

# **INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION IN BRAZIL**

## **THE RELATION BETWEEN DROPOUT RATES AND JUVENILE CRIME IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO**



**Maika Boronat Lugtmeijer**

1368133

Master Thesis Latin American Studies  
Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University  
Supervisor: Dr. Pablo Isla Monsalve

Leiden, December 2017

The picture on the front page was taken by the author in the summer of 2017, in São Paulo,  
Brazil

---

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	2
<b>Chapter 1: Inequality in education and juvenile crime from a theoretical point of view</b>	4
1.1 Basic education as a human right	4
1.2 Education for all?	6
1.3 Social inequality: an obstacle for development	8
1.4 Men vs. women: gender inequality	11
1.5 The ineffectiveness of educational systems: dropout rates	13
1.6 Juvenile crime: the result of a vicious circle?	15
<b>Chapter 2: The Brazilian education system: ineffective and unequal</b>	18
2.1 A practical overview of the Brazilian education system	18
2.1.1 National incentives for the improvement of educational reforms	19
2.1.2 Measuring educational outcomes	20
2.2 The fight against social inequality: the Bolsa Família programme	22
2.2.1 Implementing the World's Biggest Conditional Cash Transfer Programme	23
2.2.2 The decentralization of the Bolsa Família programme	24
2.3 Gender Inequality in Brazilian Schools	26
2.4 Juvenile Crime as a Consequence of a Failing School System	29
<b>Chapter 3: Educational effectiveness and juvenile delinquency in São Paulo</b>	32
3.1 Methodology	32
3.2 Social inequality in the city of São Paulo	32
3.3 The quality of public, secondary education: educational results of adolescents in São Paulo	35
3.4 Juvenile gangs in São Paulo: a reason to drop out of school?	39
3.5 Alternative educational programmes: non-formal education	42
Conclusion	46
Appendices	48
Bibliography	49

---

## INTRODUCTION

Brazil is a country characterized by one of the highest violence rates in the world. After violence increased drastically in 1980s, the government has been unable to get it under control (Parkes, 2015). Besides dealing with very complex urban infrastructures, like in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the Federal Government changes course every four years, which makes it practically impossible to achieve structural change in the country. In addition, the structure of the Brazilian educational system is very complex, due to the federal nature of the country. This requires consistency throughout the several layers of government.

Instead of focusing on violence in general, this thesis will focus on 'juvenile crime', since juveniles account for a large part of crimes in Brazil, as well as in other countries. Adolescents are more likely to commit a crime than adults, which is why this thesis will focus on factors that influence this behaviour of adolescents. There are several factors that influence these high violence rates, which will be discussed throughout the different chapters of this thesis. The main factor considered will be education, since the outcomes of the Brazilian educational system are lower than is to be expected (Cabral Costa, 2010). The system followed the global guidelines in aiming to achieve 'education for all', which meant increasing access to education. This seems to have worked, but, when enrolment rates increased, the quality of the education provided decreased (UNESCO, 2010; Menezes-Filho 3).

The poor quality of Brazil's education is visible in the high repetition and dropout rates. But, why is the Brazilian educational system so inefficient? And what are the consequences of these inefficiencies? This thesis will focus on one possible consequence of dropping out of school, namely crime. In order to analyse this, attention must also be paid to the causes of dropping out of school. Therefore, the main objective of this thesis will be to analyse the relation between gender- and social inequality and school dropout, as possible explanations for juvenile criminal behaviour.

To explore this relation, the primary research question is: What is the relationship between gender- and social inequality and school dropout rates, as a possible explanation for juvenile crime? The expectation is to find that boys from the poorest areas of São Paulo are more likely to drop out of school and participate in criminal activities than boys or girls from a different socioeconomic area of the city, since social inequality is very high in Brazil, and this has been proven to influence dropout rates.

In order to explore the relationship between different types of inequalities, as well as school dropout and juvenile crime, six key concepts have been selected. These concepts are analysed in Chapter 1, starting with the concept of basic education, which is discussed in the context of human rights. The second concept discussed, access to education, elaborates on part 1.1 and delves further into the idea of 'education for all'. Then, inequalities are discussed, of which 'social inequality' is the first one. Since social inequality is no longer measured by income alone, Sen's capability approach offers a different perspective in which inequality is measured in opportunities rather than outcomes. Another type of inequality discussed in Chapter 1, is gender inequality. This type of inequality is more clearly defined than social inequality, however, it is much harder to measure, since it can take place in very subtle ways, all over the world. Moving on

to very different key concepts, 'school dropout' is discussed in part 1.5, whereas part 1.6 elaborates on this in the discussion about the concept 'juvenile crime'.

Chapter 2 puts the key concepts discussed in Chapter 1 into the Latin American or Brazilian context. The particular nature of the Brazilian educational system will be explored in part 2.1. In this part, the outcomes of the system will be discussed briefly as well, showing promising results during the 1990s. The concept of 'social inequality' is discussed in the Brazilian context in part 2.2, paying special attention to conditional cash transfer programmes in general, and to the Bolsa Família Programme in particular. Part 2.3 gives a brief overview of gender inequality in Brazilian schools, taking into consideration the difference in educational outcomes between boys and girls. This will show the problematic existence of a gender gap in the schools. In the last part of Chapter 2, the extremely high violence rates of Brazil are analysed, with a focus on the increase in juvenile crime from the 1980s onwards.

The previously discussed key concepts are applied to the case of São Paulo in Chapter 3. With the help of new information retrieved from interviews held in São Paulo, the precarious situation that many adolescents find themselves in is explained. These semi-structured interviews were conducted in the city of São Paulo in June and July 2017, with several experts <sup>1</sup>. These interviews are analysed with the help of primary and secondary literary sources.

The findings from the extensive literature review, as well as the new information from the interviews will all be brought together in the conclusion, at the end of this thesis. An analysis of the outcomes of this research will then provide an answer to the main research question.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

## CHAPTER 1

# INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION AND JUVENILE CRIME FROM A THEORETICAL POINT OF VIEW

### 1.1 BASIC EDUCATION AS A HUMAN RIGHT

“It must be a vital concern relevant to humans, to all and only humans, and must be sufficient to outweigh other concerns that may also require action” (Lee, 2013, p. 4). This definition explains clearly why education is considered a human right. It was recognized as one when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was established in 1948. The 58 member states who adopted this declaration now had to provide free and compulsory primary education to its citizens (Willmore, 2004). But, what is a human right? Lee quotes Orend, who stated that a human right is “a high-priority claim or authoritative entitlement, justified by sufficient reasons, to a set of objects that are owed to each human person as a matter of minimally decent treatment” (Lee, 2013, p. 2).

Nowadays, basic education is much more than ‘just’ a human right. The definition of the Universal Declaration of Human rights does no longer cover the entire meaning. According to Lundgren & Wahren (1992), the definition of basic education was broadened with the ‘World Declaration on Education for All’, published during the World Conference of 1990. “Thus, the term now covers early childhood care and initial education, primary school or alternative programmes, literacy, training in skills, formal and non-formal programmes that affect health, science, technology, environmental and other social issues for youth and adults, and channels of information and communication” (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992, p. 19).

Education is connected to economic development, as is explained by the modernization and human capital theories of education (Kanu, 1996). In addition to economic development, education helps individual development of children, by helping them become literate and numerate. This means they secure crucial skills that are necessary to contribute to society in the future (Lee, 2013). Therefore, Lee argues, that “the more education people have, the better off they can be” (Lee, 2013, p. 2).

Thus, in addition to economic benefits, education has another benefit that could be argued to be more important than economic development; “the ability to coordinate with others for mutual social advantage” (Lee, 2013, p. 5). This means that through education, children learn about themselves, about society, as well as how to be a productive member of one. The United Nations agrees with this, which can be seen in a statement saying there is much more to the right to education than only schooling; the right to education includes children’s opportunities to develop themselves and their personalities, which would make them more likely to contribute to society in a positive manner when they become adults (Lee, 2013). When children do not learn how to read, write and calculate, this causes them to be placed on the ‘outside’ of society, which can cause “lifelong, inescapable capability deprivations” (Lee, 2013, p. 7).

The World Bank agrees with the statement that education contributes to overall development, including economic and political development, as well as social participation (Kanu, 1996). The relation between economic development and education becomes very clear when looking at the increase of wages as a consequence of education. “For each additional year of schooling, wages increase typically between 10 and 20%” (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992, p. 20). This shows that the rates of return for education are quite high, and even higher for girls’ education. Research shows that mothers who have had basic education have smaller families, which are healthier than the bigger families of non-educated mothers. In addition, the incomes of these smaller families are generally higher. Because of all these benefits of education for girls, the World Bank has stated “that the education of girls may yield a higher rate of return than any other form of investment in developing countries” (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992, p. 20). This is also because knowledge in general includes women in decision-making processes (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992). Furthermore, Sen<sup>2</sup> argues that education also influences access many other public services, which leads to more inclusion as well as more equality (Lee, 2013).

As has become clear, education contributes to many kinds of development, however, education alone cannot ‘develop’ a country, but, “without it, development may prove unsustainable” (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992, p. 20). Lee (2013) goes even further in stressing the importance of education by saying that the right to education should be recognized as an equal right to security and political freedom.

Providing good quality basic education has thus been a high priority on the international agenda, but the definition of ‘good quality’ is still not clear. It has changed over time and went from students achieving high grades, to access for all, and thus increasing enrolment rates (Kanu, 1996). Today, the main focus is ‘access for all’, which has to be achieved by providing education as a ‘public good’, which means it is provided by the government. This traditional view comes from “a collective social desire to have civil and supportive societies” (Lee, 2013, p. 2). To achieve this ideal situation of education for all, long-term support is needed both nationally and internationally, from governments as well as societies. In addition to this support, good cooperation between sectors is crucial, since educational programmes are not necessarily part of the educational sector. Some are under the authority of other ministries, like the ministries of health, rural development and social affairs (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992). Therefore, “capacity building and institutional development should have high priority” (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992, p. 21). By reinforcing institutions, they would be able to support a larger number of people (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992).

Another difficulty in the establishment of basic education for all, is the inefficiency of many systems. Even if children enrol in schools, many do not attend the school long enough for them to acquire the basic skills that are so important for their development. The number of drop-outs is quite high, especially in developing countries; around “one-third to half of the children who start school drop out before completing their fourth year” (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992, p. 19). Drop-outs are a sign of inefficiency, which means that they cost the system money; money that could and should be spent on strengthening the system. In addition to this inefficiency, a new trend emerged recently in which enrolment rates have stagnated and even dropped in some countries (Lundgren & Wahren, 1992).

---

<sup>2</sup> This will be elaborated upon in part 1.3

Most children who are out of school are children from families that live in poverty, which means there is a wealth gap in access to education. In addition to this wealth gap, there is also a gender gap, which means that most children that are out of school, are female. Then, there is a socioeconomic gap that creates several kinds of inequalities. Willmore (2004) explains that according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, parents have the right to choose the kind of education that they want their children enrolled in. However, in order for kids to have the same opportunities for secondary education, it is crucial for them to have had the same primary education. He therefore argues that this can only be achieved when parents do not have the right to choose the type of education for their children. Only government schools can guarantee this equality, because other providers would create different kinds of competitiveness. This would lead to parents sorting “themselves by social class, ethnic group or level of ability, thereby harming those who end up in schools filled with students of low social origin and limited intellectual talent”. Willmore (2004) argues that this already happens when families choose to live in an area that matches their social class or ethnic group, which means that the geographical locations of schools influence the opportunities of its students as well.

On the other hand, when schools are not government-owned, the competition created can improve the quality of education, which can be perceived in higher enrolment rates as well as in lower dropout rates (Willmore, 2004). What it comes down to is that “education ought to be accessible to every child. Having the right to education, however, does not mean having a right to the same education for all; it means having the same right for all to an education” (Lee, 2013, p. 6). This right is only valuable if it helps you in doing something that you value, which makes education “one of the primary social institutions” in helping to create a fair society (Lee, 2013, p. 4).

## 1.2 EDUCATION FOR ALL?

As mentioned in part 1.1, access to education is central to the Education for All action plan, as well as part of the Millennium Development Goals (Little & Lewin, 2011). “The Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary of Current English defined access as opportunity or right to use something or to see something” (Oni et al., 2016, p. 34). Access to education thus means that children have the opportunity and right to enrol in basic education (Oni et al., 2016).

This right is established in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 which states that primary education must be compulsory and free, whereas secondary education just has to be available (Rapatsa, Makgato & Mashile, 2016). However, having access to education established as a human right, does not mean it is complied with everywhere (Little & Lewin, 2011). The right to access to education needs to be enforced by strong leadership and a proper system (Rapatsa et al., 2016). Whereas many developed countries have already established such an educational system in which basic education has been made compulsory and free, several countries in the Global South are still struggling with this (Little & Lewin, 2011). Therefore, it is important to stress that the right to access to basic education is more than just a right; it can be seen as “an expansion of capabilities urgently needed for children to be able to exercise agency and realize their functioning” (Rapatsa et al., 2016, p. 51).



Access to education is a key factor to consider when looking at education in general (Little & Lewin, 2011). When education is inaccessible, this leads to higher inequality within a society, which could then lead to slower development or development that only benefits the rich part of society. According to Rapatsa et al. (2016), this happens in societies where education has been made into a commodity. For this reason, there should be no discrimination in access to education. UNESCO plays a big role in establishing guidelines for the development of a proper educational system, next to setting goals for countries to achieve. In addition to broadening access, UNESCO (2010) wants to ensure that all children have access to “complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality” (p. 54). It is stressed that extra attention should be paid to children in marginalized positions, like girls and children “belonging to ethnic minorities” (UNESCO, 2010, p. 54). Unfortunately, children from poorer households are much less likely to have access to good quality education than children from wealthier households, which stresses the importance of new educational policies that address these issues (UNESCO, 2010).

“Just as poverty can leave people hungry amid plentiful food, so it can lock poor children out of education even when schools are available” (UNESCO, 2010, p. 187). The concept of access to education is composed of many different aspects, like physical “access, resources (infrastructure, facilities, studying materials, etc.), quality and safe environment” (Rapatsa et al., 2016, p. 43). These aspects all contribute to the fulfilment of the right to access to basic education. This is why poverty alleviation is a crucial tool for enhancing the right to access to education. Therefore, as was stated in the ICESCR, primary education should be free and compulsory, which means that fees need to be eliminated. In addition to the formal fees being eliminated, additional indirect costs, like uniforms and books, need to be brought down as well. According to UNESCO (2010), this reduction of costs should be a high priority in developing a proper educational system, which means that government resources should be directed towards marginalized groups in order to make basic services available to them, and overcome marginalization.

Whereas access to education has generally improved over the past years, this cannot be said about quality, which is closely tied to the concept of access. Children with lower educational achievement are generally part of a group that also has a disadvantage in accessing education. As said before, the highest rates of return in education are for the most vulnerable children, who typically have the least access to public services, including education. One of the reasons for this is that they live in areas, like slums or remote urban areas, that are hard to reach, which comes down to the provision of education lying in the hands of private, and therefore expensive, institutions (UNESCO, 2010).

Then, there’s a different aspect that contributes to access to education, namely discrimination. “The term ‘discrimination’ includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education (...)” (UNESCO, 2010, p. 135). To eliminate discrimination of access to education, the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960 obligates “member states to promote equality of opportunity and treatment in education (...)” (Rapatsa et al., 2016, p. 46). This entails that everyone in society must have access to the same quality education, and that groups cannot be limited in their access to this education. As can be seen in the description of the term ‘discrimination’, language is also included. Many people do not speak

their country's dominant language, which prevents them from enjoying their right to access to education, because often, intercultural or bilingual education is not available in their minority language. The provision of such education is crucial for promoting equality, and thus overcoming social stigmatization (UNESCO, 2010).

Physical distance to school is another obstacle in enjoying the right to access to quality education. To overcome this obstacle, the construction of more classrooms is crucial. However, it is also important that the provision of education becomes more flexible, in that schools could be made mobile and multi-grade teaching could be established. For now, there is no limit for the distance to school, but it has been stated that 2 kilometres should be the maximum distance to school, which equals about a thirty-minute walk. Reduction of the distance to school is especially important for girls, since it would reduce security concerns and therefore reduce gender inequality in access to education. When an area is characterized by high violence rates, many children, but especially girls, stop going to school (UNESCO, 2010).

The physical access to a school is not only a problem for girls, but also for children with disabilities. In addition to physical access, the training of teachers is also an obstacle, because many schools do not have specially-trained teachers or aids. UNESCO (2010) states that it is better to place disabled children in regular schools, because this will reduce social stigmatization. Also, many special schools are underfunded, which results in the provision of poor quality education. Thus, investment is needed to provide these children with a good infrastructure to enjoy their right to access to education. Another type of discrimination can be seen in the Chinese 'hukou' system. This system makes it impossible for children who are not officially registered in a school district to attend education. Schools are only allowed to accept children who are permanently registered in a home located in the school district. This means that many migrant children are not allowed to participate in the Chinese school system (UNESCO, 2010).

All of these situations are examples of children who cannot exercise their right to access to quality education, either due to physical distance, lack of resources, or discrimination. When access to education is not well-established, it is much harder for a country to develop. "Sustained access is critical to long-term improvements in productivity, the reduction of inter-generational cycles of poverty, demographic transition, preventive health care, the empowerment of women and reductions of inequality" (Little & Lewin, 2011, p. 477).

### **1.3 SOCIAL INEQUALITY: AN OBSTACLE FOR DEVELOPMENT**

The term 'social inequality' can be defined in many different ways and has undergone several changes over time. It's definition fifty years ago was very short; inequality was only determined by individual differences in income, because income was the best way to assess welfare (Stewart, 2016). The term 'inequality' was only considered to be important with regard to development. Thus, when perspectives on development began to change, so did the definition of inequality. Development was no longer only defined by income and inequality was now considered to be an important obstacle for the achievement of a just society. Nowadays, inequality not only exists between individuals (vertical inequality), but it is also visible between groups, nations, etc.

(horizontal inequality). However, income is still the most common way to measure inequality, of which the Gini coefficient<sup>3</sup> is a good example (Stewart, 2016).

Sen approached inequality in a whole new way, by saying that inequality does not only concern justice and economic development, but that it influences people's well-being and capabilities. This 'capability approach' focuses on what people would be able to do rather than what people were actually doing. In this approach, inequality is measured by opportunities or the lack thereof, rather than the outcome. Roemer, Ferreira and Gignoux agreed with this type of measurement of inequality (Stewart, 2016). Roemer defined opportunities as "equalizing circumstances that are beyond the control of the individual" (Stewart, 2016, p. 63). Ferreira and Gignoux "interpreted inequality of opportunities as occurring where there are outcome differences that can be accounted for by morally irrelevant predetermined circumstances, such as race, gender, place of birth, and family background" (Stewart, 2016, p. 63). With this broader understanding of the concept, it is no longer possible to measure social inequality with just one indicator, like income (Stewart, 2016).

Raudenbusch & Eschmann's (2015) definition of social inequality is based on the 'capability approach' as well. They define social inequality as "a meritocracy in which adult occupational status is independent of social origin" (p. 446). However, they do also state that social inequality can be passed on over generations due to "social origins, family processes, and social networks to educational attainment, and labour-market outcomes" (Raudenbusch & Eschmann, 2015, p. 447).

Even though inequality is no longer perceived as only effecting development, there is a clear link between inequality and economic development. Not only does inequality affect GDP growth, it also affects the stability of this growth (Stewart, 2016). "For any given level of average per capita income, the higher the inequality, the higher the poverty rate is almost certain to be" (Stewart, 2016, p. 66). GDP growth and inequality also influence each other in the case of horizontal inequality. In this case, the connection can be looked at in a different perspective. Namely, if inequality does not decrease, it is impossible for countries with lower GDP to catch up with other countries, no matter how much their GDP grows. When more equality is achieved, these countries have the chance to catch up to the other countries. Also, this makes "a lower rate of growth more acceptable" (Stewart, 2016, p. 68).

However, as was mentioned before, the perception of development has changed over time as well. It is no longer defined by economic growth alone. In addition to economic growth, "poverty reduction (...), health and education outcomes, and social and political stability" are now also factors to be considered (Stewart, 2016, p. 61). Inequality influences many of the concepts mentioned above, that are key in achieving development. These concepts are not only important for development; several of them are universal rights, like education, health and shelter. To make sure that these rights are secured, a certain level of development is needed, which in turn requires a certain level of equality (Stewart, 2016).

As was established before, inequality can rise with GDP growth, in which case, poverty is not reduced. Poverty can only be reduced if inequality is reduced at the same time. Unfair income distribution also affects education in general, and educational achievement and access in

---

<sup>3</sup> The Gini Index measures the distribution of income (World Bank, 2017).

particular. In turn, education affects health; due to lack of income and low education, malnutrition is a common consequence (Stewart, 2016). This lack of income is a very important aspect, as is explained by Rose & Hatzenbuehler (2009); they state that “cumulative biological damage to adult health is distributed approximately parallel to the distribution of wealth” (p. 461). This means that poverty reduction, which can only take place with greater equality, contributes to better health for the poor (Stewart, 2016).

Vertical inequality is also linked to criminality; even when all other factors contributing to criminal behaviour are considered, there is still a causal link between high inequality and high crime rates. There are two possible reasons for this; where inequality is high, poorer people have more reason to rob from the richer people, which is called the ‘economics of crime’ (Stewart, 2016). Then there is the social explanation, which states that “social control over conflict is weaker in unequal societies” (Stewart, 2016, p. 67).

Globalization is said to have had a great impact on inequality as well, since when globalization accelerated, inequality rose. There are several explanations for this. The first one is that globalization and the implementation of neoliberal policies took place around the same time. These policies did not contribute to greater equality. A different reason can be found when looking at workers’ rights. With more competition and weakened workers’ movements, the wage sector became more unequal. However, this has only proven to be true in developed countries. Data from Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa actually saw a drop in inequality during this time (Stewart, 2016). This suggests “that rising inequality is not inevitable even in the context of increasing globalization and competitive pressures” (Stewart, 2016, p. 70). With proper policies in place, the rise in inequality can be counteracted (Stewart, 2016).

There are several types of policies that can help in the reduction of inequality, which focus on either the pre-distribution of income or the redistribution of income. The policies that focus on pre-distribution are policies that target income, before taxes, whereas redistribution policies affect taxes, in order to bring down inequality (Stewart, 2016).

In addition to policies, society also contributes greatly to the perception and reduction of inequality. Whereas individuals are unable to affect horizontal inequality, they do influence vertical inequality to a certain extent. This is because belonging to a group, is related to factors that are not controlled by individuals (like gender and race) (Stewart, 2016). Class is also a ‘group’ in this sense. Rose & Hatzenbuehler (2009) argue that harmony between classes affects inequality; where “class solidarity increases, income inequality decreases (...)” (p. 462). Class solidarity can only be achieved in societies where the people perceive poorer households as victims of a structurally dysfunctional system, which is called the ‘victim thesis’ (Pinker, 2011). Within this ‘thesis’, “the very poor are defined as people who are forced by adverse circumstances to live out their lives excluded from the activities of the societies to which they ‘belong’ only in notional terms” (Pinker, 2011, p. 10).

Where society believes in the ‘personal culpability thesis’, it is impossible to achieve class solidarity. This ‘thesis’ focuses on personal shortcomings of the poor (Pinker, 2011). “The very poor are defined as people who lack the necessary intelligence, competence or motivation to make sensible choices in the management of their daily lives” (Pinker, 2011, p. 10). This entails that

poverty is a cycle that can never be broken, because 'dysfunctional values' are passed on from generation to generation (Pinker, 2011).

This class solidarity would mainly focus on inequality within a country. However, as was shown before, inequality is now a global matter. This means it is now a problem that needs to be tackled both globally and nationally, which makes it more difficult to solve (Stewart, 2016).

## **1.4 MEN VS. WOMEN: GENDER INEQUALITY**

The definition of the concept 'gender inequality' is much more concise than the definitions of the previously discussed concepts. "Gender inequality can be defined as allowing people different opportunities due to perceived differences based solely on issues of gender" (Parziale, 2008, p. 977). Even though this definition is fairly clear, it requires a little bit of explanation. For example, what is gender? Gender and sex are concepts that are used interchangeably, but do not mean the same thing. Sex is defined by biology, whereas gender is defined by social context, which means that sex can only be determined by someone's physical and chromosomal characteristics, whereas determining gender, is much more complicated (Parziale, 2008). As briefly mentioned, "gender is commonly defined as the social identity of the sexes. It is determined by socialization and social values, not biology, and includes social markers such as behaviour and appearance" (Parziale, 2008, p. 977).

Normally, gender inequality is associated with women. However, both men and women can face gender-based inequality or discrimination (Parziale, 2008). Gender inequality is something that is very rooted in society, which makes it a very difficult problem to solve. In addition to being rooted in society, the problem of gender inequality is sustained by this society that is characterized by male domination (Treas & Tai, 2016). This inequality can become visible through discrimination, which will be explained later (Parziale, 2008).

There are several theories concerning gender inequality, of which the biological theory is the first one to be discussed. This theory is based on the physical differences between the male and the female bodies, and sees female bodies as weaker than men's bodies. Because of this, according to the biological theory of gender inequality, women need protection from men (Parziale, 2008). The second theory is a psychological theory, supported by Freud. He said that women do not have a gender identity of themselves, but that their identity is constructed "through the lack of male genitalia" (Parziale, 2008, p. 978). The origins of this theory can be traced back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when psychology was characterized by seeing the male as the standard and the women as 'the other'.

A different theory, the sociological theory, focuses on children (Parziale, 2008). "The socialization of children is believed (...) to be the main cause of gender inequality" (Parziale, 2008, p. 978). This is because a child's sex, will shape the way in which the child is treated both by society and by his or her family, which is referred to as gender socialization. It is very difficult to break the cycle of gender socialization, because it is passed on through generations. Then there is the materialist theory, which focuses on the lack of opportunities as the primary cause for gender inequality. It focuses on the undervalued and often unpaid house work that is done mostly by women. Because of the way this work is perceived, it denies this women access to many resources, including

financial resources. The last theory is tied to religion. Most major religions state that women are inferior to men; a statement that is taught to children that grow up in these religious environments. This teaching can happen through texts, like Genesis, that states “Eve is created out of one of Adam’s ribs” (Parziale, 2008, p. 979). Religion is one of the major causes of gender inequality in certain societies (Parziale, 2008).

None of these theories justify gender discrimination. It is a fact that men and women are biologically different, and that therefore, there will always be some type of gender inequality. However, this does not mean any discrimination on this basis should take place.

Gender-based discrimination is one of the ways in which gender inequality becomes visible. This concept is defined as “treating individuals differently specifically because of an individual’s gender” (Parziale, 2008, p. 979). This type of discrimination occurs in many different places and situations. As was clear in part 1.1 and 1.2, universal access to basic education has not been achieved yet, due to social inequality, among other things. However, gender inequality also plays a role in this. Until very recently, men were allowed higher education than women. Even though this trend has been abandoned by most nations, its consequences are still visible in many countries (Parziale, 2008).

Another area in which gender-based discrimination is visible is the workplace (Parziale, 2008). “There are four major ways in which people are discriminated against in the workplace based on gender: hiring, pay and benefits, promotion, and firing” (Parziale, 2008, p. 979). One of the most visible ways is pay and benefits. This is because even in developed countries, like the United States, women still earn less than men for the same job (Parziale, 2008). Of course, discrimination based on sex and gender is illegal in most developed countries. However, because this type of discrimination can be very subtle and complex, it is difficult to identify (Parziale, 2008; Albertson Fineman, 2009).

Gender inequality can also be seen in languages, of which English is an example (Parziale, 2008). “Until recently, ‘he’ was universally accepted as the generic pronoun in English for a person of an unspecified gender” (Parziale, 2008, p. 979). Still, in many other languages, larger groups of people with at least one male figure are identified by the male version of a noun (Parziale, 2008).

Since gender inequality influences development, reducing it has become a point of attention for many governments and international institutions, like the United Nations. Strengthening the position of women is included in the Millennium Development Goals, which state that improving gender equality in households, the workplace and the political sphere would increase the quality of life for both women and children (Grossman & McClain, 2009).

Similar to social inequality, gender inequality also affects economic development (Berik, van der Meulen Rodgers & Seguino, 2009). As mentioned before, women’s unpaid work (like housework), is undervalued. But, in addition to this, it prevents women from participating in the labour market, which increases the wage inequality between genders (Berik et al., 2009). Berik et al. (2009) argue that “the macro-economy is itself a gendered structure” (p. 6). This is because it follows assumptions, like, ‘the man is the breadwinner’. Most macro-economic policies are based on such assumptions, which only exacerbate gender inequality (Berik et al., 2009).

When looked at from a different angle, it is not only economics that affect gender inequality, but also the other way around. Research has shown evidence of several countries that shows that countries with higher gender inequality in their labour force have lower growth rates. In some countries, gender inequality was even identified as the cause of reduced economic growth (Berik et al., 2009).

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is also affected by gender inequality. For higher FDI, the labour force needs to be big, skilled and equal (Berik et al., 2009). Luckily, there are policies that can reduce gender inequality, like policies that ensure gender-equitable pay, but also “improved health and safety in the workplace, and union rights” (Berik et al., 2009, p. 20). However, in order to achieve this, the unpaid domestic labour that women do must be recognized (Berik et al., 2009).

## **1.5 THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS: DROPOUT RATES**

School dropout has been defined in many different ways. The United States Department of Education states that a child has dropped out of school when it is absent for at least “eight consecutive weeks” (Graeff-Martins et al., 2006, p. 445). A broader definition is provided by De Witte, Cabus, Thyssen, Groot & Maassen van den Brink (2013), who state that “school dropout has been defined as leaving education without obtaining a minimal credential (most often a higher secondary education diploma)” (p.14). Dropout can be seen as the last stage of disconnection from school; it follows after truancy (Fernández-Suárez, Herrero, Pérez, Juarros-Basterretxea & Rodríguez-Díaz, 2016). Generally, societies that are characterized by high dropout rates are also societies with high inequality. This is important to note because it means that making sure children attend and complete an education is a public responsibility that lies with the government (De Witte et al., 2013).

It is very relevant to look at dropout rates, since it is linked both to economic development and inequality. As said before, societies with high inequality rates tend to have higher dropout rates as well. Dropout rates also affect economic development, because government investments into students are lost when a child drops out of school (Hanushek, Lavy & Hitomi, 2006). In addition, research has shown that drop outs do not contribute as much to society as graduates. Their educational achievements are low, which can result in low motivation for contributing to society (Koenig & Hauser, 2010). Also, dropout rates are indicators of inefficiency of the educational system, as was already shown by the lost government investments discussed before. This means the graduation quota set by governments becomes harder and thus costlier to meet when children drop out, as well as when they repeat grades. Costs of instruction also rise for dropouts and grade repeaters, because the ‘normal’ route through education is disrupted (Hanushek et al., 2006).

There are many different determinants of school dropout, but gender does not seem to be one of them. There are several determinants that are related to school characteristics, like the size of the school. The differences in dropout rates lie in the schools’ social context. Generally, bigger schools are characterized by a less positive social climate than smaller schools, which means that student engagement is lower and the number of problems in the school is higher. These factors may lead to higher dropout rates (De Witte et al., 2013). Quality is a different determinant shown to

influence graduation rates. When the quality of education is high, children learn more in less time, which will make it more likely for them to stay in school (Hanushek et al., 2006). Factors that can affect educational quality are the resources available to a school, but also the teacher-pupil ratio (De Witte et al., 2013). As mentioned before, truancy is a good predictor for dropping out, since it is an earlier step in school disengagement (Fernández-Suárez et al., 2016).

In addition to school-related factors that contribute to school dropout, there are also family characteristics that influence these rates. It is highly debated whether family income affects the likelihood of dropping out. However, it is clear that family structure is linked to school dropout rates (De Witte et al., 2013). "School performance and home environment are closely related" (Fernández-Suárez et al., 2016, p. 2). Examples of the 'family-factor' are large families and single-parent households; children from these types of families are less likely to graduate. This is also true for children with a step parent. The relationship between parents and their children also influences the possibilities of graduation (De Witte et al., 2013). Children from parents who place a big emphasis on the importance of education are more likely to graduate. The research shown in the article by Fernández-Suárez et al. (2016) shows that 38% of the dropouts that were included in their investigation, stated that there were not enough rules in their households, which made truancy easier.

Another factor that is unrelated to school, but that has proven to be related to dropout rates, is the geographical location in which a child grows up. "(...) housing problems, lack of playgrounds and green areas – may have detrimental effects on students' school performance (...)" (De Witte et al., 2013, p. 22-23). Thus, when children grow up in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area, they are more likely to drop out of school. Other, more indirectly linked factors, like social discrimination and prejudice, also play a role (De Witte et al., 2013). Substance abuse is directly linked to school dropout as well. "(...) students who are involved in drug or alcohol abuse are more likely to drop out from school" (Fernández-Suárez et al., 2016, p. 2).

As was mentioned before, dropouts do not contribute as much to society as graduates. This is because generally, school dropouts face more challenges in life than graduates. It is much harder for them to participate in society (Koenig & Hauser, 2010). "School dropouts, compared with their graduated peers, are more frequently associated with long-term unemployment, poverty, bleak health prospects, sustained dependence on public assistance, single parenthood (in females), political and social apathy, and (juvenile) crime" (De Witte et al., 2013, p. 14). As this quote mentions, dropout and crime can be related. However, the relation to crime depends on the reason for dropping out. If a student drops out for economic reasons, it is less likely to enhance in criminal behaviour than graduates. On the other hand, if a student drops out for personal reasons, he or she is more likely to commit a crime (De Witte et al., 2013). In addition to criminal behaviour, there are many more disadvantages for dropouts. As Koenig & Hauser (2010) say in their article, "earning a high school diploma is one of the most important factors associated with social and economic success in America" (p. 13). The high school diploma is often needed to get higher education, which in turn provides access to higher paying jobs. For employment in general, it is true that graduates are more likely to be employed than dropouts (Koenig & Hauser, 2010).

Looking at health, there is also a clear disadvantage for dropouts. First of all, "graduates (...) tend to live a longer and healthier life than dropouts" (Koenig & Hauser, 2010, p. 14). In addition, dropouts have a higher chance of becoming teen parents, as well as of having children without



being married (Koenig & Hauser, 2010). There is also a correlation between dropping out and mental health. “Feelings of sadness, hopelessness, and worthlessness are most prevalent among adults with less education than a high school diploma” (Koenig & Hauser, 2010, p. 14).

Because of the impact that dropping out can have on individuals, as well as society, the reduction of dropout rates has been a goal in many developed countries. Examples of policies for dropout reduction are the ‘No Child Left Behind Act’ and the ‘Europe 2020’. These policies aim for a reduction of inequality, as well as a balanced student composition (De Witte et al., 2013).

## **1.6 JUVENILE CRIME: THE RESULT OF A VICIOUS CIRCLE?**

The Oxford Dictionary (2017) defines juvenile crime as “crime committed by young people below a specific age (18 in most countries)”. This is a very brief and concise definition of the concept ‘juvenile crime’; it covers what it means in general, but it provides no explanation of what it entails. The report by the World Health Organization does provide such a definition. However, in this report it is argued that youth violence is a type of violence that has similar risk factors to other types of violence (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015). Therefore, the first definition it provides is that of violence in general: “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation” (The World Report on Violence and Health in Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015, p. 5). It goes on to explaining that youth violence is violence that mostly occurs between the ages of 10 and 29, which is a different age limit than the one provided by the Oxford Dictionary, as well as the one used in most juvenile judicial systems, which will be elaborated upon later. Normally, youth violence occurs between strangers, and thus, most of this violence happens away from home (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015).

Next to physical violence, the term ‘youth violence’ also includes interpersonal violence, of which bullying is an example. Interpersonal violence takes place between different individuals. Self-directed violence is a different type of violence, of which self-abuse is an example. The last category of violence is collective violence (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015). This “refers to violence committed by larger groups of people and can be subdivided into social, political and economic violence” (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015, p. 5). The first two types of violence are the ones most commonly associated with youth violence (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015).

It is very interesting to compare numbers of juvenile crime to numbers of adult crime. The first striking finding is that “an eighteen-year-old is five times more likely to be arrested for a property crime than is a thirty-five-year-old” (Levitt & Lochner, 2001, p. 327). Specific numbers for violent crimes are unknown, but, research has shown that violent crimes peak in adolescence as well, before falling once someone has reached age eighteen. In the United States, crimes committed by teenagers account for 20 to 30 percent of all crimes (Levitt & Lochner, 2001).

In youth violence, there is also a gender gap. According to the research performed by Levitt & Lochner (2001) in the United States, “males under age eighteen are five times more likely to be arrested for violent crime than are females; for property crime, the ratio is less than three to one” (p. 330). In addition to the differences in crime rates per gender, ethnicity also shows a clear

distinction. For juveniles, Caucasians are four times less likely to be arrested than African Americans in the United States (Levitt & Lochner, 2001).

20 to 30 percent of all crimes is a number that cannot be disregarded. Levitt & Lochner (2001) argue that this number is so high, because criminal activities are attractive to adolescents. This is not only because of the money they might make from these criminal activities, but also because of the relatively low sentences imposed by juvenile courts. Research has shown that when juvenile punishments become more severe, juvenile crime rates drop. However, still “at any given point in time, roughly seventeen thousand juveniles are incarcerated for serious property offenses (...)” (Levitt & Lochner, 2001, p. 333). These numbers are true for the United States.

There are many factors that contribute to the likelihood of getting involved in juvenile crime. One of the levels influencing the likelihood of getting involved in criminal activities is the family. As said before, “youth violence is closely linked to other forms of violence, including child maltreatment, intimate partner violence and self-directed violence: these types of violence have common risk factors and one can be a risk factor for the other” (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015, p. 5). Research has shown that the degree to which parents are involved in their child’s life, influences involvement in juvenile crime (Eren, Depew & Barnes, 2017). When abuse has taken place in a family, children are at greater risk to become the perpetrator of violence themselves, later in their lives. Victims of abuse are also more likely to commit violent crimes (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015).

Inequality also plays a role here. Economic inequality and poverty are factors at the base of different types of violence. Children that grow up in poverty are more likely to become involved in violence than children who grow up in a different socioeconomic setting. Children from areas that are characterized by high crime rates, have a higher risk of becoming involved in youth crime as well (Kieselbach and Butchart 6, 15, 17). “Youth from families with lower socioeconomic status are at twice the risk of involvement in violent crime as youth from middle- and high-income families” (Kieselbach and Butchart 15).

Another factor that affects juvenile crime is education. According to Machin, Marie & Vujic (2012), “youth crime fell significantly as educational attainment rose” (p. 367). ‘Being occupied’ is a crucial factor in preventing adolescents to engage in criminal behaviour. Eren et al., (2017) found that summer schools have a positive effect in reducing juvenile crime rates, because it keeps adolescents occupied in their free time. Education also influences income, as was seen in the previous parts of this chapter. Higher income means that the returns of legitimate work increase. Also, people have more to lose when they have a higher income, which means that they are less likely to opt for illegal ‘jobs’. Adolescents with a higher education are also more aware of their possible punishments, if they decide to engage in criminal behaviour. Therefore, they are less likely to do so (Machin et al., 2012).

Of course, there are also mental disorders that influence criminal behaviour. Children who experienced trauma in their infancy or early childhood are very likely to show violent behaviour in their adolescence (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015). Research performed on juvenile offenders showed that many of them suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) at the time of committing the crime (Shepherd, Luebbers & Dolan, 2013). Anti-social behaviour is associated with criminal behaviour as well. Children with limited social ties or social ties with antisocial

peers are “associated with violent crime, bullying and aggressive behaviour” (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015, p. 15).

Engaging in criminal behaviour as an adolescent is the best predictor of future criminal behaviour, even for non-violent crimes (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015). The use of alcohol is also a predictor of engagement in criminal behaviour. Children that are “drinking early and drink frequently are at increased risk of perpetrating – or being a victim of – youth violence” (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015, p. 15). Research has shown that violent incidents are often the result of alcohol intoxication (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015).

All these factors “such as harmful levels of alcohol use, family isolation and social exclusion, high unemployment and economic inequalities” contribute to youth violence, as well as other types of violence (Kieselbach & Butchart, 2015, p. 6).

## CHAPTER 2

# THE BRAZILIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM: INEFFECTIVE AND UNEQUAL

### 2.1 A PRACTICAL OVERVIEW OF THE BRAZILIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

“In the Constitution of 1934, the Brazilian government defined education as a basic right for all its citizens”<sup>4</sup> (Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000, p. 1). With this, it recognized the right to education for the first time. The educational system of Brazil will be analysed in this part of the paper, in which attention will be paid to the evolution of the system in recent history. The current system, is characterized by shockingly low educational outcomes. The ways in which these outcomes are measured will be analysed and the educational outcomes of different countries will be compared to those of Brazil.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the importance of education was already known. In that time, education was considered to be important for individuals, but its importance for society was not fully recognized yet (de Carvalho & Gonçalves Neto, 2000). It was known, however, that “the country would be a consequence of educational development” (de Carvalho & Gonçalves Neto, 2000, p. ii). Due to the recognition of the importance of education, Brazil decided to decentralize its system at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This meant that the federal government was no longer the primary provider of education. Now, this became the responsibility of the states. However, the decentralization of the educational system happened in a very chaotic manner, leading to illiteracy rising to 80% (de Carvalho & Gonçalves Neto, 2000). This was a big problem, since “illiteracy was thought to be the main hindrance to social and economic development” (de Carvalho & Gonçalves Neto, 2000, p. iii).

It was clear that reforms needed to take place, which is exactly what the New School Movement requested during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the help of this movement, the new aim was for education to reach the whole population. These new reforms were therefore targeting all levels of education. With the inauguration of the Ministry of Education in the 1930s, national guidelines for the educational system were put in place (de Carvalho & Gonçalves Neto, 2000). These new guidelines promoted “significant changes in the curriculum, textbooks, teacher training and funding for school networks (...), among other things” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 23). Primary education was now compulsory from the age of six, which added a year of compulsory education.

Because of these national guidelines, access to basic education improved greatly in Brazil, and came close to being universal during the 1990s. This is mainly true for primary education, but enrolment in secondary education increased greatly as well. Whereas the national reforms were identified as the explanation for the increased enrolment rates in primary education, they were not the main cause for this increase in secondary education (Cabral Costa, 2010). Cabral Costa

---

<sup>4</sup> The current Constitution is the Constitution of 1988, see part 1988

(2010) argues that in secondary education, enrolment increased because more children graduated primary school. Also, it was now recognized that a certain level of education was needed to participate in the labour market. Therefore, children who had dropped out of school before, now returned to secondary education. Through these measures, “Brazil eventually came to have 12 years of compulsory basic education, an acceptable amount by international standards” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 23).

In addition to national reforms, several cities and states experimented with new systems as well. The city of São Paulo changed its educational system in the 1990s, by using three cycles. Eventually, this system was adopted by the state of São Paulo in 1998. The primary school system was now divided into two cycles (Cabral Costa, 2010). “The first four years were renamed Cycle I and the fifth to eighth years became known as Cycle II” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 6). After being implemented in the city of São Paulo, and later in the whole state, this system is now used throughout the country. The cycle system was implemented to combat high dropout rates, which put a strain on development, as was explained in part 1.5. This new system encourages children to learn more, even if they fall behind in grades, whereas the previous system would have led these children to drop out.

Not all parties supported the implementation of this new system. Teachers, for example, were opposed to it, because the new system meant that students could pass grades automatically. This could become a problem if their authority in the classroom would no longer be respected. The teachers’ main argument was that this new system was used to cover up high dropout rates, while reducing the quality of education (Cabral Costa, 2010).

### **2.1.1 NATIONAL INCENTIVES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL REFORMS**

---

In 1997, the Fund for Development of Fundamental Education and Valorisation of Teachers<sup>5</sup> was established (Cabral Costa, 2010; Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000). The FUNDEF “was the most important measure for the funding of compulsory education in the recent period” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 24). As said, it was established in 1997, became effective in 1998, and was supposed to last ten years. The fund establishes a minimum expenditure per student throughout basic education.

The FUNDEF is a national fund, but is implemented locally, because it is tied to the number of students enrolled in state and municipal schools (Cabral Costa, 2010; Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000). Because of its success, the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Advancement of the Teaching Profession<sup>6</sup> was established, after the FUNDEF ended. “The new fund extended the scope of the old to include all three levels of basic education, i.e. pre-primary, primary and secondary” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 25).

Today, the Brazilian educational system is still divided into cycles. Pre-school is the first step in the education system. Then there is “an eight-year cycle (ensino fundamental), and upper

---

<sup>5</sup> FUNDEF.

<sup>6</sup> FUNDEB.

secondary education (ensino médio)” (Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000, p. vii). ‘Ensino fundamental’ used to be divided into the cycles of ‘primário’, ‘ginásio’, but were recently combined into one cycle (Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000).

As was briefly mentioned, the Brazilian educational system has a decentralized nature. Before the current Constitution of 1988, “all three levels of government (municipal, state, and federal) were involved in the financing and provision of all levels of education” (Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000, p. 2). After a chaotic decentralization<sup>7</sup>, it was decided that municipal and state governments share the responsibility for the provision of the first eight grades of the educational system (ensino fundamental), and that the state governments alone, provide the ‘ensino médio’ (Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000).

The outcomes of the Brazilian educational system can be considered to be quite shocking. In the 1990s, numbers looked very promising, with enrolment rates increasing drastically for both primary and secondary education. This increase is mainly attributed “to the inclusion of children from low-income households who had never before had access to formal education” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 9). As Cabral Costa (2010) states, even though Brazil has achieved major success in increasing both enrolment and attainment, the quality of its education is very poor. Many children are still a few grades behind and the low completion rates are a cause for further investigation. The system is considered to be highly inefficient, due to the gap between access (which is nearly universal) and completion. In addition, there is a high inequality between states. The north-eastern states are poorer, and these states are characterized by lower completion rates than the richer, southern states. These inequalities and inefficiencies can be seen in the country’s spending on education. Brazil spends 4.7 percent of its GDP on education, which is more than the average of 3.7 percent for Latin American countries. However, Brazil’s system is performing as one of the worst in the region (Herrán & Rodríguez, 2000).

### 2.1.2 MEASURING EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

---

Educational outcomes are measured by different systems, both nationally and internationally. The first national evaluation system in Brazil started in the 1990s. This Basic Education Evaluation System (SAEB) already showed a decline in educational performance of students from its very beginning. In 2007, a new system was introduced, which is still in place today. The Basic Education Development Index (IDEB) measures passing rates as well as student performance. The latter is measured through results of a national programme, called Prova Brasil (Cabral Costa, 2010). The figure on the following page shows Brazil’s IDEB scores, and targets.

---

<sup>7</sup> See part 2.1

**Figure 1:** IDEB scores (2005 & 2007) and targets (2007 & 2021) for the first and the last four years of primary school and the last year of secondary school, by administrative jurisdiction – Brazil, 2005-2021

Administrative Jurisdiction	Primary								Secondary			
	First Half (Years 1-4)				Second Half (Years 5-8)				Year 3			
	Actual IDEB score		Target		Actual IDEB score		Target		Actual IDEB score		Target	
	2005	2007	2007	2021	2005	2007	2007	2021	2005	2007	2007	2021
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>4,2</b>	<b>3,9</b>	<b>6,0</b>	<b>3,5</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>3,5</b>	<b>5,5</b>	<b>3,4</b>	<b>3,5</b>	<b>3,4</b>	<b>5,2</b>
<b>Public</b>	3,6	4,0	3,6	5,8	3,2	3,5	3,3	5,2	3,1	3,2	3,1	4,9
<b>Federal</b>	6,4	6,2	6,4	7,8	6,3	6,1	6,3	7,6	5,6	5,7	5,6	7,0
<b>State</b>	3,9	4,3	4,0	6,1	3,3	3,6	3,3	5,3	3,0	3,2	3,1	4,9
<b>Municipal</b>	3,4	4,0	3,5	5,7	3,1	3,4	3,1	5,1	2,9	3,2	3,0	4,8
<b>Private</b>	5,9	6,0	6,0	7,5	5,8	5,8	5,8	7,3	5,6	5,6	5,6	7,0

Source: Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 14

An international system for assessing educational outcomes is PISA. “PISA is a three-yearly survey of 15-year-olds in the 30 member countries of the OECD and many partner countries” (Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 17). According to this international indicator, Brazil’s outcomes are disappointing, as can be seen in the tables below and on the following page. In addition, the gap between private and public education is huge in Brazil. From all the countries that participate in PISA, Brazil shows the widest gap between outcomes in private and public education, as can be seen in Figure 1 (Cabral Costa, 2010).

**Figure 2:** Brazil’s PISA rankings by domain, 2000, 2003 & 2006

DOMAIN	2000	2003	2006
<b>Reading</b>	39 <sup>th</sup> out of 43	39 <sup>th</sup> out of 42	48 <sup>th</sup> out of 56
<b>Mathematics</b>	42 <sup>nd</sup> out of 43	41 <sup>st</sup> out of 41	54 <sup>th</sup> out of 57
<b>Science</b>	42 <sup>nd</sup> out of 43	39 <sup>th</sup> out of 40	52 <sup>nd</sup> out of 57

Source: Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 18

**Figure 3:** PISA-scores by domain – Brazil and selected countries, 2000, 2003 & 2006

Country	READING			MATHEMATICS			SCIENCE		
	2000	2003	2006	2000	2003	2006	2000	2003	2006
<b>Total</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>462</b>
Canada	534	528	527	533	533	527	529	519	535
Japan	522	498	498	557	534	523	550	548	531
South Korea	525	534	556	547	542	548	552	538	522
Germany	484	491	495	490	503	504	487	502	516
U.K.	523	507	495	529	508	495	532	518	515
France	505	496	488	517	511	496	501	511	495
USA	504	495	-	493	483	474	500	491	489
Spain	493	481	461	476	485	480	491	487	488
Portugal	470	478	472	454	466	466	459	468	474
Chile	410	-	442	384	-	411	415	-	438
Uruguay	-	434	413	-	422	427	-	-	428
Mexico	422	400	411	387	385	406	422	405	410
Argentina	418	-	374	388	-	381	396	-	391
<b>Brazil</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>390</b>
Colombia	-	-	385	-	-	370	-	-	388

Source: Cabral Costa, 2010, p. 19

As has become clear, the Brazilian educational system is a system that has undergone many changes. It has developed into a modern system, characterized by its decentralized nature. Through its development, the system has achieved universal access to education, which helped to increase enrolment rates in both primary and secondary education. However, quality of this education is not up to international standards, as can be seen by both Brazil's IDEB scores, as well as the OECD's PISA test scores. These tests show a big inefficiency in the system; on the one hand, Brazil invests a relatively large part of its GDP in education, but on the other hand, this investment has not had the desired outcome.

## 2.2 THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL INEQUALITY: THE BOLSA FAMÍLIA PROGRAMME

This part of the thesis will begin by explaining a little more about the Bolsa Família Programme, including its conditions. Its implementation, structure and evaluation will also be looked at. Then, the effects of the Bolsa Família on education and educational outcomes will be taken into account.



## 2.2.1 IMPLEMENTING THE WORLD'S BIGGEST CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMME

---

The Bolsa Família Programme is a conditional cash transfer programme that was implemented in Brazil quite recently. It is a programme that targets poverty, health and education and thus, designed to reduce inequality through health and education, which is why it is very relevant to this research.

Conditional Cash Transfer programmes<sup>8</sup> are programmes that are able to reduce inequality and poverty, through cash transfers. In Brazil, CCTs started to emerge during the 1990s (Lindert, Linder, Hobbs & de la Brière, 2007). Nowadays, this type of programme is one of the world's most popular poverty reduction strategies. It has proven to be an effective tool for the reduction of poverty, since the programmes invest in human capital, which makes it possible to break intergenerational cycles of poverty (De Brauw, Gilligan, Hoddinott & Roy, 2015).

“Since even universal provision (availability) of health and education services does not mean universal access (take up) by the poor – due to direct and indirect (opportunity) costs of taking up these services – CCTs are seen as a way to remove such barriers to access by providing cash linked to education and health service use” (Lindert et al., 2007, p. 9-10).

Brazil is a country characterized by both high poverty and high inequality rates. “(...) Brazil has historically had one of the highest degrees of income inequality in the world, with a Gini coefficient persistently hovering around 0.60 since the 1970s” (Lindert et al., 2007, p. 9). As said before, the first CCT programmes were included in public policies during the 1990s in Brazil, with the first one being officially implemented by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso in 2001. This programme, the Bolsa Escola, was a federal programme which provided around 5 million families with cash transfers. In 2003, a new president, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva implemented the Bolsa Família Programme, which was a combination of several pre-existing programmes, namely the previously mentioned Bolsa Escola, the Bolsa Alimentação, the Cartão Alimentação and Auxílio Gas (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012; Chitolina, Foguel & Menezes-Filho, 2016; Lindert et al., 2007; De Brauw et al., 2015).

The Bolsa Família was designed for “immediate poverty alleviation and reducing the intergenerational transmission of poverty” (Chitolina et al., 2016, p. 186). In 2006, the programme was expanded and now also included the PETI, or Child Labour Eradication Programme (De Brauw et al., 2015). “By 2007, over 11 million families (about 46 million people, one fourth of Brazil's population) received Bolsa payments” (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012, p. 506). The programme is huge and tackles several problems in society. Its

“main (...) objectives are: to strengthen access to public services, particularly to education, health care and social assistance; to fight hunger and to promote nutritional and food security; to enhance the ability of families to overcome vulnerability and poverty; to fight poverty; and to promote integration, complementarity, and synergy of social policies” (Amorim Simões & Sabates, 2014, p. 153).

---

<sup>8</sup> CCTs.

In order to achieve these goals, Brazil spends around 0.5% of its GDP on the Bolsa Família Programme, which comes down to around 11 billion USD. The programme helps more than 13 million households in Brazil, which makes it the largest programme of its kind (Amorim Simões & Sabates, 2014; Chitolina et al., 2016; Lindert et al., 2007). It has proven to be a very effective programme, since it “is now covering 100% of Brazil’s poor” (Lindert et al., 2007, p. 6).

The Bolsa Família Programme is made up of different components. The first one, the Benefício Básico, is an unconditional cash transfer for families living below the poverty line, which will be elaborated upon later. Then, there are several other payments, that are conditional (Chitolina et al., 2016). The first one is “the Benefício Variável, which is paid to families that have children up to 15 years of age or pregnant or nursing mothers (...)” (Chitolina et al., 2016, p. 186). In 2008, a new programme was introduced to include 16 and 17-year-olds, which is called the Bolsa Variável Jovem. Families can receive several variable payments, which are paid monthly (Chitolina et al., 2016; De Brauw et al., 2015).

Crucial in the term ‘conditional cash transfer’ is the word ‘conditional’. This entails that certain conditions have to be fulfilled before a cash transfer can take place. In order to be eligible for the Bolsa Família, families have to be registered in the Cadastro Único para Programas Sociais<sup>9-10</sup>, through which information about family composition, family income, etc. is collected (Chitolina et al., 2016). However, being registered in the CADUNICO does not automatically mean a family is eligible to receive Bolsa Família payments. “The Bolsa Família Programme has adopted a programme-specific administrative ‘poverty line’ of R\$120 (...)”<sup>11</sup> (Lindert et al., 2007, p. 9). This amount is way lower than Brazil’s minimum wage, which is why a distinction is made between ‘poverty’ and ‘extreme poverty’.

Families that earn between R\$60 and R\$120 are considered ‘poor’ and therefore receive R\$15 per eligible family member, which falls under the previously mentioned Benefício Básico. Families that earn less than R\$60 a month, are considered to be ‘extremely poor’, and thus, receive a monthly payment of R\$60, which is not tied to family composition. The additional payment of R\$15 per eligible family member can also be transferred to these families (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012). This additional payment has several conditions; all children of the household, between 6 and 15 years old, are obliged to attend school at least 85% of school days. In addition, women who are either pregnant or breastfeeding must receive both pre- and postnatal care. The last condition is for younger children (before they attend school) to receive vaccinations. A new condition was tied to the more recent Benefício Variável Jovem. This condition is that youngsters of 16 and 17 years of age must also be enrolled in education, and attend at least 75% of school days (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012; Chitolina et al., 2016; De Brauw et al., 2015).

### **2.2.2 THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE BOLSA FAMÍLIA PROGRAMME**

---

The whole Bolsa Família Programme officially falls under the responsibility of the Federal Government. However, while the programme is managed by the Ministry of Social Development,

---

<sup>9</sup> CADUNICO.

<sup>10</sup> Single Register for Social Programmes (own translation).

<sup>11</sup> R\$120 = 60 USD.

much of the monitoring and implementation is done by municipalities. This decentralized structure is a special feature of the Bolsa Família Programme (De Brauw et al., 2015; Lindert et al., 2007).

Because of the great inequality between municipalities in Brazil, the Índice de Gestão Descentralizada<sup>12-13</sup> was implemented in 2006, which evaluates the implementation of the Bolsa Família programme in all Brazilian municipalities (Lindert et al., 2007). The decentralization can also be seen in the financial aspect of the programme. The Bolsa Família is a federal programme, which means it is funded by the Federal Government. The Federal Government is also responsible for the transfer of money to the beneficiaries. However, these beneficiaries are identified by municipal governments, through the previously mentioned CADUNICO (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012).

Through surveys about the composition of households, like the Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra Domicílios<sup>14-15</sup>, and household incomes, the Federal Government sets a Bolsa Família budget for each municipality (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012). This budget entails a maximum of Bolsa beneficiaries in a municipality, which means that eligibility criteria are equal in all municipalities, but that the number of eligible households can differ (De Brauw et al., 2015).

Monitoring the programme also takes place locally. “Teachers in each school collect daily attendance for students, which is consolidated by school directors, matched to a list of Bolsa Família beneficiaries given to the school by the municipality, and sent to the municipal education secretariat on a regular basis” (De Brauw et al., 2015, p. 305). Every two months, this information is transferred to the Ministry of Education (De Brauw et al., 2015).

Exact effects of the Bolsa Família are unknown. However, it is known that in general, “CCT programs with schooling conditionalities have led to increases in school participation rates” (De Brauw et al., 2015, p. 303). Whereas attendance has increased, much is unknown about educational outcomes, since these differ greatly per municipality or region. However, Glewwe & Kassouf (2012) argue that dropout rates have fallen drastically since the implementation of the Bolsa Família from 14.5% to 8.9%. Also, school attendance alone helps to solve several issues. “(...) Bolsa Família helps to improve educational opportunities and outcomes by mitigating some of the multiple social disadvantages of beneficiary families that ultimately negatively impact children’s education” (Amorim Simões & Sabates, 2014, p. 165). As is explained in this quote, the effects of the Bolsa Família are clearest in poorer households (De Brauw et al., 2015). This is very interesting since “studies have shown that the BFP<sup>16</sup> played a significant role in the recent reduction in income inequality, which in turn has been instrumental in reducing extreme poverty” (Lindert et al., 2007, p. 6).

The Bolsa Família Programme still has much support throughout the country, which is partly due to the programme’s positive outcomes so far. On the other hand, society’s perspective on poverty also influences this. In Brazil, most people believe that people are poor because of failure of the

---

<sup>12</sup> IGD.

<sup>13</sup> Decentralized Management Index (own translation).

<sup>14</sup> PNAD.

<sup>15</sup> National Household Survey (own translation).

<sup>16</sup> Bolsa Família Programme.

state. This means, people who are poor are not responsible for this themselves, which is in accordance with the ‘victim thesis’ explained in part 1.3. This creates understanding and support for poverty alleviation programmes. In addition, since conditions are imposed on Bolsa payments, legitimacy of the programme is increased as well (Lindert et al., 2007).

The Bolsa Família payments do not differ for boys and girls, even though boys and girls perform very differently in education, as will be shown in part 2.3. However, the outcomes of the Bolsa Família Programme have been argued to be more positive for girls than for boys, which is often the case with income fluctuations (De Brauw et al., 2015). The following part will elaborate on the gender gap in education.

## 2.3 GENDER INEQUALITY IN BRAZILIAN SCHOOLS

As was seen in the previous chapter, inequality can put a strain on development, of which Brazil unfortunately is a good example. The country is characterized by high inequality rates, regarding income, gender and social differences. In this part, the focus will be on gender inequality within the educational system. Differences between boys’ and girls’ educational performance will be looked at. Since access to education is nearly universal in Brazil, educational outcomes will serve to illustrate the differences between boys and girls. Because access to education and enrolment in education are no longer a major issue in most OECD countries, including Brazil, there are other causes for bad educational outcomes. Even though less girls than boys are enrolled in education, educational outcomes tend to be better for girls than for boys (*EFA Regional Overview, 2003/2004*).

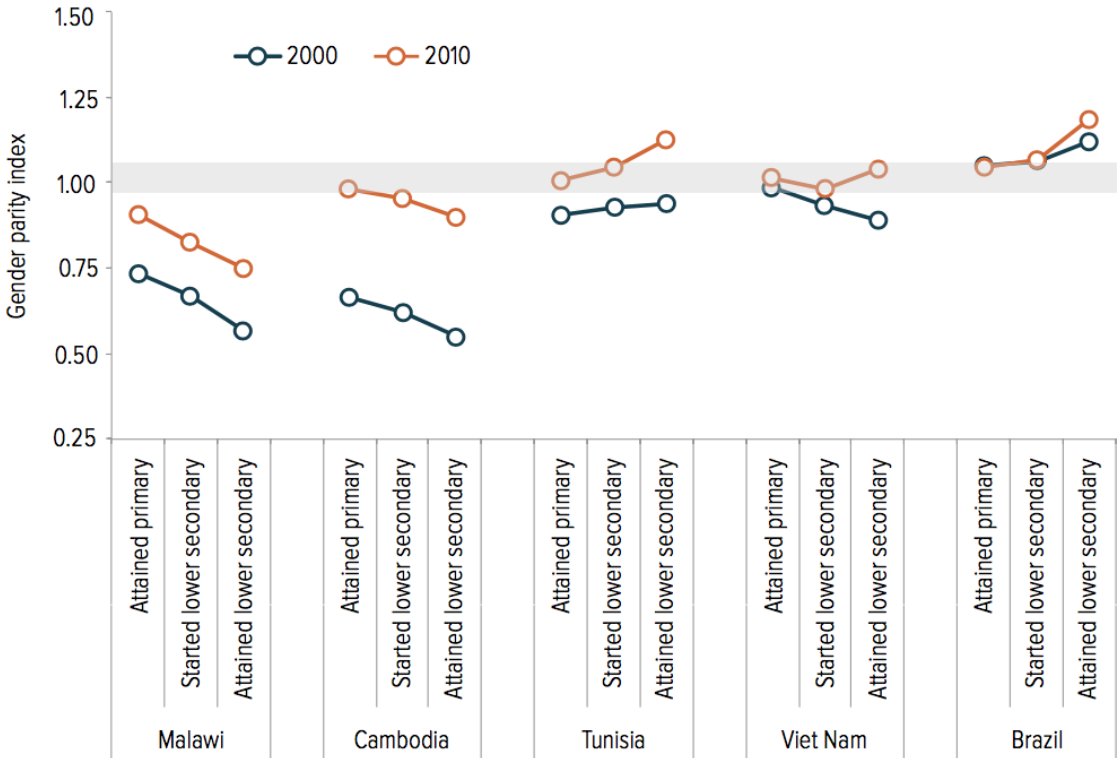
**Figure 4:** Average number of years that 25-34-year-olds spend in education by gender



Source: OECD, 2012, p. 25

Whereas girls' enrolment in education is problematic in low-income countries, this gender gap is reversed in middle- and high- income countries. Even though both boys and girls enrol, boys are more likely to repeat grades and eventually drop out of school, which leads to women becoming better educated than men (Torche, 2010; OECD, 2012; *EFA Regional Overview*, 2003/2004). Boys are thus less likely to complete their education (UNESCO, 2015). From 2009 onwards, "the proportion of women with at least upper secondary education was considerably higher than among men in Brazil, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Portugal and Spain" (OECD, 2012, p. 68). In addition to higher dropout and repetition rates for boys, their scores on international tests like PISA are generally lower than those for girls (Barker et al., 2012). This will be elaborated upon later.

**Figure 5:** Gender parity index of the primary attainment, transition to lower secondary and lower secondary attainment rates, selected countries, circa 2000 and 2010



Source: UNESCO, 2015, p. 18

The gender gap in education is very problematic. Several studies have shown that “educational attainment was a key factor associated with men’s attitudes towards gender roles” (Barker et al., 2012, p. 141). Not only were these men less likely to support gender equality, they were more likely to be involved in domestic violence. Also, men with lower educational attainment were not as involved in their children’s daily life as men who had completed secondary education (Barker et al., 2012). The increased likelihood of using violence is the most relevant for the Brazilian case. After an increase in youth violence in the 1980s, Brazil remains one of the most violent countries in the world<sup>17</sup> (Parkes, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> This will be elaborated upon in Chapter 3

The school plays an important part in this problem. “As boys and girls begin spending more time in school, the school setting is thus becoming more important as a locus for socialization, including socialization around gender norms” (Barker et al., 2012, p. 141). This refers to basic education being mandatory in OECD countries until the age of 15 or 16, which means children are spending a large amount of their time in school. Therefore, issues like gender equality have to be addressed in the school environment as well. There are still many issues regarding gender equality in the school environment, which will be addressed later.

There are several studies that show the underperformance of boys in education. Whereas boys perform better in mathematics, girls tend to do so in reading (Gamboa & Waltenberg, 2012). On average, the difference in reading skills between girls and boys is comparable to one year of schooling. This difference is pointed out because it is much more significant than the difference in mathematic or science scores (OECD, 2012). As mentioned before, the Brazilian education system is characterized by high repetition and dropout rates. According to Barker et al. (2012), “for countries with the greatest gender differences in grade repetition, the percentage of boys repeating grades is at least 1.5 times that of girls” (p. 139).

A lot of research has been done into the causes behind this gender gap, which lie partly in the school environment itself. An example of this is the absence of male teachers. Classes given by female teachers are generally more directed towards girls, in their way of teaching and learning. It also means there is no role model for boys in their educational environment (Barker et al., 2012).

However, the home-situation is equally important. Studies have shown that girls are more encouraged to stay at home than boys. They are expected to do more work at the house, and take care of younger siblings (Marteleto & de Souza, 2013). On the other hand, boys are encouraged to go outside of the house. This causes a different socialization process between boys and girls, which influences their social life in the educational environment (Barker et al., 2012).

Another important factor that influences dropping out rates is the perceived rate of return. Many boys in Brazil drop out of school in order to work in jobs that do not require the completion of an education. This is because finishing their education is no guarantee for finding a job. This example shows how vulnerable these children are. (Barker et al., 2012). Research has shown that “in Brazil, the likelihood of boys from poor households dropping out of school following a sudden fall in family income was 46% higher than for boys from non-poor households” (UNESCO, 2015, p. 29).

The vulnerability of these children that can lead to them dropping out of school can have big consequences. If they do not find the job they had hoped for, they become unoccupied and vulnerable to criminal gangs, which will be shown in the following part.

## 2.4 JUVENILE CRIME AS A CONSEQUENCE OF A FAILING SCHOOL SYSTEM

As was mentioned before, Brazil is a country characterized by extremely high violence rates. In general, young people are responsible for a large part of these rates<sup>18</sup> (Chioda, de Mello & Soares, 2016). In the first part, violent criminal behaviour in Brazil will be analysed. Then, characteristics of those involved in criminal activities, will be looked at. Lastly, the reasons behind the high rates of juvenile crime will be identified.

Unfortunately, Brazil has high rates of all types of crimes, but data on non-violent crimes is difficult to obtain. Therefore, this part will focus on violent crime rates in general, and homicide rates in particular. Since the 1980s, homicide rates increased dramatically in Brazil. This increase is attributed to the political instability of these times, characterized by “increases in inequality (...) as well as rises in youth unemployment, increasing consumer aspirations, and loss of traditional mechanisms of social control (...)” (Murray, de Castro Cerqueira & Kahn, 2013, p. 480). Due to these circumstances, homicide rates have been rising over the past decades. Until 1999, this violence was mostly concentrated in large metropolitan areas, but, since then, the violence has spread. This has led to 12.5% of all deaths in Brazil being attributed to violence in 2007. In 2008, homicide rates reached a new record; whereas the world’s average homicide rate was just below 8 per 100,000 people, the Brazilian homicide rate reached 29.6 in the same year, which led to Brazil being the 13<sup>th</sup> most violent country among WHO-member states<sup>19</sup> (Murray et al., 2013).

The crime rates are putting a strain on Brazil, which is shown in an interesting way by Murray et al. (2013). They have calculated how much this violence is costing Brazil, both in terms of human capital and GDP.

“Summing expenditure on police, prisons, private security, public health, and loss of human capital (from premature deaths caused by violence), and personal loss from robbery and theft, the total cost of crime in Brazil was estimated to be R\$92 billion in 2004, or 5.1% of GDP” (Murray et al., 2013, p. 472).

When looking at violent crimes, like homicide, the loss of human capital accounted for 2.3% of Brazil’s GDP in 2007 (Murray et al., 2013). Investigation into prison data showed that most prisoners are incarcerated for non-violent crimes. “(...) 15% were homicides (including theft following homicide: latrocinio), 27% were robberies, 18% were other types of property crime (primarily theft), 25% drugs crimes, 4% sex crimes, 6% weapons crimes, 1% kidnappings, and 35% other crimes” (Murray et al., 2013, p. 477).

As mentioned before, a large part of violent crimes can be attributed to youths. “Between 1980 and 2010, the rate of youth (under 20 years old) homicide increased by 346%” (Murray et al., 2013, p. 474). Investigation into police records revealed that 87% of offenders (both non-violent and violent crimes) is male. In addition, these males thus tend to be young, as can be seen from prison data showing that 55% of Brazilian prisoners is under 30 years of age (Murray et al., 2013).

---

<sup>18</sup> See part 1.6.

<sup>19</sup> World Health Organization

The increase in young prisoners of the last decades suggests that criminal activity also increased among students (Murray et al., 2013). In the case of students, much research has been done into students' involvement in drug trafficking. For boys, it was generally the case that those involved in drug trafficking "were statistically more likely to: (i) not be attending school, (ii) perceive problems in school" (McLennan, Bordin, Bennett, Rigato & Brinkerhoff, 2008, p. 819).

Education seems to be a major indicator for criminal behaviour. Two thirds of Brazilian prisoners have not completed 'ensino fundamental' (Murray et al., 2013). For those involved in drug trafficking, there is a significant difference in boys and girls. Boys who are involved, have a much lower educational level than girls involved in drug trafficking (McLennan et al., 2008). However, it remains true that the level of education is tied to odds of being involved in criminal activity. "Variables significantly increasing the odds of engagement in trafficking included not attending school, gang involvement, witnessing violence and easier access to illicit items" (McLennan et al., 2008, p. 821). Weapon carrying for example, is more common among boys than among girls. Also, the carrying of weapons is associated with non-attendance of education, which is also true for fighting (Murray et al., 2013).

As was established in the previous parts of this paper, Brazil's education system has many aspects to improve. Zaluar (2000) argues that adolescents feel left alone by their government. The ineffectiveness of the school system leads teachers to have lost their authority over their classes, as teachers already feared<sup>20</sup>, which only increases ineffectiveness. This ineffectiveness causes children to feel disconnected from their schools and teachers<sup>21</sup> (Nilvane Zanella, 2010).

Schooling has both long-term and short-term effects on criminal behaviour. In the long-run, it provides people with greater employment opportunities, which reduces the need for engaging in criminal activities. On the other hand, the short-term effects might be equally important. It is very simple; time spent in school, is time not spent engaging in criminal activity. In addition, school environment and spending time with peers also discourages youngsters from engaging in criminal behaviour (Chioda et al., 2016).

It is a fact that Brazilian children from the poorer segment of society tend to drop out of school in order to work and provide their family with additional income<sup>22</sup> (Nilvane Zanella, 2010). This work is often informal, which means no education is needed for it (Zaluar, 2000). This is why programmes like the Bolsa Família also affect crime. Since the Bolsa Família was expanded to adolescents over 15 years old, juvenile crime rates have dropped, equalling 2.1 fewer crimes per student for every year a student is supported by the Bolsa Família (Chioda et al., 2016).

However, adolescents do not see the positive outcomes of education, like future employment. Because of the lack of employment opportunities, they become more vulnerable to participation in criminal activities. Informal work in the criminal realm often means 'easy money', which attracts adolescents. As was mentioned before, adolescents do not feel connected to their schools or the school environment. Belonging to a criminal gang provides these children with a sense of security. With the money they earn with their criminal activities, adolescents can 'purchase'

---

<sup>20</sup> See part 2.1.

<sup>21</sup> Own translation.

<sup>22</sup> Own translation.



security, for example through buying guns. When they become more involved in a gang, it means the gang will provide them both with legal security, as well as physical security, which is highly valued since corrupt police forces are not always able to protect Brazilian citizens (Zaluar, 2000). The emergence of these gangs typically takes place in large metropolitan areas. In addition to security and a sense of 'belonging', membership of a gang reinforces their 'masculine identity', which is rooted in Brazilian culture (Adorno, 1999).

The increase in juvenile violence rates is also present in the city of São Paulo. The following chapter will show how these vulnerable youths become involved in criminal activities.

## CHAPTER 3

# EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN SÃO PAULO

### 3.1 METHODOLOGY

For the elaboration of this chapter, several research methods and techniques were used. The main research for this chapter was done during fieldwork, which was conducted in the summer of 2017, in São Paulo, SP, Brazil. Before departure, some key contacts were already established. The first interview was conducted with Professor Sérgio Adorno from the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência at the Universidade de São Paulo. This was a semi-structured interview, in which questions were adapted as the interview went on. Professor Sérgio Adorno put me in contact with a group of his students, who were available for interviews as well. These interviews were also semi-structured, but because the interview was conducted with the whole group, it became much more extensive than the first interview. In fact, it ended up being a discussion group, in which both participation and observation took place. The other interviews conducted with Alex Daniel from TETO Brasil and Prof. Dr. Maria Cristina Cacciamali were semi-structured as well. The starting point for the elaboration of these interviews were the key concepts and theories discussed in Chapter 1.

With the newly retrieved information, more specific literary research was done. In addition, after the fieldwork was conducted, data from official institutions like the World Bank and the Brazilian Ministério da Educação was used to complement the information from the interviewees.

All the information gathered from the fieldwork, the interviews, the official data and the literary research has been combined in the following chapter. This information will be analysed according to the key concepts and theories analysed in Chapter 1.

### 3.2 SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO

São Paulo is one of the largest metropolitan areas in the world, with a population exceeding 20 million. This metropolitan area is characterized by rapid development. However, a substantial part of the city's population is still living in poverty, which means the rapid development has been unequal (Hernández-Medina, 2010; Moreira Alves, 2004). "The city of São Paulo (...) has been portrayed as synonymous with urban chaos" (Barradas Barata, Sampaio de Almeida Ribeiro, Braga Lauretti da Silva Guedes & Cássio de Moraes, 1998, p. 19). This adds not only to social inequality, but also to the spatial inequality present in the city.

"A desigualdade econômica, principal diferença presente nas comunidades, provoca uma série de outras desigualdades em virtude da falta de informação e acesso às oportunidades" (A. Daniel, interview).

Even though much has been done in the past to reduce both social and spatial inequality, the measures have not been successful enough. The wealthy continue to become wealthier, whereas the poor are only getting poorer (Hernández-Medina, 2010; Moreira Alves, 2004).

“(…) a gente tem uma desigualdade social muito, muito grande. Então você tem um país rico, então você tem uma concentração de grana muito grande nas mãos de poucas pessoas (…)” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

**Figure 6:** GINI Index for OECD countries in Latin America



Series : GINI index (World Bank estimate)  
 Source: World Development Indicators  
 Created on: 11/15/2017

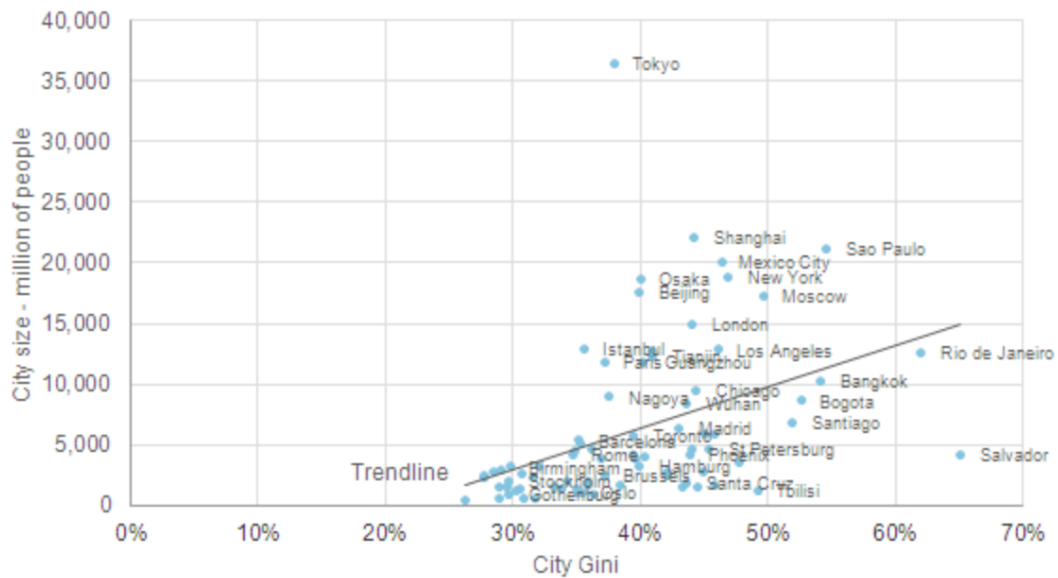
Source: World Bank

Specific data on inequality in São Paulo is difficult to find. However, Brazil as a country is known for its extremely high inequality rates. “(…) during the period of 2006 to 2012, the richest 0.1% of the population concentrated 11% of the total income, more than the percentage appropriated by the poorest 50%. In Brazil, the richest 5% appropriate 44% of the total income” (Caldeira, 2015, p. 130). As already said, inequality in Brazil is one of the highest in the world. This can be seen in the figure above. Compared to other OECD countries in the region, both Colombia and Brazil are quite unequal, whereas Costa Rica, Chile and Mexico are performing better in this realm.

Even though specific data on inequality in São Paulo is difficult to find, the city has been compared to other cities in the world. The results of this comparison can be seen in Figure 7 on the following page. This figure not only shows that São Paulo has a high Gini Index, but also that the cities with higher inequality than São Paulo are other Brazilian cities, namely Rio de Janeiro and Salvador.

Figure 7: City Size and Inequality

### CITY SIZE AND INEQUALITY, 2011



Source: Euromonitor, 2013

As was mentioned before, the city of São Paulo is not only socially unequal, the distribution of space is also highly unequal. This is because the city is divided into the centre and the peripheries, with a big social gap between those areas. The spatial segregation that is still in place today was caused during the rapid urbanization of the 1970s (Barradas Barata et al., 1998; Caldeira, 2015). There has been no success in erasing “the gap that separates peripheries and their residents from other spaces and social groups, a gap that has been constantly recreated” (Caldeira, 2015, p. 128).

“A principal explicação que acho, que está na desigualdade, vê a questão da desigualdade de acesso a direitos” (R. Theodoro, interview).

It is still the case that the wealthier live in the central areas of the cities, whereas the poor remain in the peripheries, in houses they have built themselves (Caldeira, 2015; Gugler, 2004).

A consequence of the high social and spatial inequality is structural violence (Barradas Barata et al., 1998). Unfortunately, São Paulo has had to deal with extremely high violence rates, especially in the 1990s, where homicide rates increased up to 47.29 per 100,000 inhabitants (Caldeira, 2015). Barradas Barata et al. (1998) explain how social inequality influences violence: it “arises from the unfortunate conditions found in large segments of urban populations” (p. 21). On the other hand, spatial inequality also influences violence, because of the concentration of poverty, social discrimination as well as a lack of employment opportunities in the periphery of São Paulo (Barradas Barata et al., 1998).

“Então não é porque é pobre que está se envolvendo com a criminalidade. A questão é acesso à saúde, acesso à educação, acesso à polícia, acesso à justiça. Você tem uma combinação de fatores aí, você tem uma série de dificuldades impostas às famílias, por exemplo que pai e mãe tem que sair para trabalhar e a criança fica sem ter com quem ser supervisionado em casa. Isso é uma combinação de fatores que a lógica da desigualdade explica melhor a relação de possibilidades que abrem para entrada nas atividades criminais do que só a pobreza” (R. Theodoro, interview).

There have been several attempts to reduce inequality in accordance with Sen's 'capability approach'<sup>23</sup>, namely by increasing the equality of opportunities (Stewart 2016). However, structural change has not yet been achieved, partly due to radical policy changes every four years. The strong leadership needed to enforce a human right, like basic education<sup>24</sup>, is thus not present (Rapatsa et al., 2016).

“O problema é que, como você até perguntou, o problema é que as coisas mudam muito de governo para governo” (Rodrigues, interview).

In addition, Brazilian society is expecting the government to solve society's problems. However, these structural issues cannot be solved by the government alone; it is crucial that society is involved in these solutions (H. Rodrigues, interview).

“E aí a gente entra em outra solução de problemas graves, do nosso atraso, da gente sempre achar que alguém tem que fazer alguma coisa, que o governo tem que fazer alguma coisa. Esperar do governo em si, em lugar nenhum do mundo deve-se esperar, mas aqui menos ainda” (H. Rodrigues interview).

Often, false expectations are created by both federal and local governments. Great policies are presented, but due to a lack of information and bad implementation, the expectations are never met. This, in addition with the previously mentioned change in government every four years, makes it virtually impossible to create structural change.

“Então cada quatro anos vem um gênio novo que cria todo um sistema novo que vai revolucionar, que o Brasil vai se transformar numa Finlândia em quatro anos. (...) São Paulo tem um prefeito aí que acha isso. É evidente que isso não vai acontecer. Então acho que é um pouco isso, né, ideias que não tem muita conexão com a realidade, elaboradas por burocratas em gabinetes ou por políticos que também não estão muito preocupados. Estão mais preocupados com projetos pessoais do que com a transformação da sociedade” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

### **3.3 THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC, SECONDARY EDUCATION: EDUCATIONAL RESULTS OF ADOLESCENTS IN SÃO PAULO**

As was mentioned before, Brazil's educational system is not performing up to international standards. When access to education was expanded rapidly in the 1990s, quality deteriorated (Menezes-Filho, 2007)<sup>25</sup>. This, in combination with the great social inequality that characterizes São Paulo and Brazil in general, makes education a matter of great importance among Brazilians. According to Cacciamali, the Brazilian government is failing in providing all segments of society with good quality public education (M.C. Cacciamali, interview). The mentioning of 'segments' is very important here. As was explained in part 1.2, unequal access to education only increases social inequality, and thus only benefits the richer segment of society (Rapatsa et al., 2016).

“Do ponto de vista do sistema educacional, os resultados mostram um fracasso das políticas públicas na qualidade do ensino fundamental e no engajamento no ensino médio” (M.C. Cacciamali, interview).

---

<sup>23</sup> See part 1.3.

<sup>24</sup> See part 1.2.

<sup>25</sup> Own translation.

This means that children attending public education are not prepared for life after completing school. The public schools are not attending to the needs of the children enrolled in them (S. Adorno, interview). Thus, the Brazilian government is not providing its citizens with a basic human right<sup>26</sup>, which is seen as a right that is owed to a person “as a matter of minimally decent treatment” (Lee, 2013, p. 2). This ‘minimally decent treatment’ is a point of discussion, as will be seen from the several quotes in this chapter.

“Hoje nós temos escolas, muitas crianças estão na escola, mas isso não quer dizer que elas estão sendo preparadas para construir uma vida melhor. Que possam se apresentar ao mercado de trabalho, serem treinados, terem um posto de trabalho, isso não significa. Então eu acho que a escola brasileira, principalmente a escola pública, está em grande dívida e sobretudo com os grupos sociais mais fragilizados no ponto de vista da proteção dos direitos da sociedade brasileira” (S. Adorno, interview).

It is therefore no surprise that children enrolled in private institutions are performing better than children attending public schools<sup>27</sup>. Research has shown that this difference is not only caused by social inequality outside of the school, but also by the quality of education provided. The school itself accounts for about 18% of the difference in educational outcomes between public and private schools (Menezes-Filho, 2007)<sup>28</sup>. In addition, if all schools in the state of São Paulo were to be of the same quality, the average educational outcomes would increase drastically (De Felício & Fernandes, 2005)<sup>29</sup>. This is in line with Willmore’s (2004) theory<sup>30</sup> that children must receive primary education of the same quality in order for them to have equal opportunities of for attending secondary education. The only way to achieve this is if the government is the only provider of education. This is thus not the case in Brazil, where the quality public and private institutions differs greatly. In addition, most children in São Paulo attend public schools, that are of lower quality.

“(…) no público só tem a população mais pobre e no Brasil em geral é tipo: 85% da população escolar está em escola pública, 15% está em escola privada. Em São Paulo é um pouco diferente, tem um pouco mais de gente em escolas privadas, mas mesmo assim, a maioria está em escola pública” (D. Piccirillo, interview).

The division between public and private schools in Brazil remains very similar to other divisions perceived in society, caused mainly by socioeconomic differences.

“Escola pública é para pobre no Brasil. Escola pública é sinônimo de escola para pobre e escola privada é sinônimo de escola para rico, em geral” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

As a state, São Paulo is performing better than states in the northeast of the country, but worse than states in the southeast, as well as the Federal District (Menezes-Filho, 2007)<sup>31</sup>. A comparison of IDEB-scores<sup>32</sup> between the municipalities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro is shown on the following page. For Brazil in general, the target was to reach an IDEB-score of 6.0. As can be seen in the figures, this score was recently achieved in the city of São Paulo in the fifth educational year.

---

<sup>26</sup> See part 1.1.

<sup>27</sup> See Figure 1

<sup>28</sup> Own translation.

<sup>29</sup> Own translation.

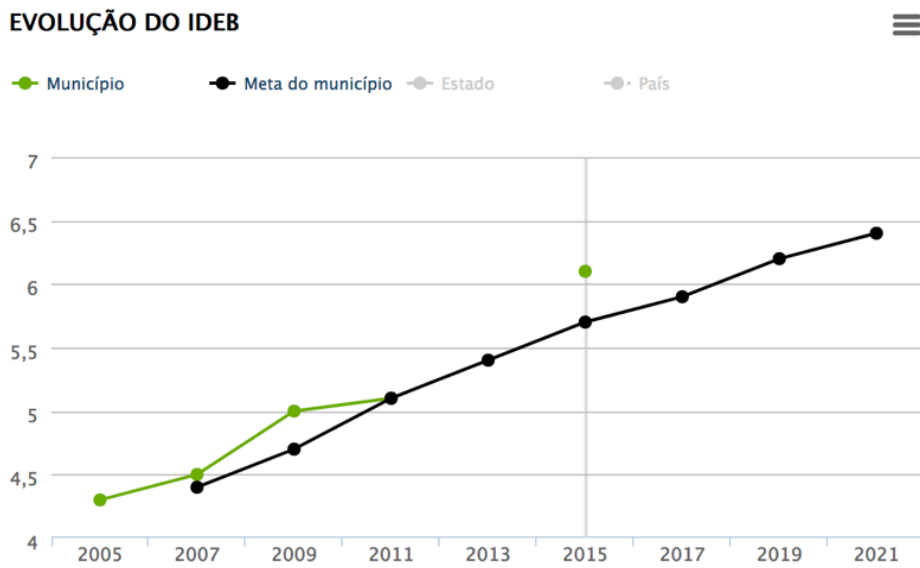
<sup>30</sup> See part 1.1.

<sup>31</sup> Own translation.

<sup>32</sup> See part 2.1.

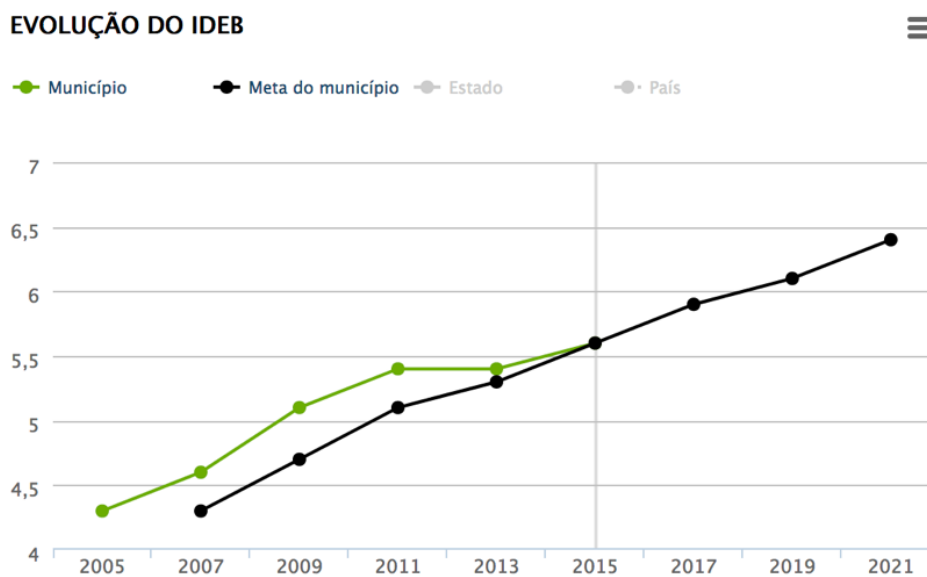
However, when looking at IDEB-scores from the ninth year, these scores drop drastically.

**Figure 8:** IDEB-scores of São Paulo, SP (5<sup>th</sup> educational year)



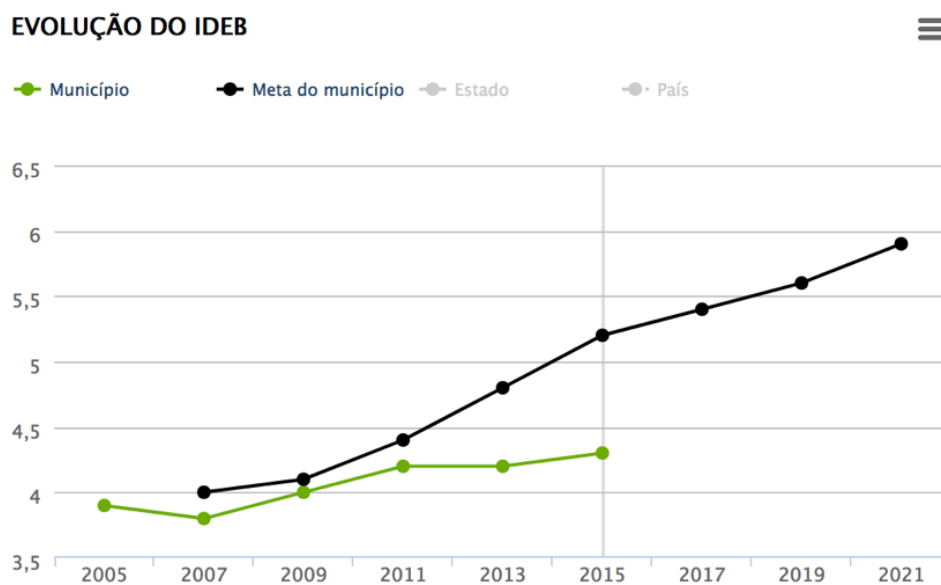
Source: QEdU, 2015

**Figure 9:** IDEB-scores of Rio de Janeiro, RJ (5<sup>th</sup> educational year)



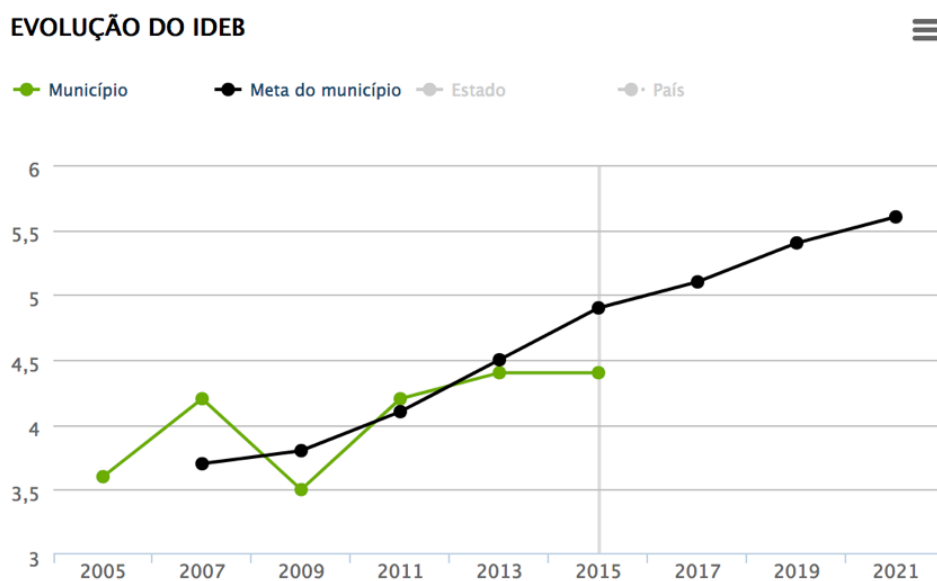
Source: QEdU, 2015

Figure 10: IDEB-scores of São Paulo, SP (9<sup>th</sup> educational year)



Source: QEdU, 2015

Figure 11: IDEB-scores of Rio de Janeiro, RJ (9<sup>th</sup> educational year)



Source: QEdU, 2015

Figure 12: IDEB-scores and Goals of São Paulo, SP (5<sup>th</sup> educational year)

Município	Ideb Observado					Metas Projetadas								
	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019	2021	
São Paulo	4.3	4.5	5.0	5.1		6.1	4.4	4.7	5.1	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.2	6.4

Source: Ministério da Educação, 2017



**Figure 13:** IDEB-scores and Goals of São Paulo, SP (9<sup>th</sup> educational year)

Município ↕	Ideb Observado						Metas Projetadas							
	2005 ↕	2007 ↕	2009 ↕	2011 ↕	2013 ↕	2015 ↕	2007 ↕	2009 ↕	2011 ↕	2013 ↕	2015 ↕	2017 ↕	2019 ↕	2021 ↕
São Paulo	3.9	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.0	4.1	4.4	4.8	5.2	5.4	5.6	5.9

Source: Ministério da Educação, 2017

However, not all data are reliable. The IDEB-score is a proper indicator for educational performance, but other indicators, like dropout rates and grade progression rates can be questionable. This is because children might be enrolled in school, but might not attend (H. Rodrigues, interview).

“E aí então você tem uma taxa, é impressionante, você tem até o nono ano do ensino fundamental uma taxa de abandono baixa, quando vai para o ensino médio despenca. Ou seja, essas crianças já não estavam na escola” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

This is what makes the situation so complicated. Not all children in São Paulo are literate, able to tell or write stories, able to be part of society. According to Adorno, this is because children are unsupervised by the schools and the government, which makes it easier for children to not attend school. As was mentioned before, repetition rates are high in Brazil, which is not different in São Paulo.

“Então eu acho que a reprovação é uma coisa difícil, quer dizer, a reprovação para a criança é sempre traumática. Claro, para umas mais, para outras menos. Então você tem de saber lidar com isso, você não pode simplesmente abandonar as crianças. Você não pode simplesmente expulsá-las. Elas têm que ser supervisionadas, elas têm que ser acompanhadas. Se elas têm deficiência, tem que estudar o porquê dessa deficiência. É claro que nós sabemos que as características pessoais pesam, não é? Mas de modo geral, se teria que ter um padrão mínimo. Em que toda criança pudesse estar alfabetizada, pudesse saber fazer as operações fundamentais, pudesse contar histórias, pudesse escrever redações. Nós estamos falhando muito nesse campo” (S. Adorno, interview).

It can thus be said that São Paulo is has better educational outcomes than many other parts of Brazil, when looking at IDEB-scores. Other data is highly unreliable. Education remains undervalued both by Brazilian society as well as by the government, which makes it very difficult to achieve structural change within the educational system.

### 3.4 JUVENILE GANGS IN SÃO PAULO: A REASON TO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL?

As was already explained in part 3.2, violence rates increased dramatically in São Paulo during the 1990s. This is also true for the number of adolescents involved in criminal activities, as can be seen in the figure on the next page (Adorno, Bordini & de Lima, 1999)<sup>33</sup>. Due to a changing social context, which included social exclusion and a change in youth culture, adolescents became vulnerable to both criminal gangs and drug traffickers (Adorno et al., 1999; Spagnol, 2005)<sup>34</sup>. Once adolescents get involved with drugs, they are even more likely to disengage and eventually, drop

<sup>33</sup> Own translation.

<sup>34</sup> Own translation.

out of school<sup>35</sup> (Fernández-Suárez et al., 2016)

“Em geral são jovens que provém de famílias que morram em bairros com uma infraestrutura urbana muito precária, e que os vínculos familiares, embora eles existam, são muito fracos e são em geral crianças que, muito cedo, elas têm que construir uma trajetória de vida fora da supervisão dos pais” (S. Adorno, interview).

**Figure 14:** Distribution of Police Incidents Involving Adolescents in São Paulo

Natureza	Ocorrências Policiais	
	1988-91	1993-96
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,00</b>	<b>100,00</b>
<b>Contra a Pessoa</b>		
Homicídio	...	1,30
Tentativa de Homicídios	...	0,60
Sequestro	0,10	0,00
Lesão Corporal (agressão)	6,80	11,70
<b>Contra o Patrimônio</b>		
Furto	23,00	18,40
Tentativa de Furto	6,90	7,60
Roubo	15,60	19,00
Roubo seguido de morte (latrocínio)	0,30	0,50
Tentativa de Roubo	2,30	4,20
Estelionato/Tentativa	1,40	1,40
<b>Contra a Paz Pública</b>		
Membro de Quadrilha ou Gangues	0,20	0,20
<b>Contra a Incolumidade Pública</b>		
Uso de Drogas	...	0,70
Porte de Drogas	...	3,60
Tráfico de Drogas	0,70	2,90
<b>Contra os Costumes</b>		
Estupro/Tentativa	0,60	0,70
Atentado Violento ao Pudor	...	1,00
Outros Atos Sexuais	...	0,50
<b>Outras Ocorrências</b>		
Porte de Armas	6,90	4,40
Dirigir sem Carteira de Habilitação	9,40	6,50
Diversos	17,80	14,80

Since the 1990s, the number of victims has increased as well. The number of homicides among adolescents was seven times higher than this number among the general population (Spagnol, 2005).

The crimes committed by youngsters are generally not isolated incidents committed by one person. Adolescents count on friends as well as neighbours for support. The type of union that emerges from this situation is often referred to as a ‘gang’ or in the Brazilian case, a ‘quadrilha’. These gangs generally have one main objective, which is to achieve quick wealth (Spagnol, 2005). This is not different in São Paulo, where capitalism is argued to have had a big impact on the emergence of gangs.

Source: Adorno et al., 1999, p. 2

“(…) você tem, principalmente no ponto de vista da juventude, um apelo muito grande do mundo capitalista, pelo consumo” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

This has to do with the perceived benefits of criminal activity, opposed to the benefits of education, which are often not perceived; the benefits of education are not as direct as the benefits gained from criminal activities.

“(…) o benefício direto é o acesso a bens de consumo que eles não teriam trabalhando e ganhando um salário mínimo, porque um telefone desses custa mais do que uma pessoa leva para ganhar durante um mês. Você pode obter em alguns segundos” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

This idea of consumption connected to capitalism is thus what attracts many children and adolescents to criminal activities.

<sup>35</sup> See part 1.5.

“Sem educação e oportunidades, além de estar sob condições desfavoráveis, os jovens enxergam no crime as possibilidades de uma vida melhor. É no tráfico, em especial, que a criança percebe uma vida boa como aquele que é vendida pelo mundo” (A. Daniel, interview).

In addition to this idea of consumption, many adolescents involved in criminal activities come from precarious socioeconomic backgrounds. In São Paulo, these children are often ignored by governmental institutions. Thus, they fight for recognition.

“Não são reconhecidos como cidadãos, não tem as proteções e as garantias que crianças, por exemplo, de classes operárias assentadas ou de classes medias e media altas tem (...)” (S. Adorno, interview).

Since these adolescents are not recognized by performances that normally generate recognition, like education, sports or arts, they engage in criminal activities that provide them with this recognition. Owning a firearm, threatening their peers, their neighbours, their family, participating in gang violence, becomes their way of getting recognized, even if it is in a negative way (S. Adorno, interview). This recognition, however, can be seen mainly in the community itself. When a youngster owns a firearm, and is part of a gang, he or she achieves a certain status in the community (H. Rodrigues, interview). However, in cities like São Paulo, it is not the intend of youngsters to be recognized as criminals. They want to be recognized as citizens, and engaging in criminal activities is the only way for them to achieve some sort of recognition at all (S. Adorno, interview).

Thus, it is crucial that these children remain in school for as long as possible. Violence complicates this, because children living in areas with high violence rates, tend to drop out of school<sup>36</sup> (UNESCO, 2010). Thus, it is clear that school attainment remains a problem in Brazil in general, and São Paulo in particular.

“A falta de um ensino básico de qualidade a mecanismos que assegurem tal oportunidade à classe mais pobre faz com que o jovem abandone cedo a educação (...)” (A. Daniel, interview).

As was briefly said in part 3.3, the public schools in São Paulo are not attending to the needs of the children enrolled in them. In addition, education is not valued the same in all Brazilian families. This combination makes that many children do not have a relationship with the school they are enrolled in (S. Adorno, interview).

“É uma questão até de muitos não verem sentido na escola. Então você chega lá, você quase não tem aula, a aula, muitas vezes, que o professor da não tem nenhuma relação com a sua realidade, com a sua vida. Você não vê que aquilo é um caminho para depois você conseguir um emprego melhor e melhorar de vida. Então para que você vai para escola?” (A. Mizutani, interview).

According to Rodrigues (interview) schools in São Paulo are not a nice place to be. This contributes to the lack of connection children feel with their school. Crime is more attractive than attending school<sup>37</sup>, which is why many adolescents drop out (A. Mizutani, interview). However, not all adolescents intended to get involved in to criminal activities. But ever since the labour market worsened, children were unable to find legal jobs and ended up doing nothing. These

---

<sup>36</sup> See part 1.2.

<sup>37</sup> See part 1.6.

children then become the most vulnerable to criminal activities (R. Theodoro, interview).

The gangs behave in different manners in different urban contexts. In Rio de Janeiro, the gangs often fill the gap left by the government, by providing residents of the neighbourhood they are active in with basic services. In São Paulo, this is normally not the case. Their focus is on controlling the trafficking process, which entails making sure streets are free and people do not stand in the way (Spagnol, 2005).

“As taxas de crime violento têm aumentado, normalmente por várias razões. Uma delas é sem dúvida alguma chegada do crime organizado, sobretudo o crime que se organiza em torno do tráfico de drogas, que são atividades que quando elas se instalam, elas criam uma espécie de disputa de grupos pelo controle do território. Porque controle do território é o controle da chegada da droga e dos pontos de venda da droga. Isso gera muitos conflitos, e conflitos que muitas vezes são resolvidos através das mortes, jovens matando” (S. Adorno, interview).

This means the gangs are basically in control of the territory where drug trafficking takes place, which shows how the public institutions are failing. First of all, they are unable to take back territory from these drug gangs. In addition, and maybe more importantly, criminals are rarely prosecuted in São Paulo. Obviously, this fact does not discourage adolescents from joining gangs, as was explained by Levitt & Lochner<sup>38</sup> (2001).

“Então assim, eu acho que uma certeza quase maior do que 90% de que se você cometer um crime, você não vai ser preso por isso, é um dos motivos da criminalidade” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

The problem of violence is influenced by the inequalities present in Brazil in general and São Paulo in particular. High inequality rates are tied to high crime rates, as was explained in part 1.3 (Stewart, 2016). With the emergence of organized crime, the violence in large urban centers like São Paulo got out of control. Adolescents are tempted to engage in criminal activities because of the direct benefits it has for them regarding consumption. In addition, educational benefits are not seen, nor are the schools made attractive for youngsters.

### **3.5 ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES: NON-FORMAL EDUCATION**

Basic education exists in many forms, provided by different institutions. Even though the government is the main provider of basic education in Brazil, the definition of basic education<sup>39</sup> also includes “(...) alternative programmes, literacy, training in skills, formal and non-formal programmes (...)” (Lundgren and Wahren, 1992, p. 19). These alternative programmes implemented by the government as well as the non-formal providers of education will be the focus of the following part.

In part 3.4, Rodrigues was quoted saying the Brazilians should not rely on their government to solve the educational problems that the country is facing. As sad as this is, it is true that so far, the Brazilian government has not been able to bring structural change to the country. However,

---

<sup>38</sup> See part 1.6.

<sup>39</sup> See part 1.1.

according to Rodrigues, society must be engaged in this process as well, which is only possible if citizens are productive members of society<sup>40</sup>. To achieve productive members of society, it is crucial that people receive a complete education (Lee, 2013).

In 2004, the Brazilian Ministry of Education included a special department for youth and adult education into its official framework (Ireland, 2007). “The creation of the Secretariat of Continuing Education, Literacy and Diversity (SECAD) and within it the Department of Adult and Youth Education (...), represents an important initiative both in practical and conceptual terms” (Ireland, 2007, p. 3). Even though this department focuses especially on adolescents, there is no separate department or general policy for non-formal education in Brazil (Ireland, 2007).

The SECAD is meant to cooperate with other ministries, as well as with non-governmental providers of education. Most of its NFE<sup>41</sup> programmes are focused on literacy in rural areas. An example of this is the Literate Brazil Programme, which includes the Focus on Youth program. The main goal of this programme is to achieve both literacy and inclusion for young people between 15 and 29 years of age. This programme too, mainly focuses on rural areas (Ireland, 2007).

In large urban centres like São Paulo, there are much less educational programmes supported by the government. In addition, citizens have lost their confidence in the government after many failed policies implemented by politicians with no connection to the reality of the vulnerable youths living in São Paulo. This shows how Brazilians have achieved class solidarity<sup>42</sup>, by seeing the failure of the government as the main cause for poverty and inequality (Pinker, 2011).

“A criação das políticas de educação elas estão completamente desassociadas de quem pode usufruir essa política e de quem vai aplicar essa política, porque os professores, os diretores, o cara que está ali mesmo colocando a política em ação, ele não é consultado, ele é só o executor” (D. Piccirillo, interview).

Thus, the task of helping vulnerable adolescents in large urban areas like São Paulo is taken on by NGOs, which are more able to adapt their programmes to local situations. Non-governmental help started when people who had lost their trust in the government, started to reach out to members of the Catholic Church. This cooperation resulted in a practical framework for working with the young population, which entailed the provision of both basic and vocational education (Rodrigues, 2010).

Nowadays, the tasks of the NGOs have broadened quite a bit. Basic education in and of itself is no longer sufficient. Projects like the ‘Projeto Quixote’ now offer creative activities, as well as computer classes and other educational courses (Rodrigues, 2010). These alternative courses are designed to alter the perception that children have of schools.

“Precisa ter um programa de esportes, de arte, está certo? A criança gosta de se manifestar, a criança gosta de ser vista pelo aquilo que ela se sente melhor. Então você tem que ter nas escolas, você tem que ter programas de ensino de música, sabe, de computação” (S. Adorno, interview).

Children need to have a connection to their school, which many Brazilian children lack. Schools need to be appealing to them.

---

<sup>40</sup> See part 1.1.

<sup>41</sup> Non-Formal Education.

<sup>42</sup> See part 1.3.

“Você tem que ter uma variedade, para que essa criança se sinta atraída por esse espaço. Então eu acho que programas de proteção, de assistência, reforço escolar, supervisão, né? Porque a criança tem que brincar, ela tem que brincar, não é? Uma parte da educação é lúdica. Então, ela tem que ter espaços para ela” (S. Adorno, interview).

As this following quote shows, public schools in Brazil have not achieved this goal. Better said, they are places children want to avoid.

“Uma das escolas que a gente vai, que é estadual, nossa, cada pedacinho da escola tem um portão, uma grade que separa. Então entre os espaços da sala e os espaços da administração: grade. Entre as salas e o pátio: grade. Entre o pátio e o banheiro: grade. Cheio de grades. Eu lembro de uma menina que a gente estava conversando e ela disse ‘eu não entendo porque a minha escola tem tantas grades, parece que é uma prisão isso daqui’” (C. Lopes, interview).

NGOs have thus taken over this task, and provide basic education and other activities in public spaces. In addition to the previously mentioned Projeto Quixote, which focuses on street children in the centre of São Paulo, around the Praça da Sé, the Fundação Projeto Travessia focuses on youngsters in the favelas. As was explained in part 3.2, São Paulo is characterized by high spatial inequality, which makes that most vulnerable adolescents remain concentrated in the favelas in the periphery of the city (Rodrigues, 2010). It is therefore crucial that NGOs are able to reach those children. The Fundação Projeto Travessia was able to do so, because of its partnerships with both public and private associations, as well as labour unions. Instead of focusing on education, this foundation focuses on preventing children from going to the streets, by organizing cultural and creative activities (Rodrigues, 2010). Keeping the children occupied is key in the prevention of juvenile criminal behaviour<sup>43</sup> (Machin et al., 2012).

“No Brasil existe uma categoria de jovens, principalmente jovens, eles são chamados de ‘nem, nem’: eles nem estudam e nem trabalham. Essa é a pior combinação possível, porque o que resta para um jovem que tem baixa qualificação, baixa escolaridade e não tem ocupação?” (H. Rodrigues, interview).

These NGOs thus focus on much more than just basic education. Another example of an NGO that works with vulnerable adolescents in São Paulo is TETO. This NGO, started in Chile, but is now present in 19 countries in South and Central America. TETO focuses on the protection of basic human rights, including proper basic education (TETO, 2017).

“Nós costumamos dizer que graves violações dos direitos humanos acontecem praticamente de duas maneiras: ou pela ação dos atores e agentes políticos e públicos que deveriam proteger os cidadãos. Então, policias que usam força de maneira abusiva (...). A outra forma é a omissão. É quando o estado deixa de cumprir as suas tarefas fundamentais. É uma das tarefas que é uma grande dívida brasileira, dos governos brasileiros com a população pobre, é educação de qualidade” (S. Adorno, interview).

TETO’s focus is on education, but also on other factors influencing education, like poverty, housing and community-building (TETO, 2017).

“Acredito que por trás da educação há uma série de condições: desde um lar a um ambiente seguro. O TETO tenta trabalhando junto com as comunidades visando melhorar as condições das famílias, possibilitando maiores oportunidades, bem como informações. O projeto de educação busca levar às

---

<sup>43</sup> See part 1.6.





---

## CONCLUSION

Brazil is one of the most violent countries in the world. There are several factors that are contributing to this, one of which is social inequality. Brazil has extremely high inequality rates, partly due to an inefficient educational system. Throughout this thesis, it has become clear that violence, inequality and education are concepts that are very much intertwined.

The main factor to be considered here is social inequality, which is one of the causes of violence, and one of the consequences of a lack of education. Brazil is a country with high poverty as well as inequality rates, which are mainly measured through inequality of opportunities, in accordance with Sen's 'capability approach'.

It has become clear that children in Brazil do not receive these equal opportunities, with regard to access to good quality education. In Brazil, education is provided by the government as well as private institutions. The difference in quality between these two types of education provided is very big, which only widens the gap between socioeconomic groups.

This fact is very disturbing, since access to good quality basic education is a human right, and it thus falls under the responsibility of the government. Even though access to education is universal in Brazil, the quality decreased, as enrolment increased. Both national and international tests have shown Brazilian students' bad performance. Since a very big part of Brazilian children attend public schools, it is crucial that this education is up to standard.

For now, this is not the case. The interviewees all agreed that public education in Brazil in general, but in São Paulo in particular, does not tie in with the reality that many children live in. The school environment is unattractive, teachers are untrained or simply do not show up and education itself is not valued equally by everyone in Brazilian society. This leads to children feeling disconnected from their schools, as well as from their teachers. Children are thus not engaged with their education, which can be seen in Brazil's high drop-out and repetition rates. These rates are a sign of inefficiency, which is not surprising since the Brazilian educational system has a very complex nature, being highly decentralized.

Both repetition and dropout rates are higher for boys than for girls. In addition, boys tend to perform worse on international and national tests. This is very important, especially in the Brazilian case, since lower educated men are more likely to use violence. Generally, boys disengage from school sooner than girls, partly due to the lack of male role models in the school environment.

Many children who drop out of school, become unoccupied if they do not end up finding a legal job. When this occurs, they become highly vulnerable to gangs, especially since engaging in criminal activities brings them instant benefits, unlike education or formal jobs.

The primary objective of gangs is to achieve quick wealth, which attracts adolescents. On the other hand, these adolescents are often ignored by their government, and join a gang to fight for recognition, even if it is in a negative way. In addition, prosecution of criminals rarely takes place in São Paulo, which does not discourage adolescents from engaging in criminal activities.



The federal and local governments have thus been unable to achieve structural change, in spite of several attempts to improve the educational system. The most widely known educational programme is the Bolsa Família. One of the conditions of the Bolsa payments is that children must attend school. This has had very positive results, in that access to education has improved, by providing households with financial aid. However, the main concern with this programme remains the quality of the education that children receive. Even though enrolment increases, the quality of education has not improved. This is where non-formal educational programmes come in. Since most governmental programmes focus on rural, poorer areas, NGOs stepped in to help street children in the favelas of large metropolitan areas, like São Paulo. By providing these children with both basic education, as well as with other activities, children are no longer unoccupied, and thus, less likely to engage in criminal activities.

The answer to the research question: 'What is the relationship between gender- and social inequality and school dropout rates, as a possible explanation for juvenile crime?' is therefore very broad. It is clear that there is a relationship between these, all very problematic, concepts. They are all inter-related, which makes them very hard to solve. On the one hand, there have been very successful attempts to reduce particularly social inequality, of which the Bolsa Família is an example. However, the Bolsa Família Programme has not been able to close the gender gap existing in education, in fact, it has only increased it, since girls are benefitting more from the programme than boys. This is unfortunate, since boys are more likely to drop out of school than girls, and low-education is an indicator for the use of violence in the future.

Thus, social inequality contributes to juvenile crime, by not providing all layers of society with similar quality education; good quality private education is only accessible to the wealthiest segments of society. Gender inequality contributes to juvenile crime, by not providing boys with male role models in education. In addition, social programmes tend to focus more on girls than on boys. School dropout is influenced by these inequalities, but is one of the factors contributing to juvenile crime as well. When children drop out, they become unoccupied and vulnerable to engaging in criminal activities. The relative attractiveness of criminality makes it more appealing for adolescents to make quick money with illegal jobs, than making minimum wage with a formal job, after having completed an education of which the benefit is not perceived.

The Brazilians have lost their faith in their government, which leaves it up to local NGOs to provide children with basic education, adapted to the circumstances they are living in. There is no quick solution for this problem, since many factors are contributing to it. However, tackling social inequality through conditional cash transfer programmes is a big step in the right direction.

## APPENDICES

**Appendix 1:** List of Interviewees

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Affiliation or Role</b>	<b>Discussed Topics</b>	<b>Place and Date</b>	<b>Duration</b>
<b>Prof. Sérgio Adorno</b>	Coordinator of the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP)	Juvenile Crime, School Dropout, Social Inequality, Access to Education	Núcleo de Estudos de Violência – June 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	25 minutes
<b>Herbert Rodrigues</b>	Post-doctoral Fellow at the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP)	Basic Education, Social Inequality, Access to Education	Núcleo de Estudos de Violência – June 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	Total duration of approximately one hour
<b>Débora Piccirillo</b>	Investigator at the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP)	Basic Education, Social Inequality, Access to Education	Núcleo de Estudos de Violência – June 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	“
<b>Aline Mizutani</b>	Investigator at the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP)	School Dropout, Access to Education	Núcleo de Estudos de Violência – June 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	“
<b>Renan Theodoro</b>	Investigator at the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP)	Social Inequality	Núcleo de Estudos de Violência – June 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	“
<b>Clarice Lopes</b>	Research technician at the Núcleo de Estudos de Violência (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP)	School Dropout	Núcleo de Estudos de Violência – June 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	“
<b>Prof. Dr. Maria Cristina Cacciamali</b>	Professor at the Department of Economics, the Faculty of Economics, Administration and Accountancy of the University of São Paulo, Head of the Graduate Programme in Latin American Integration (PROLAM) at the University of São Paulo	Social Inequality, Gender Inequality, Access to Education, School Dropout	Department of Economics – July 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 2017	20 minutes
<b>Alex Daniel</b>	TETO Brasil	Social Inequality, Gender Inequality, School Dropout	Video-call – July 5 <sup>th</sup> , 2017	30 minutes

---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adomaitis, K. (2013, March 5). The World's Largest Cities are the Most Unequal. Retrieved November 15, 2017, from <http://blog.euromonitor.com/2013/03/the-worlds-largest-cities-are-the-most-unequal.html>
- Adorno, S. (1999). *Precocious Delinquency: Young People and Gangs in São Paulo, Brazil* (pp. 1-13, Rep.). São Paulo, SP: NEV/USP.
- Adorno, S., Bordini, E. B., & De Lima, R. S. (1999). *O Adolescente na Criminalidade Urbana em São Paulo*. Brasília, DF: Ministério da Justiça.
- Albertson Fineman, M. (2009). Equality: Still Illusive After All These Years. In L. C. McClain & J. L. Grossman (Eds.), *Gender Equality: Dimensions of Women's Equal Citizenship* (pp. 251-266). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Amorim Simões, A., & Sabates, R. (2014). The Contribution of Bolsa Família on the Educational Achievement of Economically Disadvantaged Children in Brazil. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 39, 151-166.
- Barker, G., Verma, R., Crownover, J., Segundo, M., Fonseca, V., Contreras, J. M., . . . Pawlak, P. (2012). Boys and Education in the Global South: Emerging Vulnerabilities and New Opportunities for Promoting Changes in Gender Norms. *THYMOS: Journal of Boyhood Studies*, 6(2), 137-150.
- Barradas Barata, R., Sampaio de Almeida Ribeiro, M. C., Braga Lauretti da Silva Guedes, M., & Cássio de Moraes, J. (1998). Intra-Urban Differentials in Death Rates from Homicide in the City of São Paulo, Brazil, 1988-1994. *Social Science & Medicine*, 47(1), 19-23.
- Berik, G., Van der Meulen Rodgers, Y., & Seguino, S. (2009). Feminist Economics of Inequality, Development, and Growth. *Feminist Economics*, 15(3), 1-33.
- Cabral Costa, V. L. (2010). Basic Education. In *Science, Technology & Innovation Indicators in the State of São Paulo, Brazil - 2010* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-29). São Paulo: FAPESP.
- Caldeira, T. P. (2015). Social Movements, Cultural Production and Protests: São Paulo's Shifting Political Landscape. *Current Anthropology*, 56, 126-136.
- Chioda, L., De Mello, J. M., & Soares, R. R. (2016). Spillovers from Conditional Cash Transfer Programs: Bolsa Família and Crime in Urban Brazil. *Economics of Education Review*, 54, 306- 320.
- Chitolina, L., Foguel, M. N., & Menzes-Filho, N. A. (2016). The Impact of the Expansion of the Bolsa Família Program on the Time Allocation of Youths and Their Parents. *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 70(2), 183-202.

Databank: World Development Indicators. (2017). Retrieved November 15, 2017, from <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&type=metadata&series=SI.POV.GINI>

De Brauw, A., Gilligan, D. O., Hoddinott, J., & Roy, S. (2015). The Impact of Bolsa Família on Schooling. *World Development*, 70, 303-316.

De Carvalho, C. H., & Gonçalves Neto, W. (2016). Education in the Brazilian Federal System: Federalism, Laicism and Religion. *Maringá*, 38(2), 1-6.

De Felício, F., & Fernandes, R. (2005). *O Efeito da Qualidade da Escola sobre o Desempenho Escolar: uma Avaliação do Ensino Fundamental no Estado do São Paulo* (pp. 1-20, Publication No. I21;I28;P36). São Paulo.

De Witte, K., Cabus, S., Thyssen, G., Groot, W., & Maassen van den Brink, H. (2013). A critical review of the literature on school dropout. *Educational Research Review*, 10, 13-28.

Eren, O., Depew, B., & Barnes, S. (2017). Test-Based Promotion Policies, Dropping Out, and Juvenile Crime. *Journal of Public Economics*, 153, 9-31. Retrieved September 27, 2017.

Fernández-Suárez, A.; Herrero, J.; Pérez, B.; Juarros-Basterretxea, J. & Rodríguez-Díaz, F.J. (2016). Risk Factors for School Dropout in a Sample of Juvenile Offenders. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7, 1-7.

Gamboa, L. F., & Waltenberg, F. D. (2012). Inequality of Opportunity for Educational Achievement in Latin America: Evidence from PISA 2006-2009. *Economics of Education Review*, 31, 694-708.

*Gender and EFA 2000-2015: Achievements and Challenges* (pp. 1-57, Rep.). (2015). Paris: UNESCO.

Glewwe, P. & Kassouf, A. (2012). The Impact of the Bolsa Escola/Familia Conditional Cash Transfer Program on Enrollment, Dropout Rates and Grade Promotion in Brazil. *Journal of Development Economics*, 97, 505-517.

Graeff-Martins, A. S., Oswald, S., Obst Comassetto, J., Kieling, C., Rocha Gonçalves, R., & Rohde, L. A. (2006). A Package of Interventions to Reduce School Dropout in Public Schools in a Developing Country. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 15(8), 442-449.

Grossman, J. L., & McClain, L. C. (2009). Introduction. In *Gender Equality: Dimensions of Women's Equal Citizenship* (pp. 1-19). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gugler, J. (2004). Introduction. In J. Gugler (Ed.), *World Cities Beyond the West: Globalization, Development, and Inequality* (pp. 1-24). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hanushek, E. A., Lavy, V., & Hitomi, K. (2006). *Do students care about school quality? Determinants of dropout behavior in developing countries* (Doctoral dissertation, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2006) (pp. 1-34). Cambridge, MA: NBER.

- Hernández-Medina, E. (2010). Social Inclusion through Participation: the Case of the Participatory Budget in São Paulo. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(3), 512-532.
- Herrán, C. A., & Rodríguez, A. (2000). *Secondary Education in Brazil: Time to Move Forward* (pp. 1-114, Rep. No. BR-014 (IDB), 19409-BR (IBRD)). Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank.
- Ireland, T. D. (2007). *Brazil: Non-Formal Education* (pp. 1-14, Rep. No. 2008/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/45). Paris: UNESCO.
- Juvenile Crime [Def. 1]. (2017). In *Oxford Dictionary*. Retrieved September 26, 2017, from [https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/juvenile\\_crime](https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/juvenile_crime)
- Kanu, Y. (1996). Educating Teachers for the Improvement of the Quality of Basic Education in Developing Countries. *Int. J. Educational Development*, 16(2), 173-184.
- Kieselbach, B., & Butchart, A. (2015). *Preventing Youth Violence: An Overview of the Evidence* (pp. 1-84, Publication). Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Koenig, J. A., & Hauser, R. M. (2010). *High School Dropout, Graduation, and Completion Rates: Better Data, Better Measures, Better Decisions*. EBSCO Publishing.
- Lee, S. E. (2013). Education as a Human Right in the 21st Century. *Democracy & Education*, 21(1), 1-9.
- Levitt, S. D., & Lochner, L. (2001). The Determinants of Juvenile Crime. In J. Gruber (Ed.), *Risky Behavior among Youths: An Economic Analysis* (pp. 327-374). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lindert, K., Linder, A., Hobbs, J., & De la Brière, B. (2007). *The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program: Implementing Conditional Cash Transfers in a Decentralized Context* (pp. 1-143, Working paper No. 0709). Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Little, A. W., & Lewin, K. M. (2011). The Policies, Politics and Progress of Access to Basic Education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 26(4), 477-482.
- Lundgren, H., & Wahren, C. (1992). Basic Education for Development. *OECD Observer*, 179, 19-21.
- Machin, S., Marie, O., & Vujic, S. (2012). Youth Crime and Education Expansion. *German Economic Review*, 13(4), 366-384.
- Marteleto, L. J., & De Souza, L. R. (2013). The Implications of Family Size for Adolescents' Education and Work in Brazil: Gender and Birth Order Differences. *Social Forces*, 92(1), 275-302.
- McLennan, J. D., Bordin, I., Bennett, K., Rigato, F., & Brinkerhoff, M. (2008). Trafficking among Youth in Conflict with the Law in São Paulo, Brazil. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 43(8), 816-823.

Menezes-Filho, N. (2007). *Os Determinantes do Desempenho Escolar do Brasil* (pp. 1-33, Publication). São Paulo: Instituto Futuro Brasil.

Ministério da Educação. IDEB: Resultados e Metas [Advertisement]. (2016, September 05). Retrieved November 22, 2017, from <http://ideb.inep.gov.br/resultado/resultado/resultado.seam?cid=742205>

Moreira Alves, M. H. (2004). São Paulo: the Political and Socioeconomic Transformations wrought by the New Labor Movement in the City and Beyond. In J. Gugler (Ed.), *World Cities Beyond the West: Globalization, Development, and Inequality* (pp. 299-327). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Murray, J., De Castro Cerqueira, D. R., & Kahn, T. (2013). Crime and Violence in Brazil: Systematic Review of Time Trends, Prevalence Rates and Risk Factors. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 18*, 471-483.

Nilvane Zanella, M. (2010). Adolescência e Inclusão Escolar: Desafios e Contradições. *Revista Brasileira Adolescência e Conflitualidade, 3*, 4-22.

QEDu. (2015). Retrieved November 22, 2017, from <http://qedu.org.br/brasil/ideb>

OECD (2012). *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now* (pp. 1-354)- Paris: OECD Publishing.

Oni, J. O., Jegede, A. A., Osisami, R. A., Illo, C. O., Lawal, R. O., & Fabinu, F. A. (2016). Enhancing Access to and Quality of Basic Education through Head Teachers' Leadership Functions. *International Journal of Education*.

Parkes, J. (2015). *Gender-based Violence in Education* (pp. 1-26, Rep. No. ED/EFA/MRT/2015/PI/05). Paris: UNESCO.

Parziale, A. (n.d.). Gender Inequality and Discrimination. In R. W. Kolb (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Business Ethics and Society* (p. 2008). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Pinker, R. (2011). Social Inequality, Poverty and Social Redistribution. *The Greek Review of Social Research, 136*, 9-23.

Rapatsa, M., Makgato, G., & Mashile, T. (2016). Legal Norms and the Capabilities Approach (CA): Reinterpreting Children's Access to Basic Education. *Acta Universitatis Danubius, 12*(2), 40-53.

Raudenbusch, S. W., & Eschmann, R. D. (2015). Does Schooling Increase or Reduce Social Inequality? *Annual Review of Sociology, 41*, 443-470.

*Reaching the Marginalized* (pp. 1-511, Rep.). (2010). Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

*Regional Overview: Latin America and the Caribbean* (pp. 1-3, Rep.). (2003/2004). UNESCO.

Rodrigues, T. (2010). *Non-Formal Education and Street Youth Empowerment: Pedagogy and Practice of Two Brazilian Non-Governmental Organizations* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2010) (pp. 1-158). Ottawa: Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa.

Rose, S. M., & Hatzenbuehler, S. (2009). Embodying Social Class: The Link between Poverty, Income Inequality and Health. *International Social Work, 52*(4), 459-471.

Shepherd, S. M., Luebbers, S., & Dolan, M. (2013). Gender and Ethnicity in Juvenile Risk Assessment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 40*(4), 388-408.

Spagnol, A. S. (2005). Jovens Delinquentes Paulistanos. *Tempo Social, 17*(2), 275-299.

Stewart, F. (2016). Changing Perspectives on Inequality and Development. *Studies in Comparative International Development, 51*, 60-80.

TETO Brasil. (2017). Retrieved November 23, 2017, from <http://www.techo.org/paises/brasil/teto/comunidades-onde-estamos/>

Torche, F. (2010). Economic Crisis and Inequality of Educational Opportunity in Latin America. *Sociology of Education, 83*(2), 85-110.

Treas, J., & Tai, T. (2016). Gender Inequality in Housework Across 20 European Nations: Lessons from Gender Stratification Theories. *Sex Roles, 74*, 495-511.

UNESCO: *Operational Definition of Basic Education* (Publication). (2007). Retrieved May 2, 2017, from UNESCO website.

Willmore, L. (2004). *Basic Education as a Human Right* (pp. 17-21, Publication). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Zaluar, A. (2000). Perverse Integration: Drug Trafficking and Youth in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro. *Journal of International Affairs, 53*(2), 653-671.