of privacy as being very much linked to informed consent, since the participant, when given the consent, has acknowledge that part of the privacy has been surrendered to the degree in which the consent is given. For example, when the participants agree to be interviewed, they can refuse to answer certain question on whatever grounds, often based on the feeling that the question regard something too private to make public (Bryman, 2008). Before performing the interview, each respondent received information that they had the right to skip a question for any reason. There were no private answers asked and time and place for the interviews were set after the respondents' wishes. This was some examples of avoiding invasion of privacy.

Bryman (2008) explains that if deception is involved, the participant is led to believe by the researcher that the study will be about something other than it is. I have strived to keep the study as transparent as possible and avoid that deception has been involved in any way during the research. To do this, the respondents have received information of the intended research subject and have been offered to receive the finished bachelor thesis.

4.7 Respondents of the study

There were six respondents in the study, whereof the five first participated in an interview. Respondent 3 and 5 was also participating in an observation. Respondent 6 only participated in an observation.

4.7.1 Respondent 1 – the sociologist

The first respondent and I met at the apartment where I was staying during heavy rain and thunderstorm. We had to pause the interview somewhere in the middle due to rain coming inside of the living room where we were sitting. The respondent is a man in his 50s that

originates from an English speaking country and has lived in Brazil for more than 20 years. A sociologist among some other professions, working with people and the society of Brazil. For example, the sociologist worked with international children's charities for around ten years. Plan, care and action aid that work a lot with vulnerable youth in favelas and in the countryside of Brazil. The children's charity worked with risk reduction for at risk teens, to build up self-esteem to avoid engage in dangerous behaviour, such as drug use, early unwanted pregnancy, domestic violence issues and defect children etc.

4.7.2 Respondent 2 – the retired builder of orphanages/homeless shelters

Respondent 2 is a man around 70 years old. He retired a few years ago after spending the last ten years in the municipal secretary of social work where he worked in the sector searching for houses to be rented by the city government and transformed them into homeless shelters and orphanages. The sector sometimes had to overlook some of the regulations while adapting the buildings. For example, there was not enough space to build a legal bathroom for handicapped people, which meant they skipped that to get things working properly. Most of the buildings that were transformed into housing were not in a good condition, but some are in an excellent condition.

4.7.3 Respondent 3 – the social movement director

Respondent 3 is also a 70-year-old man but working as a director of a social movement in São Paulo. He is a man of words and the interview became more than twice as long than intended, since he had a lot of things to tell me about the subject of my questions. He began by telling me about where he started and what he eventually started working with. As an adolescent, the respondent started to have a relationship with some of the organizations of the Brazilian left during the dictatorship. After that, the respondent started to work as an activist for the left and worked closely to the catholic church with, for example people living in favelas and on the streets as well as with black people and black movements. Today, the respondent is a part of a social movement in Brazil that are occupying buildings and pressure the government to convert them into housing for the homeless people that are occupying them and that are also a part of the social movement. The social movement have about five hundred members and are a part of a federation of social movements with hundreds of

organizations across Brazil with about two hundred and fifty thousand members. The social movement makes protests for human rights, focusing on different subjects.

4.7.4 Respondent 4 – the social worker

Respondent 4 is approximately around 35 years studying in the fifth year of under graduate in university of social work and has specialised in education and family health. The respondent works with attending homeless people in the centre area of São Paulo, which is mostly adults. Nevertheless, children are also present on the streets and she can see some of the situations they experience. She also works in a social movement with occupations on the north side of São Paulo with the families living there, such as with social development, integration, guarantee of human rights and social incursion.

Further, the respondent works with a social diagnostic in a team with three other social workers in the north zone of São Paulo visiting vulnerable families and asking them what they need, including children and young people. In occupations, the people that often lives there lost their jobs, they cannot pay for rent anymore because rent is very expensive in São Paulo, and they end up trying to find a way into the social movement to occupy land. When they come into a social movement, they begin to understand how important it is to fight for their rights. The social movement has four occupations in São Paulo with 450 families. They go through every family house by house, helping with all kinds of social problems, like unemployment problems and drug addiction etcetera.

4.7.5 Respondent 5 – the woman working in the favela

Respondent 5 is a woman around 35 years old. The respondent started to work with children and organizing parties with children in some neighbourhoods and working with children to demand their rights. Through that work, the respondent got involved in the social movement working with the housing issue and saw how important that is. They started giving life to empty areas of land in the north side of São Paulo that would not perform any social function. There were a lot of entire families that were not paying rent and they were being evicted. The social movement started to understand that it was a lot of poor families living in very risky areas that needed to be intended by government social programs. That is how the

association started and they have occupied five big pieces of land in the north side of São Paulo. The respondent has been working with this for ten years. The social movement make sure that the children go to pre-school and school and that the families have work to go to. They monitor the families to make sure that they get their rights and to help them build up their autonomy.

4.7.6 Respondent 6 – the lawyer working in the centre for support

I performed an observation with Respondent 6. She is around 40 years old working as a lawyer within the centre for support for homeless people that is attending homeless people on the street. She is also studying to become a social worker. The services that centre can offer is to help them get into homeless shelters, treatment for drug abuse, psychological help and help with documents. For example, she helped a homeless woman gather all the paper she needed to get a job.

4.8 Fieldwork settings

In this section, the four observations of the favela, the occupied building, the homeless people living under a bridge and the homeless people living on Paulista Avenue will be presented.

4.8.1 The favela

The observation of a favela took part during May Day [Portuguese: Dia dos Trabalhadores] in an area in the North part of São Paulo. The favela was an area with a big three-story building and three alleys with single story houses. The area had been occupied by the social movement and its members one year ago. The former owner of the building only built a partially completed skeletal structure and then the company went bankrupt. After that, he stopped paying property taxes, which made it possible for the social movement to occupy it. They started building apartments inside of the structure and in the small alleys behind. There are now 135 families living in the favela. In the alleys, there were clothes hanging to dry and children's toys on the ground. The favela was delimited by a wall with a gate to enter. The wall had signs with different messages, for example, "Lula Livre", [translates to "Free Lula",

and refers to the former president who got imprisoned for corruption] and "Quem Não Luta esta morto", which translates to "The one who does not fight/struggle is dead". During all hours, there was someone monitoring who entered the gate to secure the safety of the area. To the right of the entrance, there was a big three-story building and straight ahead, behind the big building were three alleys with a few single-story houses.

During the time of the observation, there was a meeting led by some women from the social movement and a lawyer that is helping them to put pressure on the government (they had not yet received official permission to stay). There was also a party for the members, a combination of celebrating the one-year anniversary of occupying the area, and Workers Day. They started the meeting with talking about their rights and that they had to keep fighting for them and keep putting pressure on the government. They mentioned the 5th Amendment of the constitution, which is about that every Brazilian citizen has the right to home ownership. When the meeting was over, they went outside the favela, onto the street and began singing "Lula Livre" (Free Lula) and stopped traffic showing hand-written sings that, for example, said "Lula Livre". After that part, they went back into the favela and enjoyed some hotdogs and cake.

4.8.2 The occupation

An occupation is an empty building, that was occupied and transformed into a housing for people in need of a home, which is legal according to Brazilian law when the owner stop paying taxes for five years. These people are members of a social movement, in which the respondent that I observed was the director of. After the social movement occupied the building, the began to put pressure on the government to convert the building into housing for those who had occupied it. The building had around 12 apartments in five floors, including the entrance floor. The facade was grey and had some letters and symbols sprayed in light pink on it. Big squares with four times three smaller windows. Almost every glass of the windows is removed and replaced with wooden planks. To enter the building, you go through a metal door. When we entered the first floor, there were a big space that were partly divided by stone walls into two "rooms" (no doors and semi-open between). Beside the entrance door was a bricked garage door and in opposite was the staircase. Every resident owes their apartment and it is up to them to furnish and/or renovate it.

We were invited into the first apartment were a family of a mom, a dad and a son lived. They had divided the square formed room into three smaller areas. To form a "wall" between the kitchen/living room and the two bedrooms, they used a curtain hanging from the ceiling. To form a "wall" between the parent's room and the sons room, they used a wardrobe. The kitchen/living room had typical kitchen and living room furniture such a couch and a coffee table, a stove, a sink, a fridge and a freezer, a few shelfs, some food and private things. The parent's bedroom had a double bed, a mirror, a tv, a chair, a wardrobe and some personal things. The son's room had single bed, a wardrobe and some personal things. The shared bathroom had a shower and a toilet, semi-divided by walls painted in light turquoise. Although the building and the apartments were simple, the residents had put some effort in making it feel more like a home by adding some colour and personal stuff.

4.8.3 Homeless people

To observe homeless people, me and the interpreter went to the office of the centre for support for homeless people where we met with a woman that worked as their lawyer. There were other women there as well, having a break in the kitchen. They were working in three different shifts between eight a.m. and ten p.m. The centre has around twenty people that are working with approaching people on the streets, two social workers, one psychologist and the lawyer. The centre receives economical support from the government, but most of the people working there are from a social movement. They are covering two of forty districts. The services that they can offer is to help the homeless people get into homeless shelters, treatment for drug abuse, psychological help and help with documents. They also help people to and from appointments with health care or social services to make sure that they go.

We joined one social assistant and the lawyer to a place where some homeless people lived. It was a big area under a car bridge. There were around twenty camps spread out under the bridge. Most camps had at least one mattress and one camp had a bed. Some of the camps had card boards and blankets put up to form walls to create some personal space. There was a big vary in the amount of personal belongings as well as what these belongings were. Some people only had a mattress and a drawer or something else to store smaller things. Some had bags and clothes in piles next to their camps. The bridge was wide and the area under it was

big. Between to big spaces was a road and pavement. Last year, there were around on hundred and fifty people living in this area until the mayor (at that time) decided to let the police burn down all their belongings and put them into different homeless shelter around the city. The people did not get any information about this in advance, nor did the social workers and they never explained the reason for it. After a while, some people that used to live there started to come back because they wanted to be with their friends. Now there are around twenty camps with around on to three people living in each. There were a varying in age, with people from the age of around 18 to around 65 and one child around six years old. There was no distinct difference between the number of women and men.

The observation of homeless people at Avenida Paulista [Paulista Avenue] was implemented in a certain area with a limited (during the implementation of the study), but not coherent time period. The Avenue is the biggest street, is very busy and is located in one of São Paulo's downtowns. This area was chosen because a lot of people pass it daily and there are homeless people spending time and/or sleeping there. The fact that it was close to the apartment where I lived made it more convenient to make several observations more frequently. This observation differs from the others since I did not observe any professional, but the homeless people. Before performing this observation, I discussed the ethical considerations with my supervisor. Since I only observed and not interacted with the people on the street, I could not know for sure if they were homeless. Therefore, I decided to note people that were sitting on a cardboard, sleeping on the street or asking for money/food, regardless if they were homeless. To avoid to make the people feel like I stared at them, I walked by without stopping, which made it hard to notice details. What I did notice was an estimated age, what they were wearing and if they had any personal belongings. Example of two observed situations:

- A woman sitting on a cardboard outside a bank at Paulista avenue. There was a little child sleeping in her arms, under the age of one, and a girl in the age of 6-7 years sleeping in a stroller, that did not fit her length. The woman was asking people passing by for money/food. The clothes were simple, and they looked like they had been worn for a while. They had a few belongings beside them on the cardboard and in the stroller. Seen in two different situations in the same spot.

- Three adults in and beside a tent at Paulista avenue. A boy at the age of 6-7 years old and a stroller that could fit a toddler, but there were now other signs of another child than the boy. The tent was in the size to fit about two to three people and there were some belongings outside the tent. For example, a bag and a chair.

5. Results

This section will introduce the results of the study where the favela and the occupation will be presented first. The research questions will be answered in the context of the favela and the occupation in the same part of this section. This will follow with the same structure for the situation of children living on the street. Additionally, the factors of exposure and the societal context of children living on the streets with education, the concept of family and the role of the government will be presented.

5.1   Favela and occupation

5.1.1 What are the main reasons for children living in vulnerability in São Paulo?

Respondent 1 explained why people live in favelas in Brazil and said that it was because of the rapid demographic expansion that happened in Brazilian cities in 1950, 1960, up until 1970, when the country was still a predominantly rural society where most people lived in the country side. Big ranchers and farmers started to supply Europe and the United States with their beef, soy, coffee, sugar and other agricultural products, which kicked millions of people off of their lands and they had nowhere to go. Further, respondent 1 explains that this exacerbated with droughts that happened in the north east of Brazil, which is the poorest region, and there was a massive wave of migration to the cities in the south east, mainly Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Both cities saw their population increase five to eight times in a very short period. With absence of any kind of social housing programs, people started building their own houses on land that had low value, for example in areas that flood or that have mudslides or on the far outskirts if the cities. The government left these people in favelas alone, because it solved the housing problem for them. If people are building their own houses, the government does not have to build social houses.

Respondent 5 explained one reason why people become members of a social movement to occupy buildings. She says that people that lives in occupations often lost their jobs, and they cannot pay for rent anymore because rent is expensive in São Paulo. They try to find a way into the social movement to be able to find a better way of life and occupy land. Once the family becomes a member of the social movement, they begin to understand how important it is to fight for their rights. Further, the respondent explains that there are all kinds of social problems, like unemployment and drug addiction. The people that are living in an occupation have the same problems that would cause people living on the streets. The children living in an occupation must attend to school and they get access to public health system.

5.1.2 What concrete actions can be taken to help children living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a safer life?

Respondent 1 stresses the importance of social workers and their role in poor neighbourhoods and says that it is important to improve the system of social workers, to enable them to better identify when children are living in abusive situations. Brazil has a very strong class system and the social workers are often middle-class women and normally very catholic. They are trying to do well but do not know how to talk to poor people, which effects their reputation negatively. A lot of times when social workers go into poor neighbourhoods they are viewed as being snobby and they are viewed as people that are trying to take away children from their parents. The respondent continues by explaining that the work must be done to improve the image of social workers in poor neighbourhoods so that people talk to them more. They must work more to try and identify abusive situations and try to find family members that can house the children instead of taking them away to orphanages or something like that. To make sure that they are still in contact with their family.

In the interview with respondent 5 the importance of ownership housing to improve the children's situations was stressed. The respondent says that the government should increase housing programs for poor people and give them the right to ownership housing, because if the pay rent they cannot eat well and if they eat well they cannot pay rent. It is the right of the children and to improve the children's situations, this is the road. There is no other road, because it starts with the parents. If the parent's do not have food, the child is vulnerable.

They cannot go to school. The respondent explains that this would change the life of the family because they have housing guaranteed and they have a roof over their head, which helps the family grow. The children that are living in an occupation of a social movement are living better. They eat better, and things go better for them because once they live in an occupation, there are social workers and social projects. There is a library and dance for the children. Dance is very important for kids and there are dance classes and the kids are strengthened to have a better life.

5.2   On the streets

5.2.1 What are the main reasons for children living in vulnerability in São Paulo?

To be able to understand why children live on the streets, it is important to start with the main reasons for why people live on the streets. This is to better understand what can be done to change the situation for the children to avoid that they stay on the street. As respondent 4 explains it: "today, we have adults […] who grew up on the street and they are still living on the streets because they can't find any way out of the situation. It's a process."

Respondent 4 means that people are today in situations of living on the street because of various reasons, such as social economic, family conflicts, family problems and chemical dependence. There are city government social services in São Paulo that support homeless children and adolescents and there are other services that supports adults. The main reason that people end up on the street is because of economic problems in society. Further, the respondent says that there are a lot of social problems that would cause these people to live on the streets and what makes it worse is unemployment crisis and chemical dependency, like drugs and alcohol.

The reasons for why people live on the streets are many and complexed according to respondent 1 who gives a few examples. One factor, which regards around almost 50 percent of the homeless people, but is not talked about very much. There are a lot of people that are working in the low paying professions, usually in the informal sector of the economy, most commonly garbage scavengers who recycle. They pull ten and other products, like paper and cardboard that they can resell and bring to recycling centres by their handcarts. These people

do not make enough money to be able to pay for the transportation to and from the favela where their family members might live, so a lot of them sleep underneath their handcart in downtown São Paulo area. Further, the respondent says that a third factor related to homeless people is mental illness problems. There are not enough mental hospitals in Brazil, and the mental health system is not very good. This leads to some people to end up living on the streets because they are schizophrenic or have other mental issues. At last, there is the factor of poverty. Most people do not live on the streets because they chose to live on the streets, which makes poverty as an important factor.

When it comes to reasons for why children live on the street, there are a few mentioned by the respondents. One factor, according to respondent 1, is that there are cases, still to this day, where teenagers are kicked out of their houses or they run away from home due to moral issues related to Christianity, for example, if they are gay or get pregnant. This sometimes causes them to end up on the streets. There are also cases where teenagers run away because they are molested by their stepfather or something like that and they end up living on the streets as well. Further, respondent 4 says that a lot of the children that are living on the streets run away from home because of maltreatment. Many of them are enslaved by their families, who are making them beg on the streets for them and sometimes an entire family will end up on the street because of unemployment, economic reasons.

5.2.2 What concrete actions can be taken to help children living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a safer life?

Two of the respondents in the study address this issue by explaining the role of the government. Respondent 3 stresses that there are some concrete public policies but there must be a political will to do it. The government must start treating the spending on homeless children as an investment and not as an expenditure. People are talking about how important it is to spend money on education and health, but you know that the money are being embezzled through corruption. The respondent continues and says that, in Brazil, a lot of times people say 'well, she should have parents', but it is not having a mother and father that gives her the right to live well, it is the state that provides the child to live well. They have to have the will to invest in public policies and give the children the possibility to leave the state of vulnerability that they are in now.

According to respondent 1 homeless children need to be housed and put into school system. Shelter housing cannot be viewed as the solution of the situation, they have to be moved into permanent housing to enable them to stay in the same neighbourhood and go to school. Another thing that the government needs to do is to immediately refund the programs that were working instead of taking away the funding. For example, they are cutting funding for the basic income called Bolsa Família [a Brazilian social welfare program for poor families] and they are cutting funding for social workers to go into the communities and talk to homeless people. The respondent describes that during the last two years, the government cutting funding coupled with the fact that the economy is in recession, the amount of homeless people is going up. What has to be done is that the government should refund the programs that they are cutting funding from, instead of removing them.

5.2.3 Factors of exposure

"There is a risk of anything to happen if you are sleeping on the street." according to respondent 2. There are a few examples of this explained below.

Respondent 1 means that there are a lot of problems with rape, child abuse and violence. A lot of bad violence, which is often police violence. There are 60 000 homicides a year in Brazil and on top of that there is very abusive behaviour from the police. The police officially kill 5000 people a year in Brazil, and the real number is much higher. The respondent says that there are people that have Post traumatic stress syndrome from seeing some terrible things and that can sometimes cause people to live on the street. They are shell-shocked from what they have seen or what have happened to them and some of them end up wandering around on the streets.

Field note from Observation of the population living on the streets:

Last year, there were around 150 people living in the area under the bridge until the mayor decided to let the police burn down all their belongings and put them into different homeless shelter around the city. The people did not get any information about this in advance, nor did the social workers and they never explained the reason for it.

According to respondent 3, the children do not know about the laws that guarantee their rights. When they get information about their rights, it is too late, and they have entered the life of crime or prostitution. It is very difficult to take someone out of that situation because, unfortunately, it becomes a cultural of crime and a cultural of prostitution. It is both women and men who live in prostitution on the streets. Some of them are living a life that are associated with organized crime. There are many children that are around sixteen or seventeen years old that are living in prostitution and crime, like drug trafficking, for example. Further, the respondent stresses that no woman or man is born a prostitute, the state is responsible for the situation. It is a transformation where one is born a girl, or a boy and the state does not provide the conditions to enable people to live in a dignified manor, like a real citizen. This is confirmed by respondent 2 who says that transwomen around 17-18 years old, who migrates from all parts of the country, north and north east of Brazil to prostitute themselves to get drugs. It is an endless self-predicated cycle that is difficult to overcome in that group of homeless population.

Respondent 3 and 4 gives some concrete examples of drugs and something called "the law of the street". According to respondent 3, there are children at plaza Sé [referring to a square in downtown São Paulo where it is common for homeless people to spend time], or in some other neighbourhood drinking Cachaça [referring to a Brazilian rum distilled on freshly squeezed sugar cane juice], sniffing glue or sniffing cocaine or something like that. Respondent 4 says that there are children that are residing at crack vents where they are smoking crack and some marginalized children are involved in drug trafficking. On the question "How do the children and youth protect their belongings and themselves in their situation [on the streets]?", respondent 4 explained something mentioned as the law of the street and what that means for the children living on the street.

> *It is complexed. It is the law of the street, which they talk about. If some of them steals from someone in the same situation […], if a street kid robs another street kid, normally the other kids get together and they punish him or even kill him. It is the law of the streets […] and because of this they are usually very damaged, you know, they are usually very violent because the law of the street is something that is violent.*

Although the respondent does not expressively talk about the subject of the question, she gave the answer about the law of the street, which supposedly means that that can be one way for the children and youth to protect themselves and their belongings. It could be seen as a protection for the children and youth to prevent others from robing them, but not for the children and youth that rob or that get accused of robbing.

5.3 Societal context

5.3.1 Education

Respondent 2 and 4 talked about the education and mentioned some examples of challenges within the schools in Brazil. Regarding primary school teachers in Brazil, their salary is ridiculously low; they get almost nothing, according to respondent 2. He means that nobody wants to be an elementary school teacher and not a lot of people want to become a teacher and the quality in public school is really bad. The respondent says: "Only people who are middle class and rich can send their kids to a decent school" and continues with stressing that this is a basic problem in Brazil. A higher salary will attract more qualified people that want to dedicate their life to be a school teacher. Respondent 4 says that many schools are overcrowded, sometimes with 40-45 children in one classroom, which makes it hard to teach and difficult for the teacher to identify or work with children who have developmental problems, dyslexia, autism and things like that.

Further, respondent 4 explains that everyone has the right to go to school and education is the base of everything for emotional, personal and psychological growth. It is through education that we can really transform people's lives. Better education and better public policies for these children. The respondent explains that schools are usually for three hours and 45 minutes a day and there is a lot of social programs to provide educational activities for children after the school day ends but it is not enough to include all the children who need them. It is a big problem with some children that refuses to go to school because the family does not realise that it is important for the child's development as a person. Sometimes, if the children are living on the streets, for example, they just do not want to go to school.

5.3.2 The concept of family

On the question if the children have family members, relatives and/or friends, respondent 1 gives a general answer and explains the situation as follows:

> *Brazilian families are very big and extended and it's common for people to call their cousin*
> *their brother and their second cousin is their cousin and their aunt is their… Their great*
> *aunt is their aunt. And, so usually there is a pretty big social safety net for families when*
> *they're poor, you know. So, sometimes when a mother can't afford to take care for their*
> *children maybe the grandmother will take… will step in. Or if the mother have a substance*
> *abuse problem. It's a lot of single parent's households, usually single mothers.*

As respondent 1 stresses, it is helpful to have a big social safety network to be able to help each other out in different situations. But it requires that you have a family, relatives and/or friends. The respondent continues with giving an example of a situation where people moved away from their family:

> *One thing that effects this negatively is migration, and we see in a city like São Paulo, where*
> *the population grew from two million in 1950 to 24 million today, a lot of people came from*
> *other parts of Brazil, and so some people arrived here, and they did not really have these*
> *social safety nets. So, when they lose their jobs or get evicted from their house sometimes they*
> *end up living on the street because they don't have aunts and cousins that can help them out.*

For the people that do not have a social safety network, it is difficult to get the support that is sometimes required when challenges like unemployment and homelessness happens. As respondent 1 mentioned in the first quote, if the mother has a problem, a relative can step in and help the family. If the mother does not have that support, she and her child(ren) are supposedly more vulnerable than those who have family, relatives or friends.

5.3.3 The role of the government

In some of the interviews that were implemented in the study, the respondent talked about the public policies and children and adolescent's rights in Brazil. Some of them mentioned that they are used very little or not used enough. According to respondent 3, there are a lot of investments in public policies that are to increase the situation of the children living in vulnerability. One form of protection is the statute for children and adolescent rights, but it is not used very much. The statute of child and adolescent should be respected and practiced more. The respondent says that the children should be moved to houses where they can live together. People could be a little bit more prepared to help take care of them because there is a minimal amount of protection for the children when they are living on the streets. Further, the respondent stresses that the public policies are important to help children leave the state of vulnerability that they are in right now.

Respondent 4 talks about the government outsourcing a lot of the social work to NGO's [Non-governmental organizations] and has removed the responsibility from itself. There are some NGO's that are serious and some that are not and they all get money from the government. According to the respondent, the social workers have limitations because there is all these intersectoral programs with multi-professional teams that argue about different subjects. There is a children and adolescent forum, which is a democratic voluntary forum where people talk about all the different public policies. There is a lot of sectors, forums and councils that defend the social right for children and adolescents. But, it is not enough to deal with the problem because the government needs to be more present and the state needs to be more present.

A theme that was recurrent in the interviews with the respondents was that there are laws and social programs to improve the situation for children, but they are not aware of them. Respondent 3 and 1 explains this in two different ways. Respondent 1 talks about a study that was implemented by the government and respondent 3 mentions an example of a consequence of the unawareness among the children. First, respondent 1 says that in 2010, the federal government made a big study to try and eliminate poverty and homelessness completely. At one point, it looked like they were going to succeed because they came very close. In this study, they found that a large percentage of the homeless population of Brazil

did not know about the available government programs that were there to help them. For example basic income, which they had access to, homeless shelters, food and aid.

Furthermore, respondent 3 explains that there are some really great laws in Brazil, like the statute of child and adolescent rights. The state needs to start to listen to them and see them, they are just words on a paper that are not applied. The situation remains a mess for the people and they still do not know what their rights are, which is the responsibility of the state. Rights exist, and they are there to be guaranteed. The respondent says that the state is responsible for throwing them on the streets. They were not born to be prostitutes, they were not born to be abused, and they were not born to be thrown on plaza Sé [referring to a square in downtown São Paulo where it is common for homeless people to spend time and/or sleep]. They were born a normal child and the wild capitalist system took away the conditions for which they could live a dignified life.

During two of the interviews implemented in the study, the respondents explained several examples were the government is shutting down social programs and schools and is cutting funding for services that are there to support people. Respondent 5 talked about the schools and social health programs that have been shut down without an explanation. She says that the state government is closing public pre-schools without giving any explanation even though there are not enough of them and the population is growing. The variety of programs that where supporting children and a lot of public health posts have been closed as well. Almost all the health posts in this neighbourhood [refers to the observation of the favela] are being shut down. The respondent says that the government has also cut funding for the school food program. The amount of food they are serving in school has been cut. The children are more vulnerable now than they were.

Respondent 1 mentioned some of the reasons why the homeless population is rising again after a few years decline and said that the government are cutting funding for some of the services to support people. He says that there was a coup in 2016, and the new government has begun to dismantle all of the social programs. In the last few years, during the social democratic governments of the PT party [referring to Partido dos Trabalhadores, which translates to Worker's Party], 36 million Brazilians moved above the poverty line. Since 2016,

five million have sunken down below the poverty line. The government are cutting funding for the homeless shelters, they are cutting funding for the basic income called Bolsa Família and they are cutting funding for the social workers to go into the communities and talk to the homeless people. The respondent explains that in the last two years, that coupled with the fact that the economy is in recession, the amount of homeless people is going up again. What should be done is that the government should immediately refund the programs that were working instead of slashing the funding.

6. Analysis and discussion

The purpose of the implemented study was to investigate the factors of vulnerability of the children and young people living in the favelas, the occupation and on the streets in São Paulo, Brazil with the aim to identify perspectives on life situations of children from people working with children living in vulnerability in São Paulo. To receive the perspectives from the people working with these children, I performed interviews and observations, which resulted in a large amount of material that has been reviewed. In this part of the essay, a discussion of chosen parts of the result will be presented. The review of previous research and the vulnerability theory will be linked to the result and some suggestions of continued research will be made.

6.1 Children living in the occupation or the favela

First, I will discuss the different living conditions in São Paulo addressed in this study, such as the favela, the occupation and on the street. During the review of the material and writing the result, it became clear that there were several factors arguing for the fact that children living in favelas or in an occupation are living well and not living in vulnerability. However, that does not exclude that factors of vulnerability can have caused or contributed to the situation where the children moved to a favela or an occupation. Respondent 4 talks about this and says that the reasons of why people are living there are mainly the same as those that causes people to live on the street, for example unemployment and chemical dependency. The respondent gives an example. Due to economic reasons, a family were unable to pay rent. Without a home, they started to look for other options and found their way into a social movement and the favela. Young Laing (2014) explains the situation where people lack

inadequate housing, connecting it to poverty, as being a reason for people to seek opportunity in urban areas. When poor people lack the availability to decent housing, they look for other possibilities and find slums, in this case the favela. (Young Laing, 2014). Although, it may not be the first option for the families to live in an occupation or in a favela, there are factors that show that children living there have the support that they need to live well. Respondent 5 explains that once a family live in an occupation, they do not have to pay rent, which means that they can afford to eat well and respondent 4 stresses that the children have to attend to school and they get access to public health system when they are living in an occupation.

Further, Young Laing (2014) presents a distinction between slums with poor planning and slums with active planning made by Davis (2006). This is conceptualized in slums of despair, areas in with challenges in different conditions, such as social, economic, physical and environmental are worsening, and slums of hope. Slums of hope are areas where government bodies, non-governmental organisations, and sometimes residents are working together to improve the quality and access to social services and economic resources (Davis, 2006). My impression from the interviews and observations implemented in the study was that the favela was characterized more like the slums of hope than the slums of despair.

Although government bodies were not present in the occupation or the favela, the social movement (including the residents) worked together to get full support for the families. Respondent 5 confirms this with explaining that the support for the families in the favela include pre-school, regular school for the children and work for the adults. The social movement monitor the families in the favela to make sure that they got all their rights because to be able to grow as people and achieve their right to housing. According to Albertson Fineman (2008) the state needs to be responsive to and responsible for the vulnerable subject. Further, the author means that institutions such as families can provide the children with some shelter but are themselves vulnerable and cannot eliminate vulnerability. In the situations where the children are living in the occupation or the favela, they are being supported by the social movement who give the support that the institutions, such as the family or the government lack or are not able to give enough of.

6.2 Children living on the streets

In the contrary to children living in the occupation or in the favela, children living on the street do not get enough support to achieve their right to housing. According to Bhukuth and Ballet (2015), these children represents one of the main populations to be victims of poverty and are regarded as particularly vulnerable. Moreover, Albertson Fineman (2008) explains that vulnerability is universal, constant and inherent in the human condition with the always present possibility to harm, injury and misfortune. Homeless children are vulnerable in a variety of ways that is apparent in different environments. Especially since they lack the four assets that Kirby (2006) explains as physical (land and material belongings), human (education and training, health and ability to work), social (belonging to social network) and environmental (nature and non-timber products).

Since children are being a particularly vulnerable population coupled with the fact that homeless children lack the social support and assets, for example housing, education and health they are even more vulnerable in their living situation. The homeless children compared with the children living in the occupation or the favela are, as Albertson Fineman (2008) explains, positioned differently in the systems that allocate assets. They are therefore relatively more disadvantaged than the children that are getting support from the social movements. But what can be done to help these children? Before that issue is addressed, it is important to examine the reasons of why they are living on the street.

Bhukuth and Ballet (2015) means that the economic argument is the main reason for children living on the street but believe that there are other important factors that need to be considered. The authors refer to Ballet et al. (2007), who separate between four categories of children of the street. Three of these categories can be related to some of the result gathered in the study. The first category originates only from the poverty hypothesis, that children run away from home to earn money (Ballet et al. 2007) and sometimes an entire family can end up on the street because of economic reasons, like unemployment, according to respondent 4. The second category is about the abuse and neglect hypothesis, that children have been molested. The last category is presented below (Ballet et al. 2007).

According to respondent 1, there are cases where teenagers are kicked out of their home due to moral issues related to Christianity, such as unwanted pregnancy, homosexuality or for being transgender. Further, the respondent says that there are also situations where teenagers run away because they are molested by their stepfather. These children are being neglected by their parents when they are kicked out and abused when parents or step parents are molesting them. Eventually they take the decision to leave their home to live on the street. Nevertheless, living on the street may not be a better option, since they get exposed to numerous things, including abuse, which will be addressed in the next part in the analysis.

Further, Ballet et al. (2007) presents the third category, which consists of families where the parents work outside the home and may not be able to spend enough time to take care of the children. Regarding this category, there are nothing found in the implemented study that underpins the reason that parents have to work and does not allocate enough time to childcare. Last, Bullet et al. (2007) stresses that the fourth category concerns families who send their children to earn money on the street, sometimes using violence to force them. Many of the children living on the street are enslaved by their families, that are making them beg on the street for them, according to respondent 4. Sometimes the children and youth are left with no choice but to leave their home because they are kicked out by their parents, but regardless of why they decide on their own to live on the street they do it to leave a situation of poverty, abuse or neglect. But the situation that they are facing when they choose to live on the street may not be better than the situation they left.

6.3 Factors of exposure

The children and youth have to endure with different kinds of danger while living on the street and the violence can be even greater than at home, since they have to fight with other street kids, policemen and adults to survive (Bhukuth and Ballet). Ursin (2016) presents an example of why policemen are using violence against the children and explains it to be a preventive strategy to find out if they give up and return to the social and geographical periphery and leave the streets or not. Ursin (2016) refers to Wacquant (2003) that means that there is a "zero tolerance" approach which has made politicians' and police forces' commitment to eliminate the street crime beneficial. The brutal and sometimes fatal violence is used on poor young men as they are seen as deviant and violent (Wacquant, 2003).

Although, the "zero tolerance" approach as one reason for police violence has not been seen in the gathered material from the study, there are factors that underpin that police violence exists. For example, respondent 1 explains that there is a lot of really bad violence on the streets, which is often police violence. The police officially kill 5000 people a year in Brazil, and the real number is much higher, according to the respondent. Other factors that children living on the street get exposed to is prostitution, crime and drug use. Young transwomen who migrates from different parts of the country to prostitute themselves to get drugs, that eventually turns into a self-predicted cycle that is difficult to overcome, according to respondent 2. Further, the respondent says that prostitution can also be a way of protecting themselves and a way of getting money in order to survive. Another way of protection is to enter drug trafficking gangs, often controlled by adults, where the children are being used to deliver drugs. Bhukuth and Ballet (2015) means that children are forming groups on the street as a way of getting support from each other when they are facing dangerous situations. Protection from the gangs usually come in three ways. To protect them from other children, against police aggression and harassment and in times of illness and pain (Bhukuth & Ballet, 2015). Albertson Fineman (2008) explains that there is a universal human fragility and this shared vulnerability makes it apparent that human beings need each other. I believe that to form or enter gangs and receive support from other children in the same situation be a way for the children and youth to be less vulnerable. Since they lack full support from family and the society, they let other children replace that. With the help of others, they can receive both social and physical support.

6.4 Societal context

Although the children are not provided with the support they need to prevent them from moving onto the streets, support while they are living on the street, or support to get them off the street, the concept of family and relatives can be an important strength for the children and their families to prevent the children of becoming homeless. Brazilian families are often very big and extended and, usually, there is a pretty big social safety net when they are poor, according to respondent 1. The respondent continues with explaining that sometimes when a mother is unable to afford to take care of her children, the grandmother can step in and support the family. Although this can be seen as a strength for the families that have support from other family members, it is not always possible that they can step in to take over the responsibility of the children from their parents. Especially of they the family

46

members are poor themselves. Moreover, there are cases, according to respondent 1, where people migrated to another city and moved away from their families. This makes it difficult for them to get the support that is sometimes needed in a family, which can lead to an even more vulnerable situation. As Albertson Fineman (2008) stresses, there is a shared vulnerability that makes people in need of each other. This underpins the importance of a family or relatives that can be supportive in times of need. Further, the author means that the structure of the institutions has to be in response to that fundamental human reality. This can be understood as people are dependent on other people and institutions and cannot entirely live on their own. Besides, the institutions must be structured to respond to the universal human need.

Education is a subject that has been brought up several times in the study. There are some challenges within the school system, that respondent 4 addresses. For example, overcrowded classes, sometimes with 40-45 children in one classroom, which makes it hard to teach and difficult for the teacher to identify or work with children who have developmental problems, dyslexia, autism etcetera. According to Ursin (2016), the public educational system is characterized by over-crowded classes, lack of resources, poorly remunerated teachers, and frequent strikes. Another example of a challenge within the school system is regarding the salary for primary school teachers, which is ridiculously low according to respondent 2, who says that nobody wants to be an elementary school teacher. Further, the respondent explains that when nobody wants to become a teacher, the quality in public school gets bad, something that could be increased with a dignified salary because it would attract more qualified people. As Albertson Fineman (2008) stresses, a good and early education could triumph poverty, especially when coupled with a supportive family and a progressive social network. This coupled with the information gathered from the interviews with the respondents, the importance of education became clear to me. It can be a way of personal development and can be a big help in the further. With an education, it is easier to get a job and a home and leave the state of vulnerability on the streets.

6.5 The role of the government

The role of the government has been a recurring subject in the result of the implemented study. Actions that are taken by the government and actions that are not, and more

specifically, actions that should be taken to improve the situation for the children and youth living on the street, some of which are presented above. Several respondents have explained the that there are laws that guarantee children's rights, public policies and social programs but they are not implemented properly or that the government is shutting them down or cutting funding from them. According to Bhukuth and Ballet (2015), the government should seek to support and provide family-based economic assistance with the purpose of enabling children to stay at home. In Brazil, the economic assistance for families goes in the opposite direction, since the government tightens the support. According to respondent 1, the government is cutting funding from the basic income called Bolsa Família [a Brazilian social welfare program for poor families].

Furthermore, the respondent stresses that the funding of this program, along with other programs, should be refund, instead of cut. There is a lack of political will to implement the public policies that exist. The first thing that has be done is for the government to start treating the government spending on homeless children as an investment and not as an expenditure, according to respondent 3. Further, the respondent stresses that the ability for children to live well is not dependent on whether or not they have parents. It is the government that provides the children to live well by implementing public policies to enable the children that are living on the street to leave the state of vulnerability that they are in.

If the government is less and less willing to invest in the children living on the streets, which is seen when they are cutting funding, it is likely to say that these children become even more vulnerable and/or are unable to leave the vulnerable situation on the street. The responsive state is mentioned by Albertson Fineman (2008) that explains that to be able to attain a more equal society, the state must be responsive to and responsible for the vulnerable subject and should be the centre of the political and theoretical strives. As long as the government is being more and more absent, the children are less and less provided with the means that make it possible for them to strengthen their situation.

6.6 Concrete actions

In addition to the research question about what the main reasons for children living in vulnerability are, the question about what concrete actions can be taken to provide children living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a safer life is also addressed in this essay. There are several actions to take to change the situation for children living on the street, both structural and physical. For example, respondent 2 stresses that if there is not only going to be a "quick cure-all", the entire structure of the country needs to be changed in order to improve the situation. Moreover, respondent 1 divides the question of what could be done into two parts: children living in vulnerability and children living on the streets.

About children living in vulnerability, the respondent explains the current situation of the social workers that attend people in poor neighbourhoods. They are seen as middle-class, often Catholic women, who are snobby and take away children from their parents. Further, the respondent suggests that the role of the social workers and their image should be improved, to make people talk to them more, which should enable them to better identify abusive situations. The social workers should also try to find other family members that can house the children if the parents are unable to take care of them, instead of taking them away and placing them on an orphanage. I think that if the social workers are able to build up a good relationship based on trust with people in poor neighbourhoods it would probably be a positive effect on giving and receiving help, respectively, between the social workers and the residents. If the people trust the social workers and the work they do, it is possible that they can communicate problems and challenges in their life before they come to a point where the social workers need to take the children away from their parents.

Furthermore, respondent 1 explains what should be done for the children living on the street and says that they should be moved into permanent social housing and put into the school system in the same neighbourhood. Another action that should be taken is suggested by respondent 5 that stresses that the government should increase the housing programs for poor people and give them the right to ownership housing. This would change the life situation for families because when the housing is guaranteed, the family are able to grow.

6.7 Further discussion

The material gathered in the implemented study gives a versatile view of the issue that has been raised in this essay regarding addressed issues by the respondents, as well as the diversity in professional background of the different respondents. There have been both men and women participating in the study and a vary in ages. Although many of the subjects has been brought up by several respondents, there are various subjects presented in the study, some of which have not been brought up in the essay. For example, different reasons of why children are living in vulnerability, factors that they get exposed to in different living situations, the concept of family and peers, religion, education, personal growth, challenges and strengths that the children meet among other things.

One matter that have not been addressed in the study is the psychological and emotional factors of the children and youth living on the street. Nor is it discussed in the former research that I have come across while implementing the study and writing the essay. Questions like: how are they feeling, generally, and about living on the street specifically? How can they get the psychological and emotional support they probably need when the concrete actions presented in the study are taken to help them to a safer life? How can they be supported in the transition from the street back into a home and the school system? What can be done to prevent the children from going back to live on the street because they are not integrated properly? I believe that it is important to address this issue in future research to get better knowledge of how to support the children and youth once the actions have been taken. It is crucial in whether or not the actions will have a positive outcome in the long-run.

7. Conclusions

In this section, five conclusions are presented based on the results on the study. The first conclusion is that children and youth living in an occupation or in a favela in São Paulo did not appear to be living in vulnerability, mainly since the social movement provides them with the basic necessities, such as housing as well as other rights, such as education and leisure that they need to live well. The children and youth are enabled to live well through the support from the movement. Another conclusion drawn from the results is that there were several factors found in the study that showed that the children and youth living on the street are

living in vulnerability. Part from the obvious factors that comes with living on the street, such as not receiving the basic necessities like housing, food and water, they get exposed to situations of abuse and neglect, violence and lack of social support.

The third conclusion made based on the result found in the study was that there are a variety of reasons of why children and youth are living in vulnerability in Brazil, particularly in São Paulo. For example, economic reasons and poverty, the family send the children and youth to the streets to collect money, they get kicked out of the house due to moral issues due to Christianity or the children and youth run away from home due to maltreatment or abuse. A fourth conclusion is that there are public policies, social programs and laws which guarantee the children's youth's rights, for example the constitution of children and adolescents rights. These have not been used properly or the people that have the right to access the policies or programs are not aware of them. Last but not least, there are some concrete actions that can be taken to help the children and youth living in vulnerability in São Paulo to a safer life. For example, that the homeless children and youth should be provided with housing, education and social rights. To enable this, the government should refund the social programs that they have been cutting funding from, such as Bolsa Família [a Brazilian social welfare program for poor families].

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9. Appendices

9.1 Information letter

I am a Social Work student who studies at School of Health and Welfare at Jönköping University, Sweden. I will implement a study and write a bachelor thesis in São Paulo, Brazil. The purpose of the study is to investigate the factors of vulnerability of the children and young people living in the favelas and on the streets of Brazil, particularly in São Paulo. The aim of the study is to identify perspectives on life situations of children from people working with these children.

I would like to know if you are interested in sharing your experiences and perspectives in an interview and/or an observation. There will be individual interviews that will last for approximate 30-45 minutes and will be recorded with a dicta-phone or equivalent technique. I will be taking some notes during the interview and there will be field notes from the observation.

The participation is voluntary and you have the right to interrupt whenever you want without having to explain. The material from the interview and/or the field notes from the observation will only be used in the bachelor thesis. All information will be kept confidential, which means that no unauthorized person can take part of the interview material or the field notes and that no individual can be recognized.

Best regards

Rebecca Beltramo

Social Work Study Program

Phone number: +46 705919402

Email adress: bere1519@student.ju.se

9.2 Forms of consent

I have read the information letter and I understand the meaning of the information. I accept participation in the study.

Location: _____ Date: _____

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Interview ____   Observation ____

If you are interested in taking part in the bachelor thesis when it is finished, please write your email address on the line below.

Email: _____

9.3 Interview guide

Purpose and aims: The purpose of the study is to investigate the factors of vulnerability of the children and young people living in the favelas and on the streets of Brazil, particularly in São Paulo. The aim of the study is to identify perspectives on life situations of children from people working with these children. The study will enlighten different people and societies, including Brazil, about challenges and strenths in the favelas and on the streets, of poverty and other social, psycological and physical aspect that these children get exposed to.

With "living in vulnerability" I mean children living in favelas and on the streets that gets exposed to violence, criminality, psychological and physical illness, drugs, poverty, lack of education etc.

Research questions:

- What are the main reasons for children living in vulnerability in São Paulo, Brazil?
- What concrete actions can be taken to help children living in vulnerability in São Paulo, Brazil to a safer life?

Introducing the respondent:

- Sign the consent form.
- Facesheet information: name, age, gender and organization.
- Feel free to answer the questions from your heart. You do not need to answer what you think I want to hear. It is your perspective that is interesting for the study.
- The interview will be semi-structured, which means that it is in some way structured, and in some ways open. It is structured in the way that I have prepared four topic areas that we will go through. Each topic have some questions for you to answer. It is open in the way that I want to hear what you want to share with me. So feel free to talk about the things you feel is important for me to know about.

Topic area 1: Short background information about the respondent and his/her work

- Please tell me about when your interest in social work began?
- What is your experience of social work? Length and areas of work.
- What children do you meet in your social work? What are their situations like?
- Do they have any family member and/or a relative? Friends?
- What do they get exposed to in their lives?

Topic area 2: Concrete factors of why children live in vulnerability in (São Paulo) Brazil

- What are your perspectives about why children live in favelas and on the streets?

Topic area 3: Concrete actions that can be taken to help these children to a safer life

- What do you think are done today to provide children with the ability to have a safer life?
- What do you think are the best actions to take to provide children with the ability to have a safer life?
- What do you think are the most effective ways to help the children living in vulnerability?

Topic area 4: Other interesting questions

- How is the peer support practices among children and youth in Brazil?
- How do the children and youth protect their belongings and themselves?
- What are the main factors of resilience among the children and youth?
- What are your perspectives on what part religion has in the children's lives?

Round off the interview:

- Do you have any questions?
- Is there anything you would like to add?
- How do you feel about the interview?
- Is it ok to contact you again if I have any other questions?

Reference:

Bryman, A. (2008). Social Research Methods. 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press. (p.442-450).