



Country Programme Evaluation Brazil



PREFACE

This report is the outcome of a Country Programme Evaluation of IPECs activities in Brazil, between 1992 - 2000. The evaluation was conducted between December 2000 and April 2001 by an independent team of consultants: Gary Barker (Team Leader, *Instituto PROMUNDO*), Irene Rizzini (*CESPI/Universidade Santa Ursula*), Suyanna Linhales Barker (*NESA/Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*) and Marcio Segundo (*John Snow do Brasil*).

Country Programme Evaluations cover all the activities carried out by IPEC in a specific country, and include action programmes, mini-programmes, larger projects and other initiatives taken to mainstream child labour into national policy, capacity building and awareness raising. This exercise focuses on the Country Programme as an integrated programme rather than on its individual components. It is, therefore, an evaluation of the effect of the whole range of activities, their complementarities, links and synergies.

This exercise is part of IPECs continuing effort to improve work undertaken, particularly at the strategic level. It is also aiming to strengthen the overall evaluation capacity within IPEC by demonstrating results and increasing knowledge about the most successful interventions against child labour.

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List of Abbreviations Used

Abrinq – Brazilian Association of Toy Manufacturers (Associação Brasileira dos Fabricantes de Brinquedos)

AFL/CIO – American Federation of Labor (U.S. union umbrella group)

ANDI – The News Agency for Children's Rights (Agência de Notícias dos Direitos da Infância), an NGO based in Brasília

CIEE – Center for Workplace-School Integration (Centro de Integração Empresa Escola), a trade organization that monitors and administers apprenticeship and internship programmes

CNA – National Confederation of Agriculture (Confederação Nacional da Agricultura), a national umbrella group of agricultural-related employers'

CNBB – National Confederation of Brazilian Bishops (Confederação Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil), the national organization of Catholic bishops

CNI – National Confederation of Industry (Confederação Nacional da Indústria), a national umbrella group of employers in the industrial sector

CNTE – The National Confederation of Educational Workers (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Educação), the national teachers' union in Brazil

CONANDA – National Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents (Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente), the national, elected body that monitors children's rights in Brazil

CONTAG – National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura), a union umbrella group

DRT – Regional Labour Delegates (Delegacia Regional do Trabalho), regional offices of the Ministry of Work and Employment

ECA – The Statute on the Child and Adolescent (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), national legislation on children's rights that is part of the Brazilian constitution

Embratur – The Brazilian Tourism Company (Empresa Brasileira de Turismo), the national federation of travel agencies and tourism-related businesses

FUNABEM – National Foundation for the Welfare of Minors (Fundação Nacional do Bem-Estar do Menor), former national organization responsible for child welfare

GECTIPA – Special Group to Combat Children Labour and Protect Adolescent Workers (Grupo Especial de Combate ao Trabalho Infantil e Proteção de Adolescentes Trabalhadores), part of the MTE

IBAM – Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration (Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal), a national association to promote collaboration and training between city governments in Brazil

IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Statistics and Geography (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística), the national governmental statistics and census institute

IDH – 14/ HDI – 14 – Human Development Index – 14. Refers to the Project Alvorada, a national government effort to integrate basic services in the 14 Brazilian States with the lowest Human Development Index rankings.

ILO – International Labour Organization

IPEC – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

MEC – Ministry of Education (Ministério de Educação)

MPAS – Ministry of Social Security and Social Assistance (Ministério da Previdência e Assistência Social)

MPT – Labour Prosecutions Office (Ministério Público do Trabalho)

MTE – Ministry of Work and Employment (Ministério do Trabalho e do Emprego)

PAIs – Integrated Action Programmes (Programa de Ações Integradas), refers to multi-sector and integrated initiatives to remove children from hazardous work, place them in school, and offer support of some kind to their families (an initiative first implemented in the charcoal-producing areas of Mato Grosso do Sul and subsequently adopted as a national strategy for child labour eradication in Brazil)

PETI – Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour (Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil), part of SEAS, the national governmental body responsible for monitoring and eradicating child labour

PNAD – National Household Survey (Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios)

SEAS – National Secretariat of Social Action (Secretaria de Ação Social), a division of MPAS

SENAC – National Commerce Training Organization (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem do Comércio), part of Brazil's national vocational training programme

SENAI – National Industry Training Organization (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem da Indústria), part of Brazil's national vocational training programme

SESI – Social Service Association for Industry (Serviço Social da Indústria), a trade association that is also part of Brazil's national vocational training programme

SIMPOC – Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour

I. Executive Summary

This document presents an evaluation of ILO-IPEC activities in Brazil during the period 1992-2000, specifically seeking to assess to the extent possible the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability of IPEC contributions to efforts to eliminate child labour. Recognizing the plurality of organizations working in child labour eradication in Brazil, this evaluation focused on understanding ILO's role as one entity within many acting in the area of child labour eradication.

Research methods included: (1) interviews with key informants, using both open-ended and closed questions and (2) analysis of relevant IPEC documents. Because of the IPEC goals of social mobilization, awareness-raising and the mainstreaming of child labour eradication into public policies in Brazil, this evaluation relies foremost on the opinions of 38 key informants in assessing the effectiveness and impact of IPEC actions at the policy level. These key informants were strategically chosen to include representatives of national, state and local governments; NGOs; trade unions; researchers; ILO staff; employers; and international organizations. This evaluation was limited in scope as time and resources did not permit carrying out other impact evaluation methods, such as sample surveys with program beneficiaries or target audiences.

The major findings of the evaluation as presented in this document are:

1. The general consensus from the 38 key informants interviewed for this evaluation is that while there are still significant challenges, there has been a major shift in attitudes about child labour in Brazil. It is clear that there has been a significant change in attitudes -- on the part of families of working children, national and local policymakers, unions and employers -- toward child labour. In less than 10 years, Brazil has moved from fairly widespread acceptance of child labour to nearly universal condemnation of it. The common discourse 10 years ago, according to key informants, was one that work "dignifies" and educates low income children. Until the early 1990s, some governmental programmes for children in Brazil advocated work as a way to educate low income children with the general belief that working was better than being on the streets or idle. National and local efforts to eradicate child labour represent one of the most impressive social mobilization efforts in the last 10 years in Brazil, exceeding the expectations of many key informants.

2. There was a clear consensus from key informants that a significant portion of the credit for this shift in attitudes is due to ILO-IPEC actions. Even those interviewees, who were sceptical of the extent of the success in eradicating child labour in Brazil, rated ILO-IPEC favourably, as discussed in detail in Parts IV and VI of this report. When asked to assess the actions of various organizations and groups in eradicating child labour in Brazil, ILO and UNICEF received the highest ratings, with more than 60% of respondents rating ILO and UNICEF actions as excellent or very good. Employers' associations and municipal councils for children's rights received the lowest rates for their work in child labour eradication. Governmental efforts received relatively low ratings compared to other actors, with 23% of respondents saying that the government's actions in child labour eradication were excellent or very good.

3. National level data confirm that the absolute number and percentage of children working are slowly decreasing in Brazil. PNAD data showed that in 1998 7.7 million

children ages 5-17 worked, down from 9.7 million in 1992, representing a 20% reduction.¹ The total percentage of children ages 5-17 working decreased from 22% to 17% in this period. Notably the major decline in child labour in Brazil was within the 10-14 age range and between 1995-1999, when IPEC efforts and governmental actions were at their peak. Some of this decrease in child labour is no doubt due to governmental actions in the last 10 years, notably efforts to increase school enrolment and national income support programs to low income families. Other extraneous social trends, such as changes in the structure of the Brazilian economy may also be responsible for part of this decrease in child labour.

4. Federal, state and municipal level governments have mainstreamed many major ILO-IPEC principles and ILO conventions related to child labour eradication. The federal government initiated relatively low-cost interventions that have the potential to reach large numbers of children and families, as in the case of income support programmes to low income families who guarantee their children's school attendance. One of these programmes, administered by the Ministry of Education (MEC), is projected to reach 11 million children by the end of 2001. Similarly, a national federal-level body was created to monitor and administer child labour eradication efforts (PETI).

Other important IPEC principles that have been mainstreamed into public policy in Brazil include inspection of labour sites, changes in national legislation regarding the minimum age for working and the implementation of integrated programs that promote school enrolment, income support and local oversight. Indeed, as stated in various IPEC documents and confirmed by key informants, in the last nine years the Federal Government and state governments have developed and strengthened various initiatives, created specific branches within the government, and allocated funding (at least for the near future) for child labour eradication. And finally, IPEC actions were key in Brazil's ratification of both major conventions on child labour eradication – Convention 138 on Minimum Age and Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour.

5. While IPEC supported 70 Action Programmes in the last nine years -- nearly 40% of which were direct actions affecting children and families -- the political impact of ILO-IPEC funding was more important than the direct benefit to families and children. Indeed, the scale of ILO-IPEC funding was limited considering the size of Brazil, and in comparison to other sources of funding, including governmental sources. Total IPEC funding in 1992-98 was US\$4.7 million. Combined with US\$631,000 in 1999-2000, this came to US\$5.3 million over 9 years. As a comparison, funding from UNICEF in activities and projects related to child labour eradication in Brazil from 1996-2001 was more than US\$14 million. If street children's projects (which include informal, urban work) are included, UNICEF funded an additional US\$15 million from 1992-2001. At the federal government level, the national child labour eradication programme (PETI) is expected to be reaching 886,000 children in 2001, with total funding projected of R\$297 million (about US\$118 million).

¹ Brazilian law allows adolescents to work as of age 16 (if not working in hazardous conditions or occupations), so a portion of these working children are in fact older adolescents, recognized as part of the workforce.

6. When asked to assess which of ILO-IPEC's actions they believed were the most important, 87% of key informants interviewed cited ILO-IPEC's role as a reference point on child labour eradication. In second place (82%) were ILO-IPEC efforts to promote international conventions on child labour. Key informants rated direct ILO-IPEC financial support to partner organizations and direct financial support via Action Programmes as the least important of ILO-IPEC's contributions.

7. In spite of these positive outcomes and the recognition that IPEC contributed in significant ways to awareness raising and policy changes related to child labour eradication in Brazil in the last nine years, the overwhelming consensus from key informants was that IPEC should neither pull out of Brazil nor end its activities, but rather should alter its role in important and strategic ways. Although ILO staff in Brazil now affirm that IPEC actions will continue in Brazil, many key informants had been informed or had heard the initial decision to gradually phase out IPEC activities in Brazil. Other key informants interpreted the joint ILO-UNICEF decision to gradually withdraw funding from the National Forum for Child Labour Eradication as another sign that ILO was planning to end IPEC actions in the country.

8. Some national and state policy-level initiatives to eradicate child labour in Brazil remain fragile. Several key informants cited examples of policy initiatives favourable to child labour eradication and prevention that had been abandoned or watered down with changes in administrations, or due to political pressure. The Bolsa Criança-Cidadã programme (see Box 1, Part III.), one of the national income support programs for families of working children, for example, was altered to reduce the number of years a child can participate, while increasing the number of children participating. Several key informants suggested that this move was political in nature, increasing the number of children involved, thus providing greater political dividends, while weakening its effectiveness. Some key informants also noted that the Federal Government's child labour programme (PETI) no longer addressed prevention (and even took the word "prevention" out of its name) and has moved increasingly toward remedial rather than long-term, structural solutions.

9. Key informants recommended that for the near-term future, ILO-IPEC should focus on:

- Providing technical and financial assistance for the monitoring of state and national level policies and initiatives related to child labour prevention and eradication;
- Continuing to support (with both financial and technical assistance) the National Forum to Eradicate Child Labour and state fora to eradicate child labour, which they contend are still fragile and in need of ILO (and UNICEF) support;
- Calling attention to areas of child labour that are largely unaddressed and under-researched, including domestic work and other family-based work, sexual exploitation and drug trafficking, and child labour in remote areas of the country, particularly the north;
- Working with federal and state governments to identify and implement family income generation and job creation programmes, particularly in rural areas;
- Working with federal and state governments to promote vocational training and school completion for adolescents and develop and monitor national policy on vocational training and job insertion for adolescents; and

- Continuing to work with the public education sector to promote quality education in the classroom and insure the sustainability of adequate and relevant after-school activities for low income children and adolescents.

II. Introduction and Overview

A. Overview

This study was carried out to evaluate to the extent possible ILO-IPEC's role and impact in Brazil from the perceptions of its major stakeholders, with a view to assessing priorities for future and ongoing activities. Because ILO-Brazil has produced numerous documents on its activities on child labour eradication, this document provides highlights of some of these activities, while focusing on assessing and analysing the impact of these activities from the viewpoint of the key informants.²

It is important to mention at the start of this report that many interviewees interpreted this evaluation as being part of an assessment as to whether IPEC would continue to work in Brazil or phase out its activities. Many key informants were aware that ILO-Brazil had informed the National IPEC Steering Committee that IPEC activities in Brazil would be phased out. Other key informants interpreted the decision of ILO and UNICEF to gradually end their funding to the National Forum for the Eradication of Child Labour as another sign that IPEC was planning to end activities in Brazil. Both organizations had affirmed from the start that financial support to the National Forum would eventually be phased out. The subsequent decision to continue IPEC activities in Brazil, along with changes in IPEC staffing at the ILO-Brazil office, created confusion about the future of IPEC in Brazil. This confusion leads us to recommend that ILO-IPEC-Brazil focus greater attention to public dissemination of its plans and objectives, something the new IPEC-Brazil coordinator has already begun.

B. Scope of Work

The purpose of this evaluation was to: "Assess the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability of IPEC efforts in Brazil to eliminate child labour." Recognizing the plurality of actors in Brazil during the time period studied -- 1992-2000 -- the focus of this evaluation is on understanding ILO's role as one entity within many acting in the area of child labour. The study thus focused on the notion of **"value-added"** in seeking to understand how ILO-IPEC:

- Contributed to processes already in place in Brazil to eliminate child labour;
- Initiated processes that were later incorporated by other actors involved in child labour eradication; and
- Stimulated or participated in strategic alliances to eliminate child labour in the country.

Furthermore, given ILO-IPEC's focus on awareness raising, social mobilization and promoting changes in national and local policy in Brazil, the most appropriate evaluation methodology was a qualitative and quantitative inquiry with key informants, specifically stakeholders and experts who directly and indirectly knew of IPEC's activities during the time period and were key actors in the field of child labour eradication in Brazil. A list of these key informants is included in Appendix 2.

²For a thorough analysis of IPEC's activities in Brazil, for example, see "The IPEC Programme in Brazil: A Brief Analysis of Context, Trends and Opportunities," IPEC Internal Working Paper, ILO, 2000.

Thus, the central evaluation method was qualitative interviews with 38 key informants, or stakeholders, working on child labour eradication in Brazil, including government officials (labour, education and children's rights sectors at the state and national level), employers' and workers' associations and other NGOs, researchers, representatives of other UN agencies, and ILO staff in Brazil. Some of these key informants have national-level experience, while others work at the state and local levels. Similarly, some have worked in child labour eradication for nearly 10 years, while others have only worked on the issue for the last few years. Some have direct contact with communities and families, while others mainly work in state-level or national-level offices. The instrument for these qualitative interviews is included as Appendix 2.

These 38 individuals were selected from a list of more than 60 individuals and organizations working in child labour eradication in Brazil, most provided by ILO with others selected or identified based on our personal and organizational contacts in the child and youth field in Brazil. The criteria used for selecting these key informants were: (1) that they were experts in child labour in their region or nationally, (2) that they were currently or had previously been part of organizations (governmental or non-governmental) working directly in child labour eradication, and (3) they had knowledge – directly or indirectly – of IPEC activities in Brazil.

These interviews were supplemented with other methods. Specifically, for each theme included in this evaluation, the research team used the following methods:

Topic	Method
a) Strategic planning of the country programme	Document review; qualitative interviews with ILO staff
b) Design + implementation of projects and action programmes	Document review; qualitative interviews with ILO staff
c) Achievements	Key informant interviews
d) Coordination + the role of IPEC	Key informant interviews
e) Impact	Key informant interviews
f) Sustainability	Site visits; key informant interviews
g) Factors affecting the country programme	Data analysis
h) Institutional Issues	Data analysis

This evaluation had two guiding principles:

- **Informed consent and confidentiality:** Interviews with key informant were tape-recorded with their consent. Interviewees are not identified by name in this report and all interview transcripts, as agreed with the interviewees, will remain with Instituto PROMUNDO, unless the key informant informs us otherwise in writing. Quotes from key informants are widely used but were edited to protect the relative anonymity of the sources.
- **Triangulation or multi-methods:** Information and opinions reported by individual key informants were cross-checked and compared with other sources whenever possible.

In addition to these interviews, the evaluation team carried out site visits to four areas where IPEC directly supported efforts in the elimination of child labour:

- Shoe manufacturing in the states of São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul;
- Sisal harvesting in the state of Bahia; and
- Charcoal production in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

In all four sites, members of the research team interviewed key informants and, when possible, visited project sites. The short time-frame for the evaluation and the scope of the evaluation did not allow us to carry out extensive interviews with project beneficiaries.

The research instrument, attached as Appendix 2, was designed to be flexible, serving as a general topic guide for key informants working at governmental agencies at the national level as well as programme staff at the local level. The themes included in the questionnaire come from the Terms of Reference, along with suggestions from ILO staff. The instrument was field tested during the first site visit to the sisal region in Bahia (January 10-12, 2001). The field-testing allowed us to reorder and reword the questions as necessary. All interviews were tape-recorded (with one exception of a key informant who refused to be tape-recorded) with notes taken by hand for back up.

In addition to the open-ended questions, which form the bulk of this interview protocol, we included several close-ended questions to ask key informants to assess the actions of various actors in child labour eradication. The tabulated results of these close-ended questions are presented in Parts IV and VI of this document, and in Appendix 3.

Transcripts of the key informant interviews yielded approximately 400 pages of notes, which were read and coded by major themes, with central tendencies, trends and ranges of opinion identified. Illustrative quotes from these interviews are used throughout this report and were coded for identification and cross-checking by the consultants.

C. Methods: Scope and Limitations

This was not an impact or social impact evaluation study in terms of assessing the direct impact of ILO-IPEC actions on the number or situation of children working in Brazil. In addition, because of the lack of systematic or quantitative baseline data on attitudes toward child labour by key stakeholders or target audiences, this study is primarily an analysis of the perceptions of key stakeholders in terms of the impact of ILO-IPEC activities in raising awareness about and contributing to the formulation and implementation of sustainable policy and programme interventions toward eradicating and preventing child labour. While we used other methodologies, we gave strong voice to the opinions of these stakeholders. As previously stated, many of these stakeholders are representatives of IPEC partner organizations, or coordinated IPEC-funded activities. Others had less direct knowledge of IPEC activities but were experts or key actors in child labour eradication in Brazil, or in their particular region.

Another limitation of this study was the lack of systematisation of IPEC documents on Action Programmes in Brazil. For some of these documents, record-keeping was uneven, changed over time, or rather than being documented, is held in the collective memory of ILO-Brazil staff, past and current. In other cases, there is information that we did not have access to, for example high-level strategy discussions between the ILO representative in Brazil and ministers of labour or social assistance. In a few cases, some individuals who we or ILO

identified as key informants did not want to be interviewed or did not have time to meet with us. Furthermore, by reporting quotes anonymously, some of their authority or force is lost; nonetheless, this relative anonymity was necessary to ensure frankness.

Finally, it is important to mention the inherent difficulty of evaluating an initiative whose central goal was social mobilization and political impact. Both ILO staff and document and key informants frequently affirmed cause and effect and the impact of IPEC actions but few of these allegations are based on systematic analyses, either quantitative or qualitative. A more complete impact assessment of IPEC activities in Brazil would require, among other things, baseline data on attitudes toward child labour prior to ILO-IPEC actions at various levels (among local, state and national policymakers; among families in key sectors; among union leaders, etc.). Even so, the credibility of the key informants and their direct knowledge of child labour eradication in Brazil is a powerful method for assessing future directions and priorities.

D. Organization of this Report

This report is presented in the following order:

- (1) A brief overview of IPEC objectives and actions in Brazil during the time period, using a summarized time-line of IPEC and child labour eradication efforts from 1992-2000.* This section sought to distil the numerous ILO-IPEC actions along with other major actions in child labour eradication in child labour in a concise format. A detailed time-line of IPEC activities in Brazil is attached as Appendix 4.
- (2) An overview of other important actors working in child labour eradication in Brazil, including assessments of each of these actors by the key informants.* This section briefly describes the various actors, clients or stakeholders in child labour eradication in Brazil, and analyses their relative contributions to the issue.
- (3) A brief overview of the direct Action Programmes funded by ILO-IPEC, based on an analysis of documents.* This section describes the direct funding of ILO-IPEC by category and type of intervention.
- (4) An assessment and analysis on the impact of ILO-IPEC actions in Brazil, relying mostly on key informant assessments.* This section addresses the central research or evaluation question: How did ILO-IPEC contribute to child labour eradication in Brazil in 1992-2000?
- (5) Reflections about the sustainability of ILO-IPEC activities.* This section provides an analysis of the degree to which ILO-IPEC activities and principles have been incorporated by various actors at the local, state and national levels.
- (6) Recommendations for future action.* This section presents a series of final recommendations.
- (7) Lessons learned from the ILO-IPEC's experience in Brazil.* This final section presents a series of lessons learned from ILO-IPEC experience in Brazil that may be relevant to other countries.

III. Brief History of IPEC in Brazil

IPEC activities took place simultaneously with and contributed to other major activities related to child labour eradication in Brazil and during a time of various transformations between Government and civil society. The scope of ILO-IPEC activities was also extensive both geographically, in terms of sectors of child labour and in terms of kinds of interventions. Among other things, IPEC funding included nearly 70 Action Programmes and Mini-Action Programmes (smaller size grants to organizations for events, seminars, travel, etc.), which provided funding to organizations to carry out, either: (1) direct action with children and families to reduce child labour; or (2) various social mobilization or awareness raising activities related to child labour eradication, including research, materials development, training, seminars and other events. In addition to direct project funding, ILO staff also provided technical assistance to local, state and national actors – assistance that was probably even more important than the financial value of direct grants.

Because of the scope of these actions, and the number of actors involved, and multiple efforts by other organizations taking place at same time, we found it useful to develop an annotated time-line highlighting both IPEC activities in the country, as well as other major events related to the eradication of child labour during the same time period. Some of the events and related government pronouncements also highlight the gaps or inconsistencies -- as well as the consistencies -- between government pronouncements and government action. (For reasons of brevity, we will not provide extensive details about all of these activities; much of this background information is found in other ILO documents.) The time-line presented here is an annotated version of a more extensive time-line that can be found in Appendix 4.

Table 1
ILO-IPEC BRAZIL – TIME LINE 1988-2000

Year	National and International Events Related to Child Policy in Brazil	Events Related to IPEC	IPEC Objectives
1988	New constitution developed after end of military rule		
1989	U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child signed		
1990	Statute on the Child and Adolescent (ECA) approved into Brazilian law		
1991	First municipal and state councils on children's rights are established as stipulated in ECA		
1992		ILO launches IPEC. Brazil is one of the first 6 countries included. The National Steering Committee is formed to coordinate IPEC activities.	-- Raise awareness on child labour by training officials from government, unions, employers and NGOs -- Test methodologies of action
1993		First agreements are established with the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG) to raise awareness among rural labour unions. IPEC is widely disseminated in Brazil.	
1994		The National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour is formed with support from ILO and UNICEF. Child labour is included in several national campaigns and plans of action.	-- Mainstreaming of child labour into plans of programmes of ILO constituency

Year	National and International Events Related to Child Policy in Brazil	Events Related to IPEC	IPEC Objectives
1995	The Federal Government launches the “Child Citizen Programme” coordinated by PETI (part of the Ministry of Social Security and Social Assistance)	Integrated Action Programmes (PAIs) are implemented in several areas of high-risk child labour in the country. The “Goat-to-School” family income generation initiative is launched in the sisal region of Bahia. The government of the Federal District of Brasília introduces the Bolsa Escola programme.	
1996	International events (Stockholm) and national events (Brasília) discuss the issue of sexual exploitation of children	IPEC supports the formation of a National Network to Combat the Sexual Exploitation of Children. Terms of agreement are established between the government various partner organizations along with IPEC. The Abrinq Foundation creates the “Child-Friendly Businesses” label.	-- Building a broad alliance among national partners -- Development of a methodology to implement large time-bound programmes (PAI)
1997	The Federal Government creates the “All Children in School” programme. ILO, UNICEF and the Norwegian government organize World Conference on Child Labour in Oslo	EMBRATUR launches a campaign against sexual tourism. State government of Rio de Janeiro implements integrated action programmes (PAIs) in 8 cities. Labour Ministry creates special commissions to inspect child labour via Regional Labour Delegations. State-level programmes for eradicating child labour are formed in several states.	
1998	National Household Survey confirms reduction in the number of children working. A constitutional amendment is proposed changing minimum working age from 14 to 16. International Congress on Child Labour held in Amsterdam.	The Jornada Ampliada (extended school session initiative, part of PETI) programme is created nationally building on initial experiences in Mato Grosso do Sul. PAIs are declared successful in charcoal and sisal regions based on dramatic reduction in child labour in both regions.	-- Preparation of a “National Policy to Prevent and Eradicate Child Labour” -- Strengthening of national capacity to implement PAIs to eliminate worst forms of child labour
1999	Brazil submits ILO Conventions 138 and 182 to National Congress. Federal Government announces major allocation of resources to PETI. SEAS announces reformulation of PETI program, reducing the period that any given child can participate in the “Child Citizen Programme” scholarship, and limiting the programme only to working children	Members of the National Forum develop a National Plan for Combating Child Labour. SIMPOC (Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) is approved. The issues of domestic labour and children working in drug trafficking are included in IPEC and the National Fórum.	
2000	The Federal Government announces the Alvorada Plan (HDI-14) that aims to integrate government services at the municipal level; child labour will be included in the programme.	State fora for child labour eradication are functioning in 28 of 29 states. ILO and UNICEF announce their intention to gradually withdraw funding from the National Forum. With IPEC’s support, Pernambuco starts project to train monitors (Jornada Ampliada program)	-- Evaluation of IPEC activities 1992-2000 begins -- Consolidation of accomplishments and revising plan of action for next phase
2001	Federal Government announces that the Bolsa Escola programme (MEC) will reach 11 million children whose family income is less than R\$90. The constitutional amendment to raise the minimum working age to 16 based on ILO Convention 138 is ratified.		

This time-line suggests the tremendous activity in child labour eradication that ILO-IPEC contributed to or was involved in, and further underscores the rationale for an evaluation

based on a value-added approach. In evaluating ILO-IPEC actions and providing input for future actions, we will draw on this brief history and time-line.

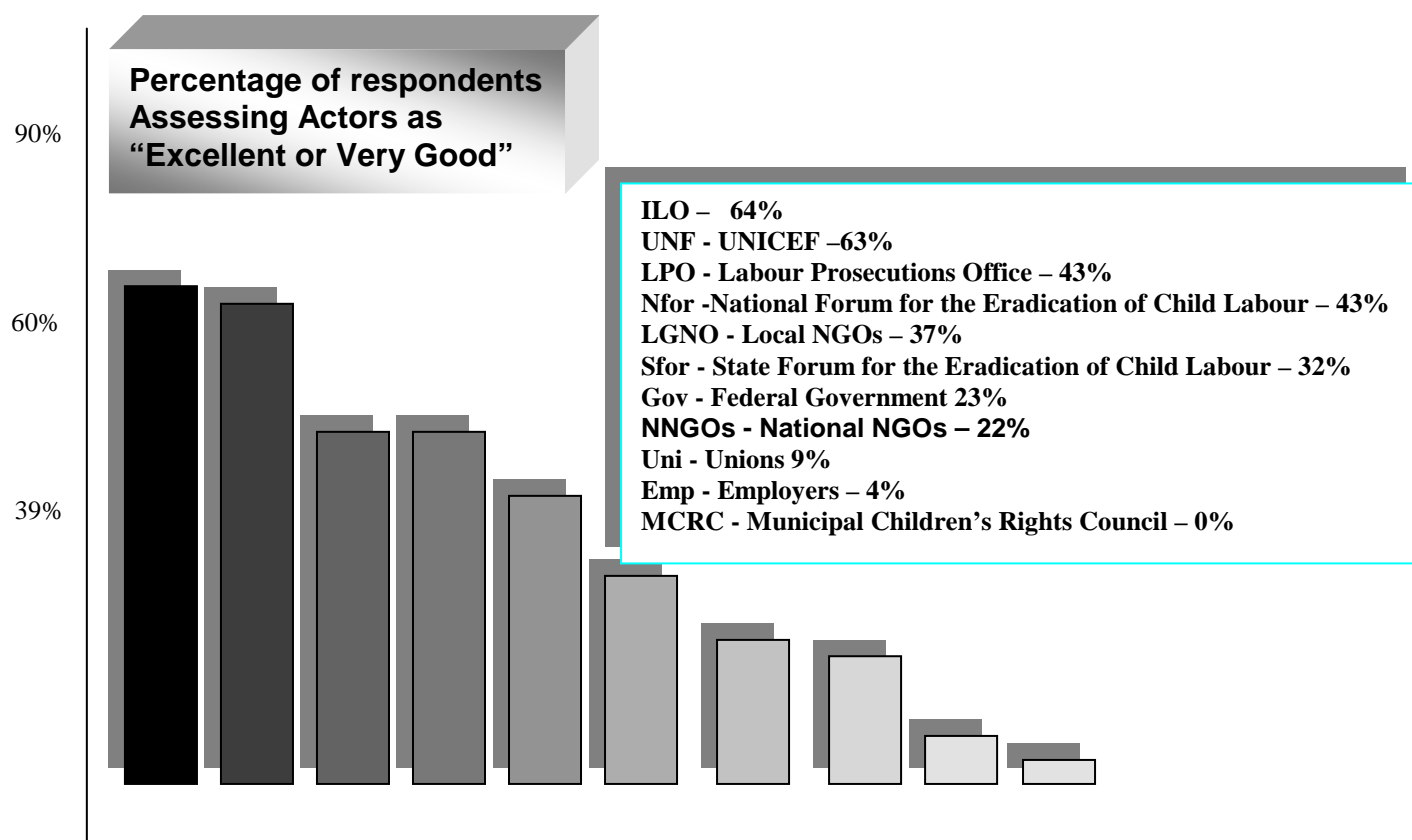
IV. Major Actors Involved in Child Labour Eradication in Brazil

As previously mentioned, the central goal of IPEC in Brazil was the mainstreaming of key IPEC principles into national-level and state-level policy and programme initiatives. Indeed in large part, IPEC activities in the last 10 years in Brazil served as a catalyst among existing actors – governmental and non-governmental. And, as highlighted briefly in Section III, numerous other major actors were involved in child labour eradication in Brazil. For these reasons, before presenting IPEC objectives and evaluating IPEC actions, it is important to present an overview of those organizations working in child labour in Brazil – including those from the government, employers, unions and other NGOs.³ In this section, we present a brief overview of these organizations.

As part of this evaluation, we asked key informants to rate the performance of each of these various actors in child labour eradication. Graphic 1 provides a relative comparison of these ratings, comparing the percentage of respondents who assessed each actor as “excellent” or “very good” in terms of their efforts in child labour eradication. For each major actor described here, we also provide a detailed assessment of these rankings, with percentages of respondents ranking the actors from “poor” to “excellent.” Specifically, as part of research instrument, we asked key informants to rate the actions of each of these major actors in their efforts over the last nine years in child labour eradication.

Graphic 1

Overall Assessment of Actors Involved in Child Labour Eradication in Brazil



³ Employers’ and workers’ organizations are also NGOs, however for the purposes of analysis, we use NGOs or “other NGOs” to refer to Civil Society organizations that are not strictly speaking employers’ or workers’ associations, but rather have a specific mission statement related to children, adolescents and families or community development.

64%	63%	43%	43%	37%	32%	23%	22%	9%	4%	0%
ILO	UNF	LPO	Nfor	LNGOs	Sfor	Gov	NNGOs	Uni	Emp	MCRC

From this initial comparison of rankings, we can see that ILO and UNICEF received the highest ratings, while unions, employers' associations and Municipal Children's Rights Councils received the lowest ratings. Interestingly, unions were largely rated as "good" (nearly 49%) but few respondents related their performance as very good or excellent. Employers and the Municipal Children's Rights Councils had the highest percent of respondents who rated their performance as "poor", 35% and 36% respectively.

A. The Federal Government

As can be seen in Graphics 1 and 2, overall compared to other actors the Government (referring generally to the Federal Government), received relatively low ratings. Numerous key informants said that the Federal Government had indeed carried out some important initiatives, but that much more remained to be done.

Specifically, three Federal Government ministries are directly involved in child labour eradication with significant resources in the 2000-2003 budget for this purpose. The **Ministry of Labour and Employment (MTE)** has six general areas of action related to child labour eradication: (1) inspecting work sites; (2) carrying out mapping of areas of the worst forms of child labour and studies on the impact of child labour and working conditions on children; (3) producing publications on child labour; (4) promoting events to the general public on child labour; (5) carrying out a national campaign on child labour; and (6) coordinating the tripartite committee on ILO conventions 138 and 182.

MTE staff say that their inspection and periodic mapping of child labour in the country have been among their most important and strategic activities. As part of ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Brazil was obligated to create labour inspection units and carry out mapping of the worst forms of child labour. The 82 areas first identified in this mapping are currently the areas where the national PETI (see below) works. MTE staff also say, that with partial ILO support, they have focused considerable attention on disseminating research on the health consequences of child labour.

To carry out these activities, the MTE created a Labour Inspection Service via its Regional Labour Bureaus (Delegacias Regionais de Trabalho, or DRT). Each DRT has a "Special Group to Combat Child Labour and Protect Adolescent Workers" (GECTIPA), which were created by a mandatory executive order within the MTE. While it is impressive that these special groups were established in all states, there are still a number of difficulties. First and foremost is the limited number of inspectors for the size of the regions and the number of work sites where child labour may be taking place. For example, in one shoe-making region where child labour has been concentrated (Franca, São Paulo), one key informant told us that there are only two labour inspectors, which is not enough to adequately inspect the numerous work sites in the region. Other reported difficulties with the Labour Inspection Service include the lack of training (IPEC supported training of labour inspectors in 1994), the distances they are required to travel and their limited ability to intervene against some large businesses and work sites because of the tremendous political clout of these local employers. Finally, as suggested by MTE officials, the regional inspection teams lack a legal structure and personnel to be able to inspect child labour in family-based businesses, which has been a growing trend.

The National Secretariat for Social Assistance (SEAS, part of the Ministry of Social Security and Social Action) is the second major actor of at least equal importance. Within SEAS, is the Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour (Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil or PETI), the national governmental body responsible for monitoring and eradicating child labour. PETI currently has two main initiatives directly related to child labour: (1) the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme previously mentioned, which provides a wage support of R\$25 (about US\$12.50, and up to R\$40 in urban areas) to families that take their children out of work and ensure their attendance in school; and (2) the *Jornada Ampliada*, or extended school hours programme that provides before- and after-school activities for children involved in the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme as a way to prevent children from working during their non-school hours. Both of these initiatives are part the national PETI, previously described.

PETI uses the MTE's mapping and diagnosis of child labour to select the 82 areas where it currently implements the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme. By the end of 2002, the Federal Government plans to reach 866,000 children with this project, or all the children estimated to be working in the worst forms of child labour. The programme grew from 3,710 children in 17 municipalities in 1996 to an estimated 362,000 children targeted for 2000, and a target of 866,000 in 2002. The annual budget allocated for PETI increased from R\$931,500 in 1996 to R\$182 million in 2000. For 2001, total funding for PETI is projected to be R\$297 million (about US\$118 million).⁴

The *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme, along with another family income support programme, now called *Bolsa Escola*, implemented by the Ministry of Education (see Box below), has become the cornerstone of Federal Government action on the issue of child labour. On one level, it has been extremely important, both for the number of children taken out of work and for the strong message it sends to local government, communities, families and employers about the importance of taking children out of work and enrolling them in school. At the same time, as ILO staff, many governmental staff and other key informants confirm, the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* is a remedial or compensatory policy toward eradicating child labour. As one key informant said:

“.... these families are accustomed to living on these compensatory programmes, on these emergency programmes. Every successive government invents something like this it (the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme) is the latest attempt to put out the last fire. We don't see any change in the real possibilities of these families to earn income.”Q23.1

Another interviewee echoes this point, saying that every government has had some “flood wage support, school wage support, this wage support, that wage support, but nothing that changes the economic structure of low income families.”(Q22.1) Indeed, nearly all key informants confirmed that the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme takes children out of work in the short run, but has done little or nothing to empower, train or otherwise support families in long-term income generation or job creation.

⁴ Comparisons of past budget allocations to current values and then to US\$ in Brazil must take into consideration currently devaluation. The real, which was valued at US\$1 = R\$2.6 as of September 2001, has devalued from about US\$1 = R\$1.3 in 1997.

In spite of the remedial nature of the *Bolsa-Criança Cidadã* programme, local NGOs, unions and other advocacy organizations have been adamant about maintaining and extending the programme to all families with working children, and to low income families in general. And in recent years, there has been criticism of SEAS because of changes in the programme implementation rules. As noted in the time line in Section III, in 1999 PETI changed the programme guidelines so that children can only be enrolled in the programme for two years, renewable for a maximum of two additional years. This change in eligibility has meant that PETI could double the number of participating children for the same cost, but with a major trade-off and disadvantage for participating children. A child who enters the programme at age 7 can only participate until age 11, at which point, said many key informants, he or she is likely to return to work. Furthermore, the cut-off age for the programme is 15. However, because of the nature of the educational system in Brazil, the majority of low income children have not finished even primary school by the age of 15. Other key informants have criticized PETI for only focusing on the worst forms of child labour, whereas its original goal was to focus on both prevention and eradication. In September 2000, PETI issued a memorandum saying that it would focus only on the worst areas of child labour, effectively ending its prevention efforts. However, some key informants say that the *Bolsa-Escola* initiative of the Ministry of Education (see below) is preventive in nature, and thus complements PETI in this way.

Key informants mentioned other shortcomings of Federal Government action, notably the lack of coordination and collaboration between the various Federal Governmental ministries involved in child labour eradication: education, labour and social assistance. In 2000, the Federal Government announced the *Projeto Alvorada*, a massive social development and poverty alleviation initiative that seeks to integrate governmental investments in those states and municipalities with the lowest human development index (HDI) indicators, and which includes child labour as one of its central issues. SEAS is a key player in the plan, and will have chief responsibility for integrating government actions at the national level. At the municipal level, cities form a council including relevant municipal services and civil society to coordinate actions. While praising the effort, several key informants suggested that overcoming this historical lack of coordination will not be easy. As one key informant said:

“Our biggest challenge is that we’re always saying at the National Forum for Child Labour Eradication or at the Ministry of Labour, or at the Social Security Ministry, that it makes sense to have these national programmes, like ‘Avança Brasil’ that try to integrate programmes We’ve had lots of these huge national programmes with huge budgets with interesting concepts behind them and then they reach the municipal level and they are completely unconnected. Sometimes you end up with similar projects with similar objectives being implemented by several different governmental agencies.”Q10.5

In summary while the *Projeto Alvorada* represents a tremendous opportunity for further consolidating and mainstreaming child labour eradication at the national and local levels in Brazil, key informants suggest that its successful implementation will face numerous challenges.

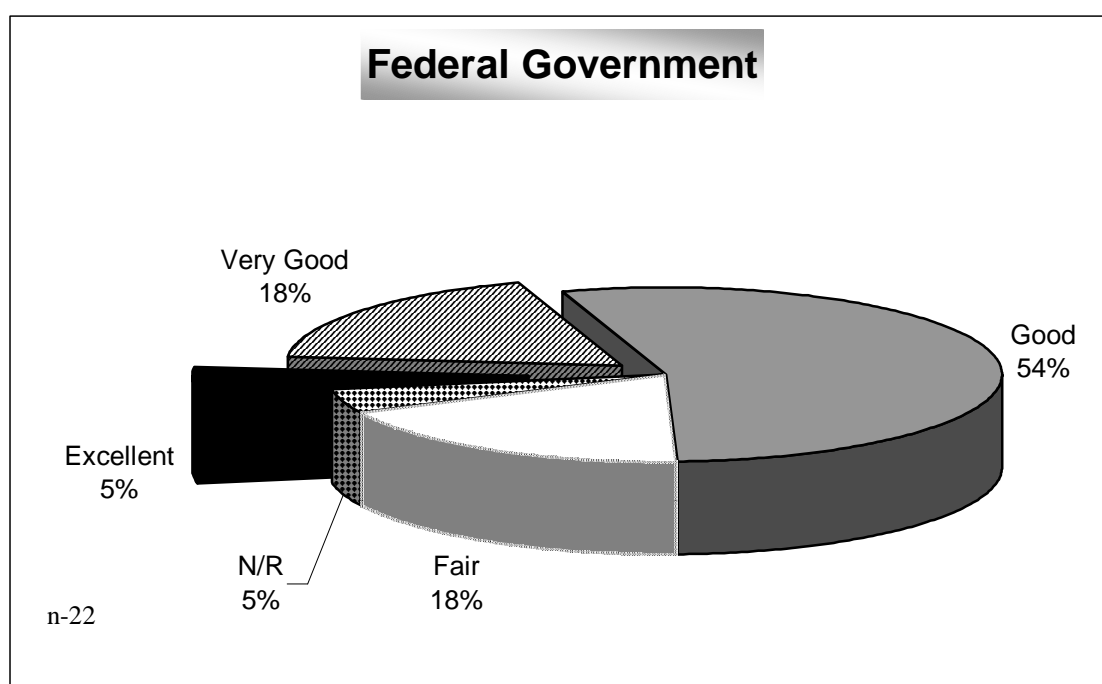
A third major actor has been the **Ministry of Education (MEC)** in the support it has given to the “All Children in School” programme as well as the “*Renda Mínima*” (minimum wage) programme, currently called the “*Bolsa Escola*” programme, developed in part as a preventive measure to keep children out of work. This has been targetted at rural communities with

school attendance as a qualifying condition. ILO is carrying out a pilot evaluation project of this programme. In 2001, the President announced that by the end of 2001, the revised *Bolsa Escola* programme administered by MEC would reach 11 million children. Under the new guidelines of the programme, families with children ages 6-15 who are enrolled in school, and whose monthly family income is less than R\$90 will receive R\$15 per children (up to a maximum of R\$45 per family per month). Funding for the initiative is set at R\$1.7 billion for 2001.

In terms of IPEC interaction with the Federal Government, its main counterparts have been the MTE and SEAS. Nevertheless, since 1999 IPEC has carried out initiatives in the education area by supporting a project in the state of Pernambuco. Specifically this project provides for the training of monitors working in the state's *Jornada Ampliada* programme to improve their practice and to develop a more structured curriculum for after-school activities. This new curriculum helps the monitors to see that after-school hours are not merely "busy time" for children, but in fact should support and enhance the learning that takes place in the formal, public education system.

Through this relatively new and strategic initiative, IPEC aims to have greater interaction with MEC as well as MTE and SEAS. This initiative is strategic for the reason that current Brazilian education policy will make it mandatory for public schools in Brazil to offer a full eight hours of instruction and activities by 2004. By collaborating with the Ministry of Education, state education secretariats and other partner organizations – notably the Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Educação, the national teacher union – IPEC aims to contribute to educational policy and practice in Brazil.

Graphic 2
Key Informants' Assessment of Federal Government Efforts in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

What is the “Bolsa Escola”?

At various points in this document we make reference to the “*Bolsa escola*” initiative or programmes based on the principles of the “*Bolsa escola*” initiative. The term “*bolsa escola*” was initially used to refer to a programme implemented by former Governor Cristovão Buarque (DF) in 1995. The programme provided a monthly payment equivalent to the minimum wage at the time to low income families of working children on the condition that the families took all of their children of school age out of work and enrolled them in school. This initiative provided the inspiration for numerous other income support programmes implemented by the federal government, and was itself inspired by an income support programme for children working on the streets in the city of Campinas in 1995. Building on the original “*bolsa escola*” idea, in 1995 SEAS introduced a similar family income support programme for working children that was originally called “*Vale Cidadania*” (or the “Citizenship Stamps”). This initiative was later renamed “*Bolsa Criança Cidadã*” (its current name) or the “Child Citizen Scholarship”, and is part of the national PETI (the Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour). The scholarship is intended for children who are working and in most areas is combined with the *Jornada Ampliada*, or extended school sessions. In 1997, the Ministry of Education (MEC) introduced an income support programme, initially called “*Programa de Garantia da Renda Mínima*” and subsequently called “*Bolsa Escola*” (using the same name as the original programme in the Distrito Federal of Brasília) that offers a monthly income support of R\$15 (about US\$7) for up to three children under age 15 per household in families whose monthly incomes are less than R\$90 (less than US\$40). For 2001, the Federal Government announced that this program would benefit approximately 11 million children. Because the *Bolsa-Escola* programme is open to all children – regardless of whether they have worked or are working – this programme is considered more preventative in nature.

B. Other Federal Government Actors

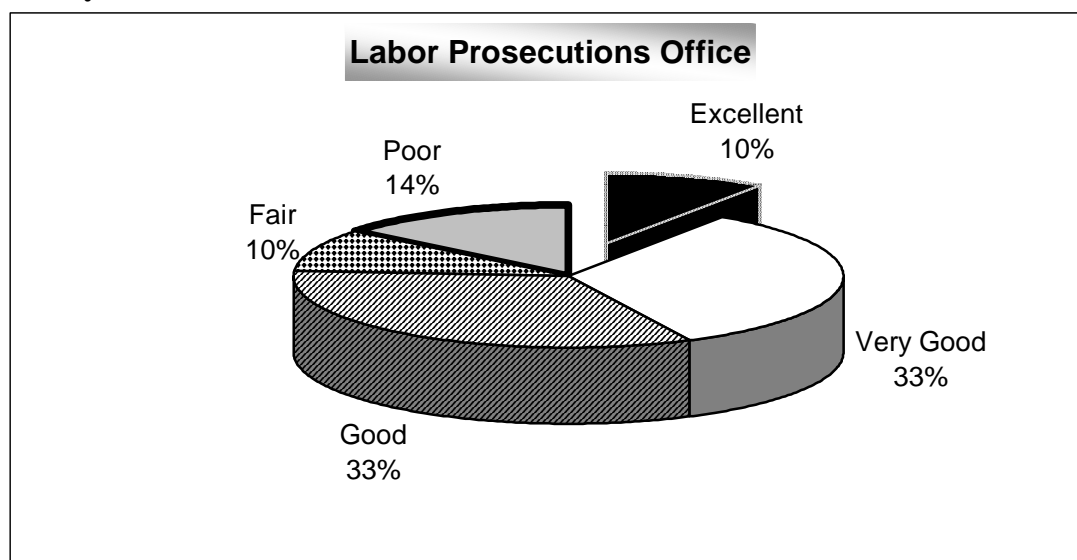
Another important actor at the national level is the **Labour Attorney General’s Office (Ministerio Público de Trabalho, or MPT)**, a body under the State (national) umbrella but outside the immediate controls of the federal branches of power. The MPT has 400 prosecutors operating nationally, playing a major role in child labour eradication. As can be seen in Graphic 3, the MPT received high marks from key informants working both at a national and local level, as taking child labour seriously and as having been a positive force in encouraging employers to act differently.

While these labour prosecutors once focused on imposing fines or negotiating with individual businesses in terms of eradicating child labour, they are now working more holistically, seeking to negotiate the removal of children from whole industries and working closely with other ministries to ensure that when children are removed from an industry, they have access to school and the *Bolsa-Escola*, *Bolsa Criança-Cidadã* or some other family income assistance. The MPT was also important in the mapping of the worst forms of child labour in collaboration with the DRT. In short, the MPT has shifted its role in a subtle but important way to working in awareness-raising about child labour. One key informant associated with the MPT said:

“ some years back I would have been satisfied just to go to an employer and say: ‘Well, these children and young people have to be taken out of work because of these

unhealthy activities.’ Then I would have arranged an agreement with the employer, maybe take a civil suit against the company. But now, we develop an agreement with the business and we make sure that we have somewhere to send the children, that other organizations in the community are making sure the children are in school ...”Q6.2.1

Graphic 3
Key Informants’ Assessment of MPT Efforts in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

C. The National Forum for the Eradication of Child Labour

This forum has been central to the government’s actions in child eradication and to ILO-IPEC, serving as an oversight or watchdog body to both ILO and the government, developing national policies and methodologies, serving as a space for debate about child labour eradication and promoting integration and collaboration. The Forum started in 1994 with funding from ILO and UNICEF. Currently 42 entities participate in the Forum, including unions, other NGOs, the federal government, employers, UNICEF and ILO. The majority of key informants cited the importance of the National Forum in serving as the key body for bringing together actors nationally to address child labour eradication and for developing national policy in child labour eradication. In 2000, the Forum published a set of guidelines (called “The Guidelines for a National Policy on Child Labour”) highlighting its priorities, which are: (1) to systematize data on child labour in the country; (2) to analyse legal norms in the country related to child labour; (3) multi-partite consultation and articulation; (4) to promote improvements in public education for all children in the country; (5) to promote adequate monitoring of workplaces with regard to child labour; and (6) to promote family income support programmes as well as local sustainable development.

As can be seen in Graphic 4, while respondents were generally positive about the National Forum, many key informants said that the Forum had been stronger or more important in past years, but that it currently was struggling to define or redefine its role. Some respondents said that the National Forum was going through an “identity crisis.” Part of this struggle or crisis probably has to do with the announcement of ILO and UNICEF to gradually withdraw their funding from the Forum. The ILO and UNICEF in Brazil announced the decision (which they had reiterated since beginning to fund the Forum) to gradually phase out their assistance based

on the rationale that financial sustainability is essential for ensuring the Forum's legitimacy. Others say the Forum's identity crisis may have to do with changes in staff leadership; the previous staff coordinator was described as strong and dynamic. Differences of opinion and ideology on the part of unions and some of the employers' associations that participate in the Forum have also created stress. At times, some key respondents reported, the Federal Government has also been wary of criticisms from some members of the Forum.

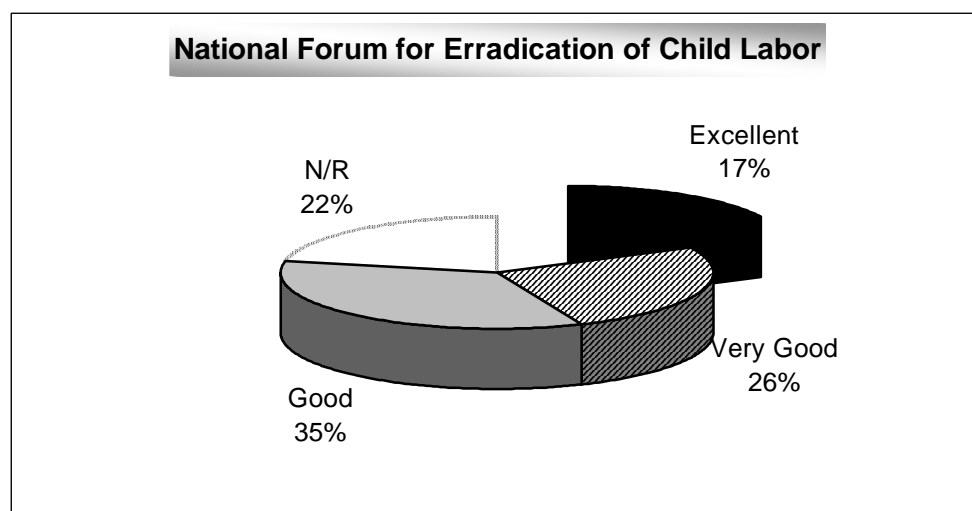
This identity crisis is also related to the lack of clarity over the Forum's relationship to the Federal Government. Some key informants (including many who participate in the Forum) say that the Forum should be funded by and hosted by the Government. Most informants, however, say that if the Government hosts the Forum, the Forum will lose its ability to oversee or serve as a watchdog to the Government and instead would become a loose coalition with little purpose other than to support or rubber-stamp Federal Government policy. Some interviewees suggested that the Forum needed a clearer institutional mandate like CONANDA (the National Council on Children's Rights), a body created by national law (and with a guaranteed operating budget provided by the Federal Government) to coordinate children's policy, but with elected members, including members from civil society.

What nearly all key informants agreed on, however, was that the National Forum had been an important actor in the last seven years in child labour eradication but that the Forum currently lacks a clear institutional plan -- in short that it is in need of revamping. (In sections VI and VII, we will offer additional comments and recommendations regarding ILO's support of the National Forum.)

In 2000, there were instances both within and outside the Forum sessions when the continued role of the Forum was implicitly or explicitly questioned. The extent to which its role might be superseded by CONANDA has also been questioned. Yet, a series of events in the last quarter of 2000 suggested that SEAS was beginning to give greater recognition to the Forum in evaluating, redirecting and legitimising national actions through the wider spectrum of representation of both governmental and non-governmental actors, including trade unions and employers and a wider number of NGOs not represented in CONANDA.

Finally, in reflecting about the National Forum, the experience reported here suggests that forging common ground among such diverse actors as unions, advocacy-oriented NGOs, employers' association and the Government is a complex and long-term endeavour. ILO and other U.N. agencies can have, as Brazil's experiences suggests, a unique role as "neutral" and credible brokers in establishing such linkages, but should be prepared for the staff time such brokering may require.

Graphic 4
Key Informants' Assessment of the National Forum for the Eradication of Child Labour



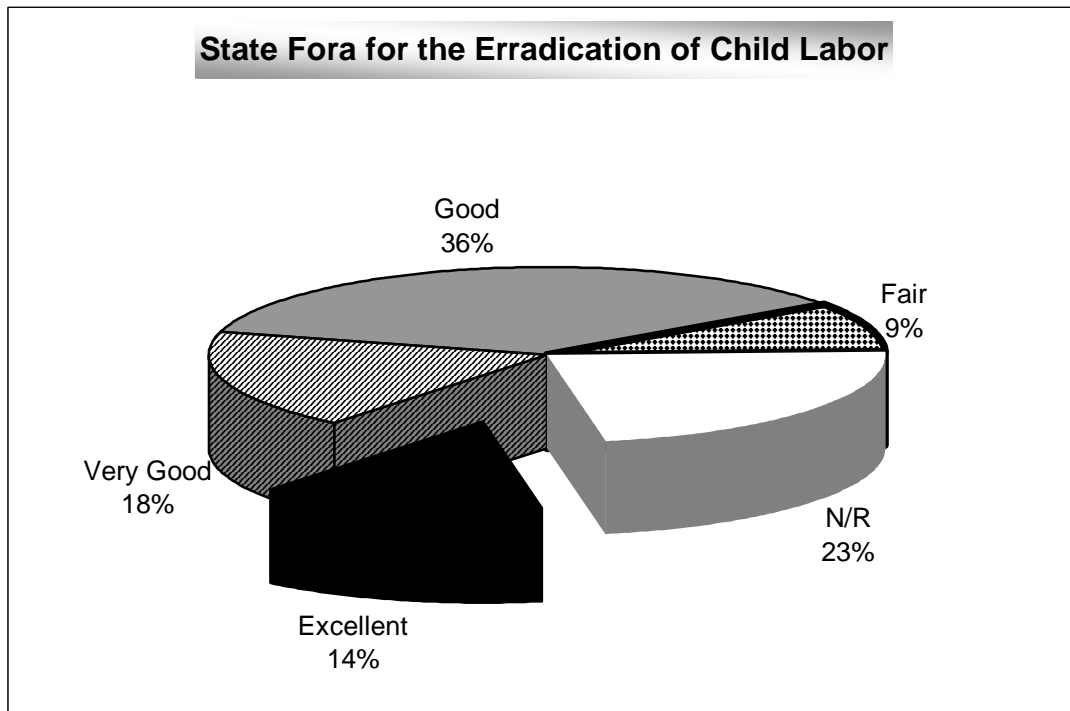
Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

D. State Fora for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour

Given the size of Brazil and the decentralized nature of governmental action, another cornerstone of child labour eradication has been to engage states to establish state-level fora for the eradication of child labour. As of 2001, these fora were functioning in all states (the last one to be established being in the state of Toncantins). Like the National Forum, the state fora are ideally comprised of representatives of the government, workers' and employers' associations and other NGOs, although in some states not all of these segments are represented. Several key informants mentioned the challenge of creating a coordinating and oversight body that did not become co-opted by state governments. Comparing comments from key informants across states also suggests the tremendous variation in the level of functioning of the state fora. Some were apparently still trying to figure out their functions and developing plans, while others were cited as already having a strong presence. Overall, as seen in Graphic 5, the state fora received modest ratings, lower than the National Forum but nonetheless generally positive.

One key informant suggested that in addition to the state fora, it would also be important to have regional fora (incorporating several regions or municipalities from the same state), arguing that in large states, there might be an affinity of kinds of child labour that suggest the need for even more local advocacy and coordination bodies. Overall, key informants said that the general trend toward state- and municipal-level policymaking and implementation in Brazil makes the state fora for child labour eradication even more important sites of action, and calling attention to the need for ongoing ILO support for these state fora.

Graphic 5
Key Informants' Assessment of the State For a for Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

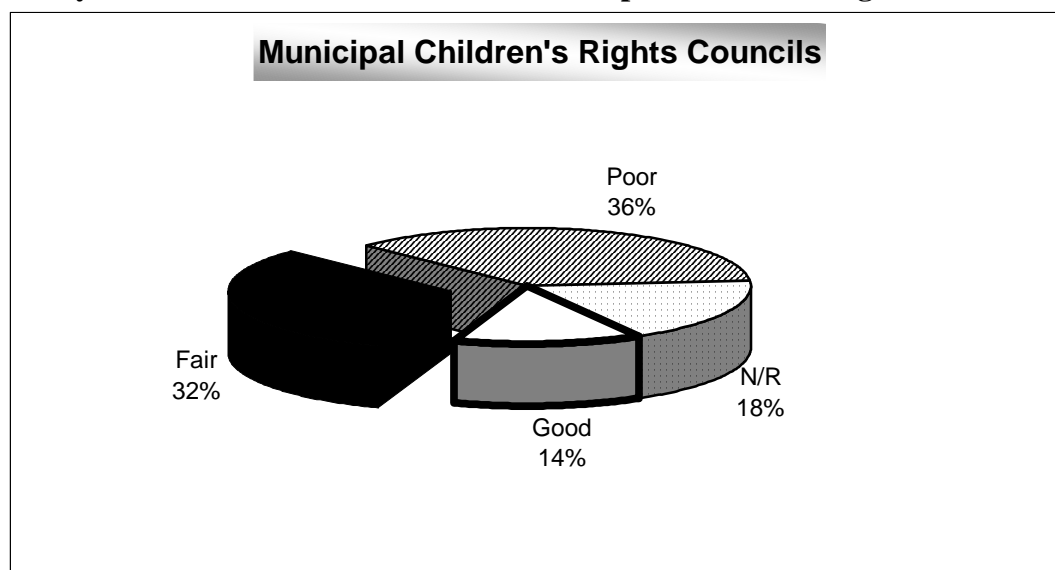
E. Municipal Councils for Children's Rights

The Statute on the Rights of Children and Adolescents (ECA) stipulates the formation of two levels of municipal councils to monitor children's rights; one are the guardianship councils that monitor individual cases of children's rights, and the other being municipal councils for children's rights that articulate municipal policies related to children and are comprised of members of the public and private sector, including NGOs. State-level children's rights councils monitor these municipal-level councils. At the national level, there is the aforementioned CONANDA, funded by the Federal Government but with autonomous elected members from the public and private sector. Many key informants said that while there was tremendous variation across the country, there was in general little articulation between the municipal councils for children's rights and local and state initiatives working in child labour eradication. As can be seen by key respondents responses in Graphics 1 and 6, the municipal councils for children's rights consistently received the lowest ranking among all the actors working in child labour eradication.

As key informants mentioned, there are tremendous variations in the functioning of the municipal children's rights council, with some functioning well while in some municipalities these councils are inadequately trained and poorly functioning. ILO-IPEC supported training of the municipal councils in 1994-95, an action that has since been taken over largely by UNICEF. A number of key informants with contact with the councils suggest that the high rotation of counsellors on the councils has meant that training activities like this have fairly limited impact because of the lack of institutional memory. In general, key informants cited the need for more training of municipal council members in the issue of child labour eradication, and additional awareness-raising activities. Most key informants said that child labour eradication was not a priority for the councils.

At the national level, key informants said that CONANDA had been an important ally in child labour eradication, but several interviewees noted that CONANDA was often besieged with other priorities, particularly the issue of children and adolescents in conflict with the law, and therefore that child labour eradication was not always a major priority. In sum, both at the national level, but even more so at the municipal and state levels, key informants said that much more needs to be done to engage the important network and system of child rights enforcement in Brazil.

Graphic 6
Key Informants' Assessment of the Municipal Children's Rights Councils



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

F. Workers' Organizations

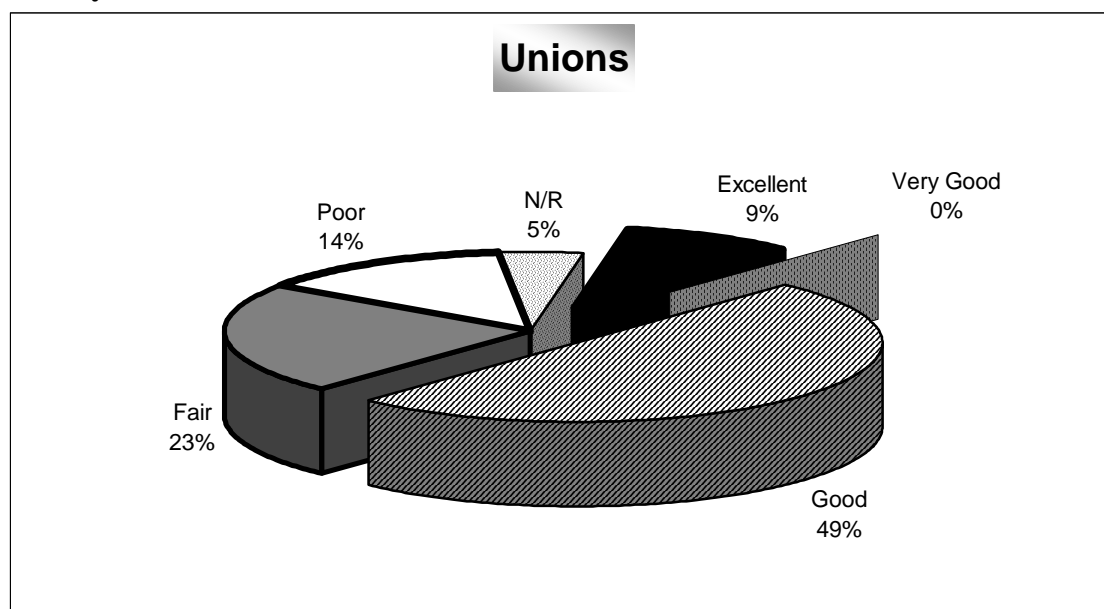
As noted previously, unions have been vital partners for ILO in child labour eradication in Brazil. Many labour unions in Brazil were interested in child labour prior to IPEC, but most were apparently convinced of its importance because of ILO actions. Several union-affiliated key informants confirmed that ILO's historical links with unions facilitated the process of engaging them as important partners in child labour eradication. In some states, labour unions started or have taken on active roles in the state fora to eradicate child labour.

Among other things, trade unions were important in: (1) engaging their staff and membership in the cause of child labour eradication; (2) mobilizing communities and municipalities around the issue of child labour; (3) negotiating collective bargaining agreements with employers that included clauses related to child labour eradication; and (4) supporting the ratification of ILO conventions related to child labour. Historically, unions have been more concerned with adult workers – who are their membership. The impressive aspect of union engagement in child labour eradication in Brazil has been the extent to which they have applied their political clout and social mobilization abilities to the issue of child labour.

As seen in Graphic 7, in spite of the general praise of union activities related to child labour eradication, the low number of respondents who rated their actions as “very good” or “excellent” suggests that unions could do much more. Key informants said that they would rate some unions' work on child labour eradication as “excellent”, but said that other unions

needed to be more engaged. Some unions were cited as talking more about child labour than actually acting on the issue. On the other hand, some unions, such as the Rural Workers Union in Retirolandia, Bahia, were cited as role models in their efforts to eradicate child labour and develop strategies for improving family income.

Graphic 7
Key Informants' Assessment of Union Efforts in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

G. Employers' Organizations

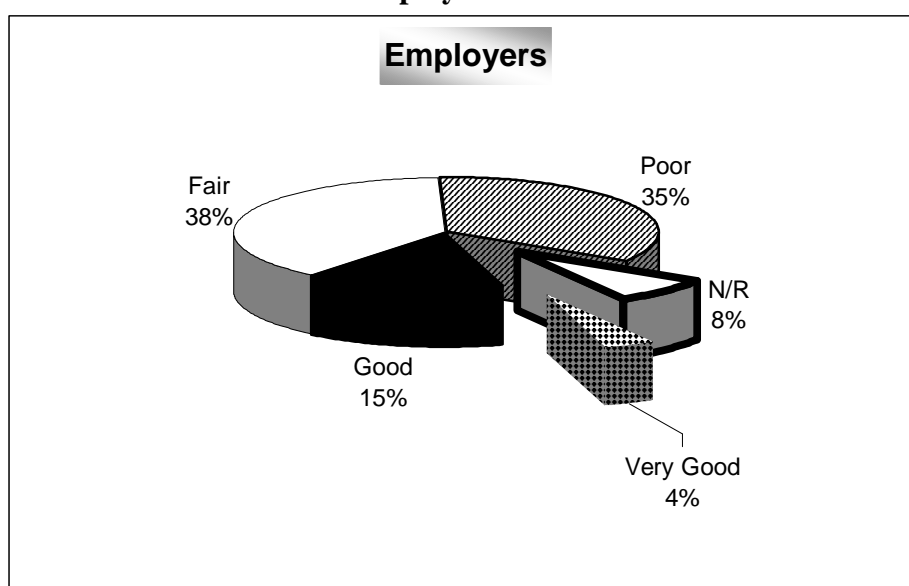
As can be seen in Graphics 1 and 8, employers were recognized by the majority of key informants as the group that was least engaged in child labour eradication. Some key informants praised specific organizations affiliated with employers – e.g. the Abrinq Foundation (the foundation which was previously associated with toy manufacturers, but is now an independent non-governmental organization) and the Instituto Pró-Criança (funded by shoe manufacturers in Franca, São Paulo). In general, however, key informants were critical of employers. One key informant said: “... we are still a long way off from having a group of employers and businesses who are sensitive to child labour issues and go beyond mere lip service to the issue in their national meetings (to actually carrying out action in child labour eradication).”Q8.3.2

The impression that emerges in listening to key informants was the general difficulty of the larger employer associations -- the National Confederation of Agriculture (CNA) and the National Confederation of Industries (CNI) -- to be able to negotiate with other representatives of civil society, namely trade unions and other NGOs that hold strong ideological positions. Yet in spite of ideological differences, there seems to be have been some convergence or at least joint planning between CONTAG and CNA as part of the National Forum. In addition, according to ILO staff in Brazil, several employers' associations, including SESI and CIEE, have also played an important indirect role toward child labour eradication through literacy promotion, among other activities. ILO also collaborated with CNI and SESI in projects in

Pernambuco and Bahia states to provide vocational training to adolescents and their parents in low income neighbourhoods.

In general, it seems that engaging employers from a specific industry at the local level has been easier and more effective than engaging them at the national level. In settings like Franca and Dois Irmãos (in São Paulo state), for example, it has been possible to engage businesses in important ways. In Franca, however, several key informants said that the involvement of shoe manufacturers was at times only superficial. Key informants said that employers often act only when pressured, and that their involvement generally fades once the pressure ends. Several respondents, however, said that they were surprised that employers got involved as they did. In summary, according to key informants, while some employers have gotten involved in the issue, long-term support of employers for child labour eradication has not been consolidated.

Graphic 8
Key Informants' Assessment of Employers' Efforts in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

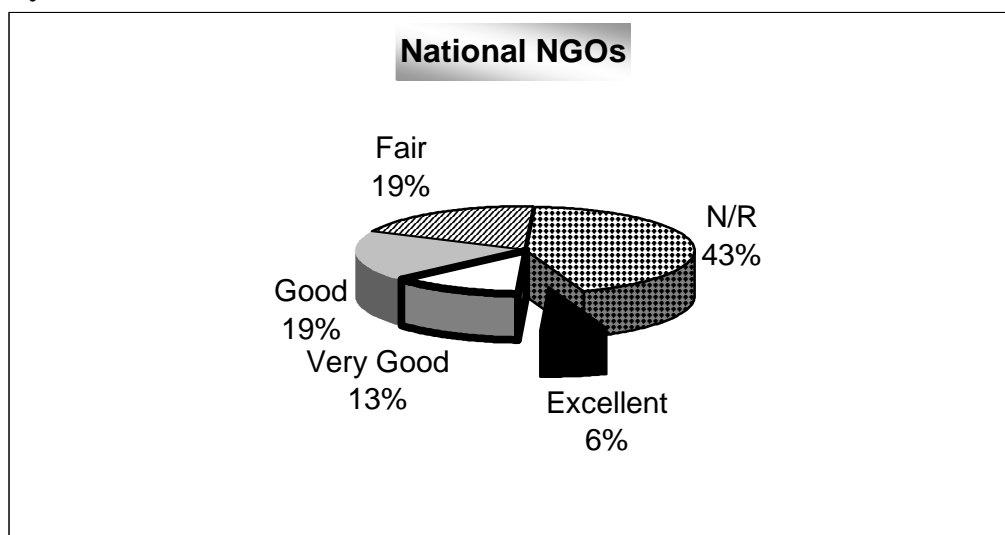
H. Other NGOs

As can be seen by their rankings in Graphics 1, 9 and 10, key informants generally praised other NGOs (referring to those that are neither employers' or workers' associations) for their important work in child labour eradication in the country. At the national level, key informants recognized groups like the National Movement of Street Children, the Abrinq Foundation (an offspring of an employers' association), the News Agency for Children's Rights (ANDI), and Projeto Axé in Salvador, among others. At the local level, there was tremendous variation in the assessment of NGOs. Some key informants noted that NGOs have been strong in child labour eradication efforts at the local level in some regions, while in other regions there are few NGOs, or none at all.

Overall, however, key informants had generally positive comments for both local and national NGOs. Only one or two key informants had critical comments of NGOs. One said that some NGOs seem to "want to maintain child labour" rather than eradicating it. Some noted that

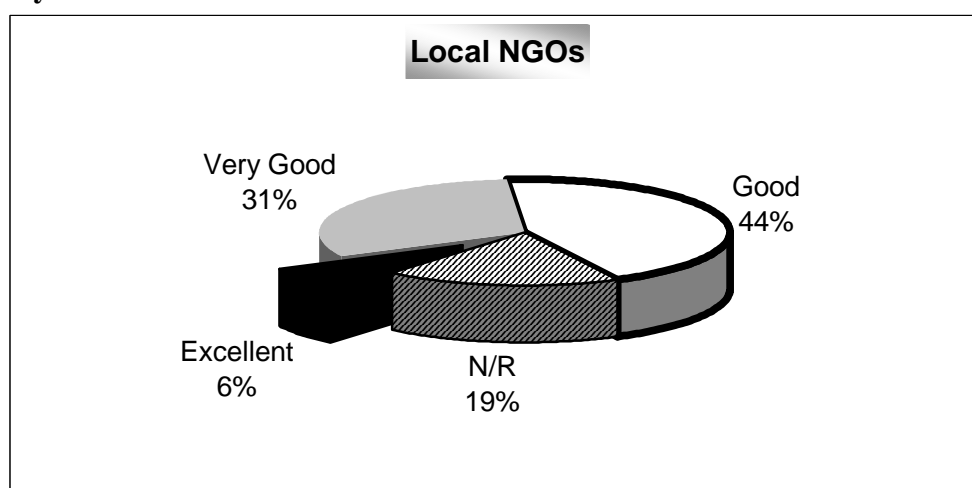
NGOs often lack funding, or have unstable financial bases, which limits their ability to act as long-term partners. Some key informants noted that because of this instability, international agencies such as ILO and UNICEF become even more important in backing NGOs and assisting them in being active “watchdogs” of governmental action. Several key informants also gave high marks to universities, which have been important sources of technical assistance and research on child labour in some regions.

Graphic 9
Key Informants’ Assessment of National NGOs in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

Graphic 10
Key Informants’ Assessment of Local NGOs in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

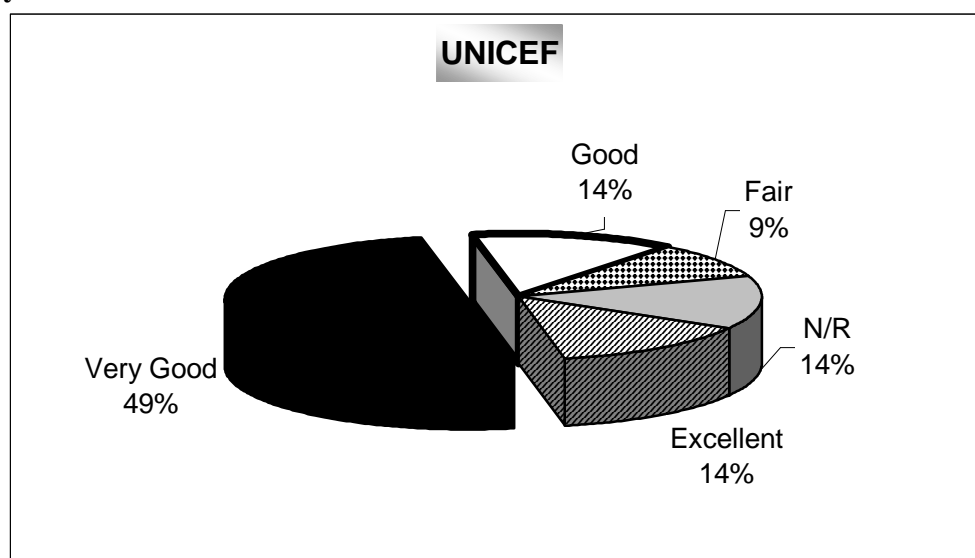
I. International Organizations

In addition to ILO, a number of other international organizations directly or indirectly support programmes related to child labour eradication. These include the World Bank (which has supported research on the area), the Inter American Development Bank (which has supported

programmes for children and youth with components related to child labour eradication), UNESCO and UNICEF. Among these, UNICEF, as the UN agency working directly on children's rights and child policy has been the direct partner of ILO in child labour eradication.

As can be seen in Graphic 11, the vast majority of respondents had positive comments about UNICEF, as they did about ILO. UNICEF was perceived as an important ally to ILO and other entities in helping to engage the Government. In regions where UNICEF has an office, it was perceived as a more direct partner in child labour eradication than ILO. According to ILO staff, this is not surprising since this wider presence of UNICEF has in fact strengthened the complementarities between ILO and UNICEF. A few key informants said they had perceived competition between ILO and UNICEF, but most key informants praised the degree of collaboration between the two.

Graphic 11
Key Informants' Assessment of UNICEF Actions in Child Labour Eradication



Source: Instituto Promundo/ Evaluation Instrument IPEC, 2001

J. Other Actors and Final Comments

There are other entities supporting work or initiatives directly or indirectly related to child labour eradication whose work deserves mention, but were not mentioned directly by key informants. At the legislative level, the *Frente Parlamentar pelos Direitos da Criança* (Parliamentary Group for Children's Rights) has been an important ally. While informal in its structure, the *Frente Parlamentar* represents a group of members of Brazil's National Congress who support children's rights and child labour eradication – even more important given that nearly all the activity in child labour eradication at the governmental level has been by the executive branch.

Other actors include the U.S. Agency for International Development (POMMAR initiative), Solidarity, AFL/CIO, CNBB and the Pastoral da Terra, all of which ILO credits as being important allies in child labour eradication.

As previously mentioned, several key informants highlighted the fragile nature of changes and actions on the part of government and noted the need to consolidate a monitoring function for the National Forum, as well as for the state fora. As can be seen in this and the previous sections, while the Federal Government has made strides to include child labour eradication in numerous national policies, the continuity of these actions is perceived to be uncertain, suggesting the need for a continuing strong role of ILO-IPEC in Brazil -- along with UNICEF, unions, other NGOs and other partners.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the highest ratings for all the actors working in child labour eradication went to UNICEF and ILO. As will be discussed in section VI, this highlights the importance that ILO and UNICEF bring to the field as international organizations whose reputation can and has stimulated other entities to work in child labour eradication. It is noteworthy that so many diverse stakeholders believe that both institutions are doing their job well.

V. Design and Implementation of Projects and Action Programmes

Before discussing the key informants' comments on the broader impact of IPEC, it is useful to present a brief overview of Action Programmes, grants that IPEC made to collaborating organizations – governmental agencies, unions, employers' associations, universities, and other NGOs -- to carry out awareness-raising activities, research, seminars, and in some cases direct activities for children and their families. In sum, the Action Programmes represent both direct services and activities for children and their families, as well as the funding and administrative mechanism through which IPEC directly funded various actions and activities related to child labour eradication.

It is important to clarify that IPEC funding for specific areas of the Action Programmes comes from bilateral agreements negotiated with specific donor countries, which in turn determines for which specific actions or sectors IPEC-Brazil has funding. A few key informants reported or were aware of tensions that sometimes existed between the countries that fund ILO-Geneva and ILO-Brazil. Some of these funding agencies and ILO-Geneva were sometimes perceived as being more interested in the numerical impact on families and children reached, whereas ILO-Brazil staff, while recognizing that the size of Brazil would always limit their financial reach, emphasized awareness-raising and indirect, strategic actions that contributed to mainstreaming of child labour eradication.

As can be seen in Table 2, overall the level of funding provided by the Action Programmes was generally small; more than 50% of grants were between US\$15,000 and US\$60,000. While IPEC supported 70 Action Programmes in the last nine years -- nearly 40% of which were direct actions affecting children and families – key informants affirmed that the political impact of ILO-IPEC funding was more important than the direct benefit to families and children. Indeed, the scale of ILO-IPEC funding was limited considering the size of Brazil, and in comparison to other sources of funding, including the governmental sources. Total IPEC funding in 1992-98 was US\$4.7 million. Combined with US\$631,000 in 1999-2000, this came to US\$5.3 million over 9 years. Furthermore, as highlighted in Graphic 13, key informants said that direct funding was the least important of IPEC contributions to child labour eradication in Brazil.

Table 2 presents an overview of 52 Action Programmes for which we had access to programme documents. As can be seen in this table, the majority of Action Programmes (about 60%) fall into the category of raising awareness or advocacy, while less than 40% were “direct actions”. Even direct actions tended to have a second purpose, namely to serve as visible and potentially replicable pilot or demonstration projects.

Was the Action Programme funding spent well? A review of comments from key informants and our own conclusions suggest that the Action Programmes have been extremely important in providing small and medium-sized grants for various activities – research, events, travel, publications, etc. – that otherwise would have been difficult to fund or might have gone unfunded. Reviewing the documents on the Action Programmes suggests that in general funding followed IPEC strategies and contributed to the overall, biannual objectives. Perhaps the main shortcoming to the Action Programmes is the lack of a coherent, systematized reporting and documentation system within ILO-Brazil to present the richness of these experiences and the impact of the Action Programmes. We suggest that ILO consider

developing such a reporting system and consider carrying out a specific evaluation and assessment of the Action Programmes.

What did key informants say about the Action Programmes?

Key informants who knew about Action Programmes, or had benefited from them directly, generally had positive comments. Several key informants highlighted the importance of those Action Programmes that focused on income generation for families as being extremely important as demonstration projects (the Goat-to-School project in Bahia being the most visible of those.). In several cases, Action Programme funding had an important political impact by spurring governmental action, particularly at the state level. Key informants who benefited directly from Action Programme funding said that ILO funding was less important for its financial value than in serving as an “international seal of approval” that was useful in helping them gain international attention and in securing additional funding. In some cases, key informants said that ILO funding -- for example, funding some of the first investigations of child labour in the charcoal industry -- led to a chain reaction for child labour eradication in the region. Other interviewees said that IPEC funds, while small, filled in various gaps that other actors could not meet, such as funding a study or a consultant for a strategic planning meeting. Said one interviewee: “IPEC funding sometimes seemed like a fireman (responding to a small fire or an urgent need), but that is not inconsequential.”Q3.3.1

Overall, though, the key informants were nearly unanimous that IPEC direct funding of Action Programmes was not among the most important of its actions in child labour eradication. When asked to rate the importance of IPEC’s different kinds of actions in child labour eradication, financial support for direct action was in second-to-last place, as shown in Appendix 3. Key informants were unanimous in recognizing that ILO funding for direct action was limited given the size of Brazil and the scale of child labour in the country, and therefore was best used strategically for awareness-raising than for direct action.

Key informants affiliated with the Government generally said that as a rule, they believed that ILO should not fund direct action programmes nor provide institutional support, which they said should be the responsibility of national, local and state governments. At the same time, other government representatives talked about their lack of flexible funding and cited the importance of ILO funding, even if limited in its amounts, because it allowed them to carry out strategic events for which government funding was limited, non-existent or too slow.

In terms of shortcomings with the Action Programmes, among those key informants who had direct knowledge, the general sense was that they were well chosen and well executed. Several key informants mentioned delays in funding, or complained of the cumbersome bureaucracy of international organizations (but this is not a problem exclusive to ILO). A few key informants mentioned that the executing organizations had difficulties carrying out the activities stipulated in the Action Programme, but in general interviewees awarded ILO high marks for the administration of their grants. Notably, a few key informants complained that IPEC-ILO was “abandoning its projects too soon” saying that the limitation of ten years on Action Programme funding seemed arbitrary given the varied contexts in Brazil, and local cultural and political realities. ILO staff, however, say that 10 years is long enough to fund projects and reaffirm that the goal of the Action Programmes was not to become a long-term source of funding but rather to serve as a short-term catalyst. Some local project staff said that acquiring other sources of funding and institutionalising or mainstreaming an initiative was a long-term task that should not have been abandoned so soon.

How have the Action Programmes been evaluated?

ILO staff confirm that nearly all of the Action Programmes, direct action or otherwise, lack baseline data with which to carry out impact evaluation. In more recent direct action projects, ILO has begun to request or include baseline studies. In general, the documentation available via ILO did not contain information that would allow us to assess the impact of the Action Programmes, including, for example, whether the organizations acquired other sources of funding, or whether the organization changed as a result of the ILO support. Nonetheless, on an anecdotal level, there are some examples of reported impact of Action Programme funding. Several unions said that ILO funding (and the association of ILO's name) was crucial for them to educate and sensitise their affiliates on the importance of child labour eradication. One governmental informant said that ILO funding was allowing them to convince a state government agency to fund a specific kind of action. Several NGOs with direct action grants from ILO said that their funding had enabled them to attract other funding agencies, primarily international.

Another question that must be considered is how to evaluate social mobilization and advocacy. The majority of IPEC projects in Brazil have been related to advocacy or awareness-raising, including publications and other media-oriented materials, studies, seminars, meetings, etc.

In terms of evaluation, a number of questions emerge: Were the materials pre-tested with the target audience? How did the implementing organizations decide that these were the most appropriate materials? Were follow-up feedback evaluation forms used that would allow some impact evaluation? In most cases from what we reviewed in the documentation and discussed with key informants, this kind of evaluation was not carried out for IPEC-supported awareness-raising materials. Given that media outreach (video development, radio spots, etc.) and awareness-raising materials have been an integral part of IPEC Action Programme grants and IPEC actions in general, this suggests the importance of developing better indicators and methodologies for evaluating the effectiveness of media-related awareness-raising campaigns.

Table 2
Overview of Action Programmes

Value of Projects	N°	%
0 to \$15,000,00	4	7,69
\$15,001,00 to \$30,000,00	9	17,30
\$30,0001 to \$60,000,00	19	36,53
\$60,000,00 to \$100,000,00	12	23,07
Above \$100,000,00	7	13,46
N/R	1	1,92
Total	52	100
Length of Funding	N°	%
Up to 6 months	3	5,76
Between 7 and 12 months	16	30,76
Between 13 and 18 months	12	23,07
More than 19 months	19	36,53
N/R	2	3,84
Total	52	100
Type of Project**	N°	%
Direct Action	20	37,73
Institutional Strengthening	5	9,4
Social Mobilization	6	11,32
Labour Inspection	1	1,88
Awareness Raising	21	39,62
Total	53*	100

(*) One of the forms showed two marked items.

(**). These categories were created by the consultants and do not correspond to the way IPEC-Brazil categorizes its Action Programmes.

VI. Assessment, Impact, Achievements and Challenges of ILO-IPEC in Brazil

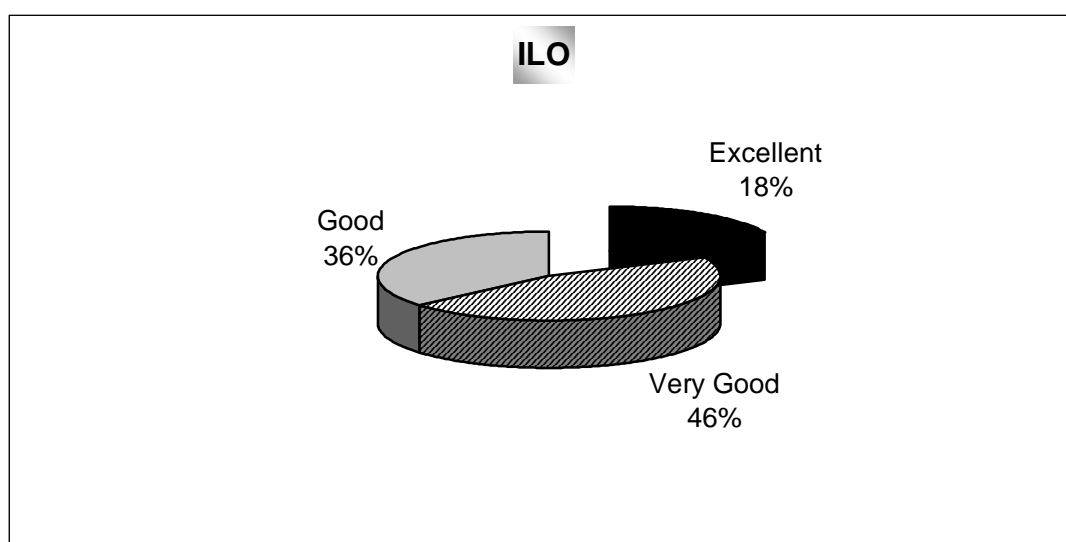
A. Overview

In this section we present the key findings of this evaluation study, specifically an assessment of the impact and achievements of ILO-IPEC during the period 1992-2000. We have divided this analysis on the impact and achievements of IPEC into the following categories: (1) clarity and appropriateness of objectives; (2) media impact; (3) general awareness-raising; (4) policy-level impact; (5) impact in empowering other actors, and appropriateness of the selection of partner organizations; (6) unexpected impacts; and (7) remaining challenges.

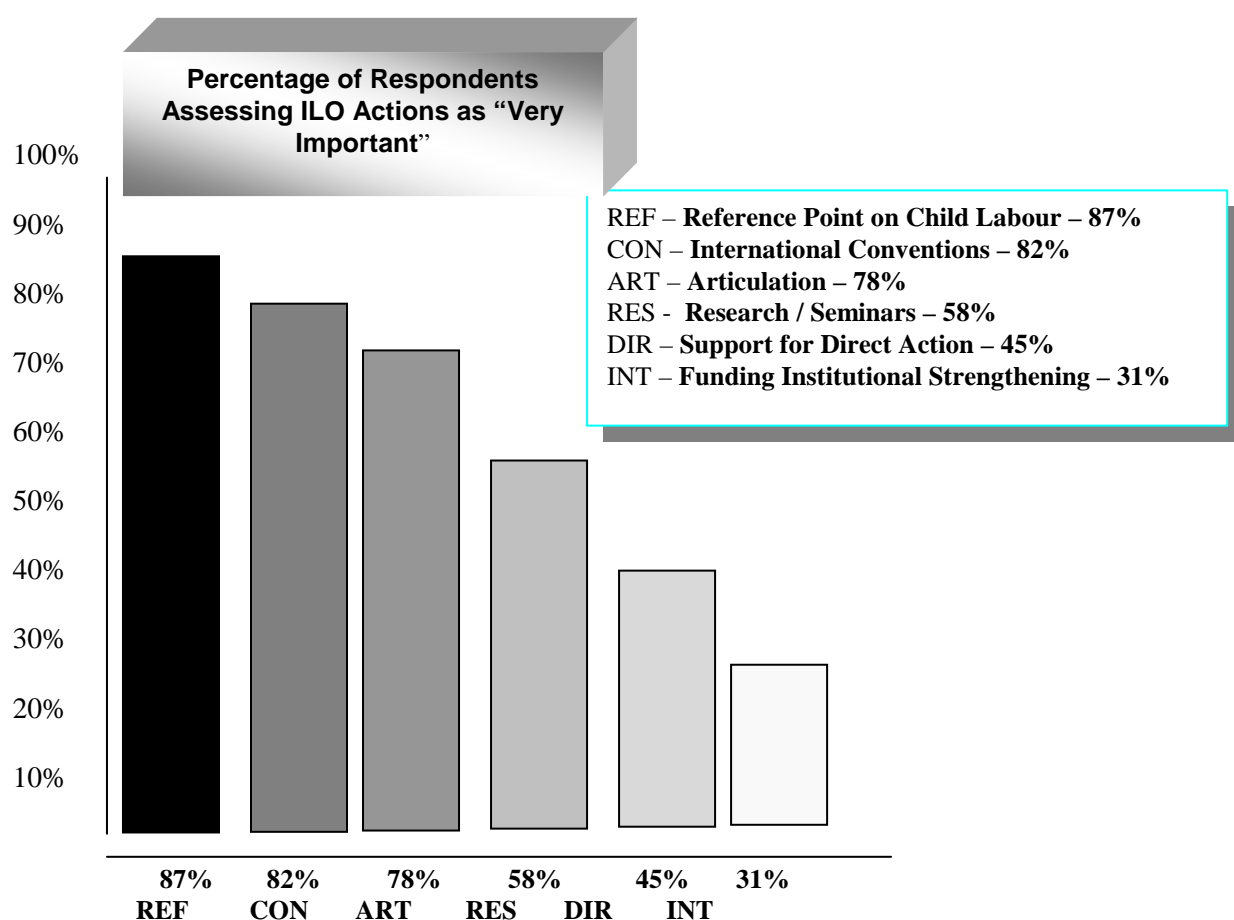
Overall, the 38 key informants interviewed had generally positive comments and opinions about the activities and accomplishments of ILO-IPEC in Brazil over the time period studied. Indeed, as previously mentioned, ILO and UNICEF were the most highly rated organizations by key informants in terms of their efforts in child labour eradication. As can be seen in Graphic 12, all the key informants interviewed who responded to the question ranked ILO from good to excellent. While respondents had some specific criticisms that we will present in this section, the general rating of ILO-IPEC was clearly positive.

In addition, we asked key informants to rank the importance of different kinds of activities that ILO-IPEC carried out. Graphic 13 presents these results, which show that key informants rated IPEC's role as being a reference point for child labour eradication, and its promotion of international conventions as being the two most important actions, suggesting both the importance and relative success of ILO in awareness raising on child labour in Brazil.

Graphic 12 – Key Informants' Assessment of ILO-Brazil Actions in Child Labour Eradication



Graphic 13 - Assessment of Most Important Actions by IPEC



B. Clarity and Appropriateness of ILO-IPEC Objectives

In this section, we will address two questions: (1) How appropriate were ILO-IPEC objectives given the situation of child labour in Brazil? And (2) Were ILO-IPEC objectives understood by its clients or key actors?

The goals and objectives of IPEC-Brazil emerged from the overall goals of IPEC internationally, the aim of which “is to work towards the progressive elimination of child labour problems by creating a worldwide movement to combat it.” Specifically ILO-IPEC has worked internationally to promote political will and commitment by governments, in collaboration with employers’ and workers’ organizations and other NGOs to both prevent child labour and withdraw children from hazardous work. IPEC has promoted a phased and multi-sectoral strategy with the following steps:

- (1) Motivating a broad alliance of partners to acknowledge and act against child labour;
- (2) Carrying out a situational analysis to find out about child labour problems in a country;
- (3) Assisting with developing and implementing national policies on child labour problems;
- (4) Strengthening existing organizations and setting up institutional mechanisms;
- (5) Creating awareness on the problem nationwide, in communities and workplaces;
- (6) Promoting the development and application of protective legislation;
- (7) Supporting direct action with (potential) child workers for demonstration purposes;
- (8) Replicating and expanding successful projects into the programmes of partners; and

- (9) Mainstreaming child labour issues into socio-economic policies, programmes and budgets.

Following these broad lines, IPEC-Brazil defined its objectives and revised them via its biannual planning process. According to ILO staff, IPEC activities in Brazil during 1992-2000 had three successive phases:

- (1) Awareness-raising;
- (2) Mainstreaming of child labour eradication into the national agenda (and secondarily in state government agendas); and
- (3) Ensuring the sustainability of child labour eradication goals within government policies and programmes.

As can be seen by these phases, IPEC action in Brazil began with an initial focus on awareness raising and direct Action Programmes that served as pilot or demonstration projects, and then moved toward an attempt to consolidate gains and mainstreamed child labour eradication into long-term and sustainable governmental policies, backed with financial commitments. Built into this process is an assumption that as child labour eradication programmes and policies are mainstreamed, IPEC might end activities in a given country or gradually phase some activities out as appropriate.

In addition to the general question of whether these three broad goals were met – which we address throughout this section – two other specific questions emerge: (1) Did key stakeholders and IPEC partners perceive and understand these changes in IPEC objectives over the time period? And (2) Did stakeholders agree with these objectives, or find them appropriate?

Did key informants, as representatives of key stakeholders, perceive these changes in IPEC objectives?

In general, most key informants perceived IPEC's gradual shift from awareness raising through campaigns, educational materials, support of training activities and other events and demonstration projects, toward a greater focus on attempts to mainstream child labour eradication in concrete and strategic ways in national and state level policies, and finally to consolidate these goals. Other key informants, however, said they did not perceive a change in objectives over time but, rather, perceived ILO as generally promoting child labour eradication. Several key informants said that in the last few years, they perceived a shift of ILO out of the "limelight" or off of center stage in terms of child labour. This perception is consistent with ILO staff who said that part of their unannounced strategy in recent years has been to "move out of the way so that the government could take credit for eradicating child labour."(Q2.2)

Both ILO staff and several key informants noted that IPEC did not always adequately communicate its goals and objectives to key stakeholders and partner organizations, and was sometimes lacking in public relations in general. These comments suggest the need for ILO-Brazil to pay greater attention to communicating its plans, objectives and intentions to key stakeholders. Many key informants were aware that ILO-Brazil had informed the National IPEC Steering Committee that IPEC activities in Brazil would be phased out. Other key informants interpreted the decision of ILO and UNICEF to gradually end their funding to the National Forum for the Eradication of Child Labour as another sign that IPEC was planning to

end activities in Brazil. The subsequent decision to continue IPEC activities in Brazil, along with changes in IPEC staffing at the ILO-Brazil office, created confusion about the future of IPEC in Brazil. In looking toward the future, this suggests the need for ILO staff to pay greater attention to how they communicate their plans to their key partners within Brazil. Because IPEC has become a highly visible reference point on child labour in Brazil, these comments from key informants underscore the need for ILO to communicate more clearly to its partners organizations its plans and strategies.

Did stakeholders perceive IPEC objectives as appropriate?

Perhaps the more important question in terms of IPEC objectives was whether in fact stakeholders perceived these changes in objectives to be appropriate. The general consensus in reviewing the key informant interviews was that interviewees did in fact believe that the direction of this shift -- from awareness raising and demonstration projects toward the mainstreaming and consolidation of policy-level initiatives -- was appropriate. The timing of this shift was nonetheless questioned. Many key informants, as we will highlight later in this section, believed that ILO was shifting too quickly to the phase of consolidation or was underestimating the time required to truly consolidate the issue of child labour eradication into state and national level policy. A number of illustrative quotes are provided in section VI to highlight this point.

In general, stakeholders did agree with and find IPEC objectives to be appropriate but that many did not agree with IPEC's assertions on the amount of time required for true consolidation of gains in eradicating child labour. In other cases key informants seemed to interpret the decision to gradually withdraw funding from the National Forum as a sign (which was not what ILO nor UNICEF intended) that ILO planned reduce or otherwise end IPEC activities in Brazil. In any case, the important message from key informants is that nearly unanimously they asserted that the consolidation phase will require much more time than the key informants believe that ILO perceives is necessary.

C. Overall Assessment of ILO-IPEC Activities in Brazil

Before assessing specific objectives, what can we say about IPEC-ILO actions overall in Brazil? Were they successful? Did they succeed in achieving the 8-stage process described at the beginning of this section?

First, in general, we can affirm that awareness raising about child labour was achieved. More specifically, general awareness about child labour took on unforeseeable dimensions largely because IPEC started activities in Brazil precisely at a historical moment (shortly after the passage of ECA) when the media, workers' associations, other NGOs (and to a lesser extent employers' associations) and the government were primed or sensitised to working on child labour eradication. ILO-IPEC was generally astute and strategic in taking advantage of this "groundswell" and social mobilization that had already taken place related to ECA. Second, for the most part, the use of Action Programme funding to support visible demonstration projects was also generally positive and strategic. However, some of these demonstration projects have not been replicated to the extent possible or desirable. For example, as can be seen in the sisal region of Bahia, while initial IPEC funding was important, there is still a need to consolidate and develop long-term, sustainable income generation alternatives or low income, rural-based families. Third, in terms of mainstreaming child labour eradication into national policies with funding allocated, we can affirm that this too was largely successful, although it is still early to know how long the current Federal Government initiatives will

endure. As we describe in the last section of this report, the nature of policymaking in Brazil means that it is unknown, for example, just how long the *Bolsa-Escola* and *Criança-Cidadã* programmes will be supported or whether current educational reform efforts will continue to receive adequate funding and priority. In sum, we can affirm that IPEC has been largely successful in Brazil, but significant parts of the story are still untold and various sectors of child labour eradication still need support.

What about the geographical focus of IPEC activities in Brazil? Did IPEC prioritise the appropriate sectors of child labour and with the appropriate intensity in each sector? It is clear that IPEC could only act along with local actors, thus in some regions, IPEC actions were hindered by the lack of strong local actors. In other areas, a relatively limited IPEC role was an important catalyst or contribution to rapid policy and programme action, as in the case of the charcoal region in Mato Grosso do Sul. Yet in other regions, such as the sisal region of Bahia and various regions of Pernambuco, longer term, structural changes will be necessary to offer sustainable alternatives to low income, rural-based families.

1. Child Labour in the Media

Given that one of the goals of IPEC in Brazil was awareness-raising, the appearance of child labour in the media is one important indicator of impact. In an analysis of articles on child labour found in nine of the largest newspapers and news magazines in Brazil, covering 1996-2000, we found a total of 287 references to child labour, with a peak in 1998. Of those articles, nearly one-third (or 91 articles) mentioned either ILO or IPEC, suggesting that ILO's status was key in drawing attention to child labour and that ILO was viewed as a reference point on child labour eradication. The details of this media review are included in Portuguese in Appendix 5.

2. General Awareness-Raising

As previously mentioned, key informants were nearly unanimous in affirming that ILO had been crucial in raising awareness about child labour in Brazil, and in asserting that this was perhaps the most important impact of IPEC in the last nine years. One key informant associated with the Government (and who had worked in child labour eradication for more than 10 years) said:

“I think that IPEC was the reference point for people to see that children's work was not the solution (to poverty), that it was a problem. From there in 1993, I worked with rural unions. Child labour was (sort of acceptable); everyone was used to it. People were worried about sexual exploitation of children or street children, but the work of children in agriculture was not a concern. ILO started the debate, then the media took the issue on.”Q3.1

Other key informants confirmed that from 1992 to around 1998, child labour had come to be seen nearly universally in negative terms. Even employers, the slowest to react to the issue, did not want their names associated with it. While key informants emphasized that ILO alone was not responsible for this change in attitudes, they nonetheless credit ILO in large part with having started a dynamic process of awareness raising, both at a national level and in specific forms of child labour. Several interviewees said that IPEC had been crucial in calling attention to the needs of rural children; prior to IPEC, they said, UNICEF, most NGOs and the Federal Government were giving more attention to children in urban areas, most notably,

street children, but said that little attention was focused on the needs of rural-based working children. Said another key informant:

“I think that IPEC was largely responsible for the issue of raising awareness about land reform and child labour in the charcoal region; lots of people were mobilized (because of IPEC’s participation). Child labour stopped being something commonplace, and became a crime. You see those regions (agricultural areas where babies are alongside their mothers with pesticides present) All of this started to be questioned when IPEC came along with (mobilization that had started related to) the Statute on the Rights of Children and Adolescents.”Q4.1

One key informant, in weighing the degree of attitudinal changes in the last 10 years, said that in terms of raising awareness, IPEC had completed its role in Brazil. Representatives of other major actors, including UNICEF and the Federal Government, acknowledged the role of IPEC in being a pioneer in terms of introducing child labour eradication in Brazil and of “paving the way.”Q17.1

Within the area of awareness raising, IPEC is also credited with supporting important research and some of the first diagnoses on the situation of working children in Brazil. Several key informants said that in-depth studies (some supported by IPEC) carried out by university and government researchers and inspectors on child labour were crucial to promoting awareness and sparking action. In particular, key informants cited household level data on the worst forms of child labour in promoting awareness and later serving as the basis for designing support strategies for families and children.

In summary, key informants were unanimous in affirming that in the last nine years there had been a major change in attitudes toward child labour, and that IPEC was due considerable credit for these actions.

3. Policy-Level Impact

In addition to general awareness-raising about child labour, key informants credit IPEC with having introduced child labour eradication at the policy level. Several key informants mentioned the importance of IPEC in supporting the inclusion of child labour in the national census and in household survey data. Talking about IPEC’s role in promoting the inclusion of child labour at the national policy level, one key informant said:

“IPEC contributed to the fact that today there are nearly 400,000 children being supported by the PETI ...To the extent that the country absorbed child labour eradication in the national agenda, and in the national budget, IPEC had an important role. Today it’s clear to everyone that one little initiative is not enough (to eradicate child labour). Now there are major resources being voted on for child labour in the national Congress. All that was discussed and promoted in the National Forum. So, I see IPEC working together with all of this and contributing a lot. Working alone they (IPEC) couldn’t have done it. This (the national programme) is a product of a network that was started.”Q5.4

Many key informants mentioned the credibility of ILO as an international organization that historically had developed and promoted workers’ rights. This “seal” of an international

organization was credited with having promoted the incorporation of child labour at the policy level. Said one interviewee:

“When IPEC comes into a country, I think it increases action on the issue because it brings not only resources, but also know-how and with the weight of an international organization that can focus attention and thereby helps the government to implement policies on child labour eradication.”Q6.1

Some key informants said that while there were other organizations playing an advocacy role and urging governmental action -- including NGOs -- ILO was important because some of these other organizations are fragile, while others did not have the weight and longevity of a U.N. agency that was seen as being an independent voice. In summary, based on the key informants' responses, it seems reasonable to credit ILO-IPEC -- along with other major actors -- in having introduced and incorporated child labour eradication in significant ways at the national policy level.

4. Impact in Empowering Other Actors and Selection of Partners

Many key informants viewed ILO-IPEC's actions as giving legitimacy to their own work or to other actors working in child labour eradication. With unions, for example, several interviewees noted and praised IPEC's support of unions, saying that prior to IPEC action, unions focused mainly on salaries and other issues concerning adult workers, but did not focus on child labour. At the state and local level, some key informants said that ILO's clout was key in spurring action in the face of intransigent local policymakers. Said one key informant talking about the actions of local labour leaders to work on child labour eradication:

“Dialogue with the Government is a difficult thing here in Bahia where large landowners hold the power. In general Brazil does not have a true democracy but people have learned to be brave and the support of ILO and UNICEF were fundamental in that. People feel encouraged because they (normally) can't get to the policymakers but ILO can.”Q11.3

Similarly, MTE representatives said that prior to IPEC they sometimes found themselves in the difficult position of opposing FUNABEM (the previous national organization working in child welfare), which before 1990 advocated for the work of children 7-14 years of age in some of its programmes, saying that work was necessary for low income families. Several interviewees working with the Government said that IPEC was extremely important in empowering those individuals within the MTE who were already opposed to child labour and who sought to oppose governmental policies that actually promoted child labour. Said one interviewee:

“We used to be able to carry out isolated actions related to child labour within the Ministry of Labour, but we didn't have any political support, even though technically, in terms of legislation we had advanced a lot With the arrival of IPEC we were able to make a big leap because of its political support.”Q14.1

In terms of empowering other actors, which was a central goal of IPEC in Brazil, it is also important to mention a subtle but major impact that ILO had in Brazil. First, as many key informants mentioned, IPEC was able to accomplish as much as it did because of the social mobilization around the Statute on Children and Adolescent Rights in the late 1980s and early

1990s. IPEC was able to take advantage of this social mobilization and indeed to bring in a number of key actors -- particularly those in rural areas -- who did not participate in ECA.

What about the selection of partners in general? Did IPEC generally work with and support the most appropriate partner organizations? In general, key informants believed that IPEC did in fact select the most appropriate partner organizations. Perhaps the only exception is the lack of engagement of certain national-level employers' associations. For example, if we look at key informants' rankings of the different actors working in child labour eradication, employers' associations received among the lowest ratings, suggesting that IPEC may have wanted to identified alternative, national-level employers' associations or that these associations were not adequately or appropriately engaged. Similarly in the case of the municipal children's rights councils, IPEC might have been able (and might still be able) to do more to engage them.

5. Unexpected Outcomes

In general key informants reported few truly unexpected outcomes. What they did report was that some IPEC-supported activities took on a dimension that they did not foresee. For example, several key informants said that the proportion or scale of the national action and reaction to child labour was larger than they would have imagined. Second, encouraging and promoting awareness and action related to child labour was also cited as having called attention to a number of structural issues in Brazil that are often seen as intractable, including income and land distribution (on both of which Brazil ranks as among the worst in the world). In some specific areas where IPEC actions have focused, including the sisal region in Bahia, local interviewees said that the focus on child labour in the region had led to discussions among local community leaders, labour leaders, families and occasionally with policymakers about land reform, job creation, income generation and the quality of public education. In summary, some key informants said that discussions about child labour had repercussions on other related policy issues that they might not have expected.

IPEC also played a major role on an unexpected scale through the creation of the National Forum. The concept of a national forum made up of key stakeholders -- and including the public and private sector -- is not new in Brazil. Municipal and state children's rights councils, and CONANDA, created under ECA, for example, follow this pattern. However, the National Forum was extremely important in reinforcing this participatory process and applying it to child labour. What is different about the National Forum compared to the councils on children's rights is that child labour eradication in Brazil has meant politically confronting areas of the country, particularly rural areas, where policymaking is sometimes authoritarian and where large landowners and businesses hold tremendous political power. Promoting the creation of state-level fora for child labour eradication that confront and question these vested interests is another example of a planned action that had outcomes of a kind or scale that were unexpected.

D. Remaining Challenges

In spite of the generally positive assessment of the impact of IPEC in Brazil, there are many remaining challenges and concerns cited by the key informants or that emerge in our analysis:

1.) Measuring or quantifying impact: While ILO can claim impact from IPEC actions in Brazil, there is a clear lack of concrete evaluation indicators, which is not surprising given the range of IPEC-ILO actions, the nature of child labour as a social problem and the multiple

actions and events involved. In addition, while key informants could cite numerous ways in which the Government had incorporated its objectives, beyond the number of children supported by the *Bolsa Criança Cidadã* (PETI/SEAS) and the *Bolsa-Escola* (MEC), there are few measured indicators of the impact of the government's efforts. Indicators related to improvements in the quality of public education, and long-term impact on family income, for example, are still lacking. An impact evaluation of the *Bolsa Criança Cidadã* programme in Pernambuco and Bahia states by the World Bank confirmed that the family income support programme along with the *Jornada Ampliada* had a positive impact in increasing household demand for schooling, and reduced the probability of children in target areas by working up to 25%⁵. Furthermore, social pressure even seems to lead to non-participating households to conform to programme-specific goals (that is keeping children out of work). In spite of this affirmation, both the National Forum and ILO staff recognize the remedial nature of the *Bolsa Criança Cidadã* and *Bolsa-Escola* programmes. In short, while the *Bolsa Criança Cidadã* programme has been confirmed to have a positive impact in the short term, there are numerous other indicators of impact for the government's actions in child labour eradication (and for IPEC) that need to be considered.

2.) The challenge of changing the culture and mindset of rural communities. Several key informants said that authoritative policymaking, traditional political power structures and changing the mindset of rural-based families continues to be a challenge. Even when the *Bolsa-Escola* programme has been implemented successfully, some local informants reported difficulties in engaging families and in encouraging them to see school as important for their children beyond the direct benefit of the family income support (the “bolsa”). Said one key informant:

“There was and still is a lack of understanding by families of why to have the extended school hours. Lots of families came to talk to the staff to say, my child is playing,not working. He needs to learn how to work.” Q10.2

In talking to local key informants, it is clear that much still needs to be done to change a local culture and educational system that still does not promote the education of children and families to be actively involved citizens who are able to advocate on their own behalf and question social injustices around them.

3.) Ongoing political opposition to addressing the root causes of child labour. As noted previously, one of the unexpected results of IPEC actions has been a discussion at the local level about the root causes of child labour and the need to address them. At the local level, NGOs in the sisal region of Bahia said that they had developed comprehensive plans for regional economic development, but confronted a lack of political will and opposition by state-level policymakers to their plans because of the structural changes and resources required to enact them.

⁵ See World Bank (August 2000). Evaluating the Impact of PETI on Child Labour Supply and Schooling Demand in Rural Northeastern Brazil: the Case of Pernambuco, Bahia and Sergipe. Washington, DC: World Bank.

VII. The Sustainability of IPEC Actions in Brazil

Are the actions and accomplishments of IPEC sustainable? If not, what would be necessary to make them sustainable? It is clear from examples provided here that many IPEC-initiated actions have been mainstreamed by important governmental sectors. Numerous other actors are involved in child labour eradication and are likely to continue to be -- even if IPEC were to end or reduce the scope of its activities in Brazil. The major doubts about sustainability, according to key informants, is just how integrated child labour eradication is within national and local political agendas, and how deeply committed other actors -- unions, local governments, employers -- are to child labour eradication. Specifically, the question remains unanswered as to whether future administrations in Brazil will continue to support outlays of millions and even billions of *reais* for child labour eradication and enhancing the public education system, and take on to a greater extent structural issues such as adequate land reform.

Key informants cited the fragility of the political system and policymaking process in Brazil as the greatest risk to the sustainability of IPEC actions, which is a threat to many initiatives in social welfare in Brazil. In numerous examples, key informants described how important gains and major initiatives -- at the state, municipal and national level -- could be significantly altered or even end with changes in local leadership or in the political climate. As one interviewee said, echoing the sentiments of many key informants:

“...we know that it all depends on the new governor who takes over, or the next mayor, or the new secretary of education. It all depends on what they want. we simply don’t know how much change there will be from one administration to the next. That makes our work (in child labour eradication) complicated.”Q22.2

The fragility of the democratic and policymaking process in Brazil, perhaps more than any other factor weighs heavily in favour of an IPEC continuing presence in Brazil. Indeed, a majority of key informants expressed their belief that IPEC was abandoning a process -- that had made important gains -- that was still unconsolidated at the national level. It is worth restating that many key informants interpreted the ILO-UNICEF decision to gradually reduce funding to the National Forum as an indication that ILO was planning to end IPEC activities in Brazil, while ILO-Brazil emphasizes that this is not the case. In addition, several key informants mentioned that if child labour eradication was fragile at the national level, it is even more fragile at the state and municipal levels. To offer one example of a point that several interviewees reinforced, one key informant said:

“Child labour eradication in Brazil got to the point of being like an airplane in flight. As long as there are forces to sustain it, and IPEC is one of those, offering fuel for its engines and funding, like the gasoline, and supporting the mobilization of civil society, it will continue. But if the gas runs out, this airplane will fall.”Q8.3.

VIII. Final Recommendations

1.) Continuing to promote the monitoring of state and national level policy related to child labour prevention and eradication. This might include some kind of ongoing support or technical assistance to the National Forum to create an institutional base outside the Government (or as part of the Government, but with autonomy) to ensure that it continues to be a legitimate, independent forum for monitoring policy on child labour prevention and eradication in the country. One key informant suggested that the National Forum have a structure like that of CONANDA, which is supported by the government and has an infrastructure within the government, but which has elected members, is autonomous and has a wider representation from civil society. Just as child labour eradication efforts had the unexpected impact of calling attention to structural issues, they also call attention to the lack of a national policy for vocational training for adolescents. One key informant, echoing comments of others, said that the decision of ILO and UNICEF to pull out of the Forum comes precisely at the moment when the Forum has matured enough to be able to criticize the Government, which in turn leaves the Forum vulnerable. Indeed, several key informants said the National Forum, to remain a neutral body, must be independent from the Government, which makes their funding situation inherently unstable and suggests that a minimum ILO and UNICEF effort is required to ensure alternative funding before terminating their joint funding to the National Forum.

2.) Supporting with technical, and perhaps financial, assistance the state fora for the eradication of child labour. Several states reported challenges in consolidating the state fora, including: (a) the need for outside support to keep the state fora from becoming an extension of state governments; (b) the lack of a clear structure and the need for forming a clear institutional identity independent of the Government. Given the decentralizing nature of policymaking and implementation in Brazil, the state fora are likely to become nearly as important, perhaps even more important, than the National Forum in ensuring the sustainability of child labour eradication and prevention.

3.) Calling attention to areas of child labour that are largely unaddressed, including domestic work and other family-based work, sexual exploitation and drug trafficking, and child labour in remote areas of the country, particularly the North. Several key informants highlighted, in support of recent ILO decisions, that there are various areas with high incidence of child labour that remain untouched in Brazil, including children and adolescents involved in drug trafficking (related to urban poverty and lack of opportunities for children and families in low income urban areas in the country), sexual exploitation and domestic work. Several key informants also mentioned the need for greater child labour eradication efforts -- and IPEC support -- in the northern part of the country, including the Amazon region and other remote areas in northern Brazil.

In addition, several key informants mentioned that changes in the structure of the labour market in Brazil, as well as awareness about child labour, had meant that more child labour is probably now taking place in the home or in small workshops, beyond the purview of labour inspectors. Some interviewees said that labour inspection was a particularly fragile

area within the Federal Government. These informants said that the Government is more likely to guarantee funding for the *Bolsa-Escola* and *Criança-Cidadã* programmes because they “win votes,” whereas labour inspection brings few votes and often antagonizes local landowners and businesses. Furthermore, several key informants noted that the informal sector is increasing, making some aspects of child labour invisible. These factors suggest both a need to analyse forthcoming SIMPOC data, to carry out additional research on “invisible” child labour as well as working to sustain existing labour inspection efforts.

4.) Working with federal and state governments to identify and implement family income generation and job creation programmes, particularly in rural areas of the country. Several key informants suggested that ILO could have a major role in testing and implementing models for income generation, job creation and rural development. Given the rural nature of much of child labour in Brazil, there is a clear need for rural development support. While the Government’s Projecto Alvorada includes to some extent this objective, there is a continuing need for technical assistance which ILO could play.

5.) Working with federal and state governments to promote vocational training and school completion for adolescents. Just as child labour eradication efforts had the unexpected impact of calling attention to structural issues, they also call attention to the lack of a national policy for vocational training for adolescents. Numerous key informants said that the *Bolsa-Escola* and *Criança Cidadã* programmes, particularly as they increase in size, begs a question: What happens to young people when they turn 15? In many cases, they will return to work in difficult situations. As one key informant said, representative of the comments of several key informants:

“The challenge is the following. (When a young person turns 15, their family can no longer receive the wage support from *Bolsa-Escola* or *Criança-Cidadã*). The adolescent can’t work until he or she is 16So we have to accelerate mechanisms that offer vocational training for example, in [a city in the interior of São Paulo] there are 90,000 or so adolescents even if we could count on SENAI and SENAC (national vocational training institutions), even if these were seriously strengthened, would we have enough space to train this huge population of adolescents ages 14-16?”Q8.4

The MTE estimates that more than 4 million persons, adults and youth, are currently enrolled in some kind of vocational training. Nonetheless, the Ministry estimated in 1997 that this number needs to be tripled -- to reach at least 14 million persons per year -- to adequately meet the demand for such training⁶. While ILO has already worked with the Brazilian government on this issue, this evaluation suggests the need for greater efforts and support.

⁶ See Fundação Mauricio Sirotsky Sobrinho, Fundação Odebrecht, Instituto Aryton Senna, Instituto Credicard/Abrasso, Ministério de Trabalho, UNICEF and Vitae (1997). *Educação Profissional de Adolescentes: Cadastro das Iniciativas Não-Formais*. São Paulo: Authors.

In addition to the above recommendations, there are other areas where IPEC might consider continuing involvement:

- The relatively limited involvement of the municipal children's rights council suggests the need for additional training and or strengthening of other partner organizations who might be able to promote their greater involvement.
- The limited attention to the prevention of child labour highlights an important role that ILO-IPEC could play. Several key informants mentioned that the national PETI (SEAS) had largely abandoned the prevention aspect, although the *Bolsa Escola* programme of MEC can be considered preventative.

Finally, rather than seeing IPEC as having completed its work in Brazil because of its major accomplishments, as some persons might be inclined to do, we suggest that Brazil is a major opportunity for IPEC to take these gains to the next level -- to focus on prevention, to promote rural development and structural changes and to engage the Federal Government in promoting secondary education and tertiary education for all.

As such, Brazil can serve as an example of what countries can relatively quickly accomplish toward child labour eradication but also what they are likely to face as their child labour eradication programmes reach a mature stage. In this way, ILO could view Brazil as an investment in lessons to be learned for other countries that may follow similar pathways, and in documenting lessons learned and experiences that may be useful not only to Brazil but to other countries where IPEC already operates or could eventually operate.

Finally, in assessing this evaluation, there are several areas or aspects included in the Terms of Reference that we were not able to adequately carry out, partly due to the short time-frame for the evaluation and the lack of resources to provide staff time for longer site visits and a more thorough impact evaluation of selected Action Programmes. For example, if time and resources allowed, it might have been useful to develop and carry out a follow-up questionnaire with all recipients of Action Programme grants. Finally, as previously mentioned, additional baseline information (levels of interest and awareness about child labour, local conditions prior to IPEC actions, etc.) are required to be able to measure some impacts with more precision.

IX. Lessons Learned

The following represent some of the lessons that emerge from IPEC experience to date in Brazil:

- **Forming multi-sectorial fora at diverse levels -- municipal, state and the federal levels.** While Brazil represents a unique case compared to most of its Latin American neighbours because of its size, Brazil's experience suggests the importance of establishing fora at various administrative levels to address child labour eradication. While the multipartite approach is part of ILO's ongoing strategy, the Brazilian experience suggests that the multipartite approach must also take place at various levels, specifically municipal, state and federal. As public social welfare and education have become increasingly decentralized – in Brazil, as in many other developing countries – it is important to include decision-makers and actors from the local and state levels, as well as from the national or federal level. The Brazilian experience also suggests the utility of forming fora that are supported by and include the Government but that retain sufficient autonomy to be able to monitor governmental action on child labour eradication. While establishing autonomous, government-supported for a or oversight bodies like these is not easy, the Brazilian experience suggests that it can be done.
- **Forging collaborations between NGOs, including workers' and employers' associations and other NGOs, and the public sector is a long-term and often difficult effort.** As suggested by the experience reported here, forging common ground among such diverse actors as unions, advocacy-oriented NGOs, employers' association and the Government is a complex and long-term endeavour. ILO and other U.N. agencies can have, as we have seen in Brazil, a unique role as "neutral" and credible brokers in establishing such linkages, but should be prepared for the staff time such brokering may require.
- **The importance of listening to children and families.** Some of the most interesting and innovative interventions in Brazil – including the "Goat-to-School" initiative – were developed in close collaboration with and by incorporating the suggestions of children and their families. Indeed, several NGOs in Brazil echo the importance of listening to children and families and their perspectives in project and policy design. While this would seem an obvious lesson learned, actually listening to children and families is often given "lip service" but infrequently carried out.
- **The need to promote school enrolment and the quality of education offered, both among policymakers and among families.** Policy initiatives and interventions related to child labour eradication around the world generally have a cornerstone of increasing school enrolment. In Brazil, as elsewhere, such interventions have also seen the importance of sensitising families about the importance of education for their children, particularly in regions where cultural norms have long-supported the value of children as labourers. Brazil's experience

also has called attention to the quality of education imparted, recognizing that mere enrolment – for example, in overcrowded conditions or for only for hours a day – is necessary but not sufficient to promote long-term social change and development. Brazil's experience has shown the utility of providing after-school programming, tutoring and informal education activities parallel to the public education system, which may have a long-term impact of improving the quality of education both inside and outside the public school system. IPEC's support of the training of monitors working in the *Jornada Ampliada* in Pernambuco state is a strategic effort to insure that after-school programmes in fact enhance the formal, public education sector. At the local level, teachers, families and NGOs personnel in Brazil mention that to ensure that children stay out of work, the school system must engage children in an educational process that is attractive and directly relevant – and perceived as such by both children and their parents.

- **Family income programmes are important and necessary, but not sufficient to ensure child labour eradication in the long run.** There is a general consensus that family wage support programmes are remedial measures and that in the long-run families must be enabled to increase their income through economic development and employment and income generation. The Brazil experience implies that while many policymakers acknowledge that family income support programmes are remedial, they sometimes consider child labour to be “resolved” after such programmes have been implemented. Furthermore, because family income support programmes can bring immediate public relations and political dividends, the necessary policy attention to more structural issues such as sustainable rural development are sometimes relegated to the sidelines.
- **While focusing on eradicating child labour it is also necessary to keep in mind the vocational training needs of adolescents.** Brazil's experience confirms that it is possible to nearly eliminate child labour (for children under 16) from various sectors of work. Nonetheless, the very success of child labour eradication in Brazil is now calling attention to the vocational training needs of a huge cohort of adolescents ages 16 and over. Brazil, like many developing countries, is facing a demographic “youth boom” – a huge cohort of young people, which the labour market is not able to adequately incorporate. At the local level in Brazil, NGOs, unions and policymakers – reacting to the relative success of child labour eradication efforts in Brazil – are now asking: We have managed to keep children out of work until they turn 16, now what will they will these young people do? Thus, the Brazilian experience implies that child labour eradication should be part of a comprehensive youth, including youth employment, strategy at the local and national levels.
- **Brazil's experience confirms that focusing on the worst forms of child labour is a useful starting point and provides an important and highly visible cause around which to engage governmental and non-governmental actors.** The risk, as we have seen in Brazil, is that some sectors (within the Government and

elsewhere) think that eliminating the worst forms of child labour is sufficient. The challenge in focusing on the worst forms of child labour as a starting point, and using early successes in eliminating the worst forms of child labour as a training ground for eliminating other and all forms of child labour.

- **The need for a long-term pressure and social mobilization to ensure that child labour eradication is not simply a passing interest of governmental and non-governmental actors.** Brazil's experience confirms that it is possible to mobilize a broad spectrum of actors in child labour eradication. However, some of these actors have shown only short-term commitment, or carried out one-time initiatives. Other organizations, including some employers' associations, were previously involved to a greater extent when political pressure was high, but have since reduced their involvement. Alliances formed cannot be considered permanent. Instead, energy and long-term commitment are needed to ensure that child labour eradication initiatives are not abandoned when administrations change, or when the next pressing social issue is in the headlines. Clearly, some policymakers and other actors want to believe that child labour eradication has been achieved after their first actions. Indeed, it is important that policymakers perceive and can present some early successes. But it is equally important that other actors – including ILO, UNICEF and others – work to ensure that child labour eradication initiatives are sustainable and sustained. To be sure, in the short run, it is easier to work on the more remedial areas than the structural issues. Minimum wage programs, extended school hours, improved monitoring of work sites are short-term and achievable objectives of child labour eradication initiatives. Brazil's experience confirms that it is important for Governments to start with these actions. However, lasting and long-term change requires addressing: both access and quality of public education (from primary through tertiary) and regional development programs that increase family incomes. Child labour eradication, if taken seriously as a policy issue will lead to discussions about these issues. The challenge, as has been seen in the Brazil experience, is to use early successes to sustain the program and not water down or dismantle child labour eradication once these early successes have been achieved.

Appendix 1 List of Key Informants

- 1) Name: Milton Peixoto Luna*
Org: Social Democracia Sindical
Local: São Paulo
- 2) Name: Iara Farias / Ruy Pavan
Org: UNICEF
Local: BA
- 3) Name: Arabela*
Org: UNICEF
Local: Brasília
- 4) Name: Beatriz Cunha*
Org: OIT
Local: Brasília
- 5) Name: Armand Pereira*
Org: OIT
Local: Brasília
- 6) Name: Naidison Baptista
Org: MOC (ONG)
Local: Feira de Santana (BA)
- 7) Name: Nilza Agreli
Org: Secretaria Estadual de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento Social (PETI)
Local: (PE)
- 8) Name: Valdivino Dionísio Seltrin
Org: CPT
Local: Campo Grande (MS)
- 9) Name: Marina Rosa de Sampaio Bragança*
Org: Secretaria Estadual de Ação Social
Local: MS
- 10) Name: Dra. Simone**
Org: Ministério Público do Trabalho
Local: MS
- 11) Name: Regina Rupp Catarino*
Org: DRT – GECTIPA
Local: MS
- 12) Name: Eliane Araque dos Santos*
Org: Ministério Público do Trabalho
Local: Brasília
- 13) Name: Luiz Antônio Machado*
Org: CNA
Local: Brasília
- 14) Name: Rachel Cunha*
Org: Ministério da Justiça (consultora PNUD)
Local: Brasília
- 15) Name: Tânia Jardim, Sue Mora Takei*
Org: ABC / Ministério das Relações Exteriores
Local: Brasília
- 16) Name: Margarida Manguba; Glauber Santos*; Cibebe
Org: Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego
Local: Brasília
- 17) Name: Mônica Lourenço*
Org: Força Sindical
Local: São Paulo
- 18) Name: Dr. Oris de Oliveira

** Refused recording the interview

- Org: Jurista
Local: São Paulo
- 19) Name: Paulo Pirassol*
Org: CGT
Local: São Paulo
- 20) Name: Helena Oliveira da Silva*
Org: IBAM
Local: RJ
- 21) Name: Noé Carneiro*
Org: STR Retirolândia
Local: BA
- 22) Name: Antonio Dias *
Org: UFBA
Local: Salvador (BA)
- 23) Name: Frederico Ferreira*
Org: SETRAS
Local: BA
- 24) Name: Ana Dourado*
Org: Partners
Local: Recife
- 25) Name: Sílvia Cordeiro*
Org: Centro das Mulheres do Cabo
Local: Recife
- 26) Name: Raquel Benedeti*
Org: Prefeitura / UNICEF
Local: São Paulo
- 27) Name: Suzanna*
Org: DIEESE
Local: SP
- 28) Name: Maurílio*
Org: Instituto Pró-Criança
Local: SP
- 29) Name: Francisco *
Org: CUT
Local: SP
- 31) Name: Eduardo Araújo*
Org: OIT
Local: Brasília
- 32) Name: Sônia Levy*
Org: OIT
Local: RJ
- 33) Name: Luiz Gonzaga
Org: CONTAG
Local: Brasília
- 34) Name: Maria Aparecida Medrado
Org: Social Democracia Sindical
Local: SP
- 35) Name: Soleny Hamú
Org: Fórum Nacional
Local: Brasília

Appendix 2 Research Instrument

ROTEIRO DE ENTREVISTA: AVALIAÇÃO IPEC

INSTITUTO PROMUNDO - Rio de Janeiro, 08-01-01

INTRODUÇÃO [Para ler para o/a entrevistado/a]:

O Instituto PROMUNDO, em colaboração com a CESPI, foi contratado para uma avaliação do trabalho do IPEC no Brasil, especificamente examinando o impacto no nível político, ou seja, nos atores engajados, através do processo da implementação de atividades relacionadas ao IPEC. Não se trata de uma avaliação do impacto em termos de números de crianças ou famílias afetadas, senão do processo de mobilização social em torno do IPEC. Você foi identificado pelo próprio IPEC ou por outras pessoas, como alguém que nos podia informar sobre o processo.

Os dados e opiniões que você nos passaria, vão ser confidenciais. Ou seja, as suas respostas não vão ser fornecidas ao OIT com seu Name. A fita e as notas desta entrevista ficariam com PROMUNDO.

Você concorda em que gravemos a entrevista?: SIM NÃO

[NOTA PARA ENTREVISTADOR/A: Antes da entrevista, indique as perguntas apropriadas para o/a entrevistado/a pessoa, considerando se a atuação da pessoa é de ordem local/estadual ou nacional, ou ambos.]

(I) DADOS PESSOAIS

1. Name do/a Entrevistado/a: _____
2. Organização: _____
3. Cargo: _____
4. Tempo neste cargo: _____
5. Tempo envolvido em temas de trabalho infantil e/ou ligado ao IPEC: _____
6. Tipo de organização: _____
7. Nível de atuação: (Comunitário, municipal, estadual, nacional): _____
8. Data/hora da entrevista: _____ Entrevistador/a: _____

(II) HISTÓRICO

9. Qual é a sua relação ou de sua organização atualmente com IPEC?

10. No passado, qual foi a sua relação ou da sua organização com IPEC? Como evoluiu esta relação?

(III) OBJETIVOS DO IPEC

11. Para você, foi clara a missão e os objetivos do IPEC no Brasil?

12. Atualmente, a missão do IPEC é clara?

(IV) IMPACTO DO IPEC

13. Em 1992 quando o IPEC começou no Brasil, como que o trabalho infantil foi percebido na sua região/estado/organização/ no país?

14. E hoje em dia, como é que o trabalho infantil é percebido na sua região/estado/organização/no país?

15. Qual foi a contribuição do IPEC a estas mudanças?

16. Você teve algum contato ou conhecimento de um dos PAI – Programas de Ação Integrada – que IPEC incentivou? Caso SIM, qual é ou qual foi a sua impressão?

17. Em que áreas/formas você acha que IPEC não teve o impacto que deveria ou que poderia ter tido?

18. Pensando desde 1992, na área de erradicação do trabalho infantil, teve algum impacto que você não esperava?

(V) PAPEL DO FÓRUM NACIONAL E/OU OS FÓRUNS ESTADUAIS

19. Você tem conhecimento do Fórum Nacional do Combate ao Trabalho Infantil? Qual é a sua participação? Qual seria a sua avaliação do Fórum?

20. Você tem conhecimento do Fórum Estadual no seu estado? Qual é a sua participação? Qual seria a sua avaliação do Fórum?

21. Qual foi a importância ou papel do IPEC neste Fórum (estadual ou nacional)?

22. Atualmente, qual você acha que deve ser o papel do IPEC no Fórum Nacional?

(VI) OUTROS ATORES NO TEMA DE TRABALHO INFANTIL

23. Como você avaliaria a atuação das seguintes entidades na erradicação de trabalho infantil no país:

a) Ministério do Trabalho

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

b) Sindicatos

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

c) Associação de Empregadores

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários: _____

d) OIT

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

e) UNICEF

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

f) Fórum Nacional

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

g) ONGs locais

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

h) ONGs nacionais

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

i) Fórum Estadual

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

j) Conselhos Municipais dos Direitos da Criança

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

l) Ministério Público do Trabalho

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

m) Outros? Existem outras entidades que deveríamos incluir? Qual(is)?

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
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Comentários:

(VI) PRESENTE E FUTURO DO IPEC

24. Para você, qual deve ser o papel do IPEC/OIT hoje em dia? Faz sentido ele financiar projetos de ação direta?

25. Quais ações da OIT foram mais importantes?

1=Muito importante

2=Mais ou menos importante

3=Não importante

_____ Ponto de referência sobre o tema de trabalho infantil

_____ Apoio financeiro diretamente a pequenos projetos de ação direta

_____ "Advocacy"/Articulador com governo

_____ As convenções internacionais

_____ Apoio financeiro para pesquisas/seminários

_____ Apoio financeiro para fortalecimento institucional de órgãos do governo

26. Como você avaliaria a atuação do IPEC nas seguintes áreas?

a) Apoio a reforma do sistema escola, incluindo apoiar a implementação da jornada ampliada

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
-----------	-----------	-----	---------	------	-----

Comentários:

b) Criar um sistema de fiscalização de trabalho infantil no país

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
-----------	-----------	-----	---------	------	-----

Comentários:

c) Apoiar esforços para garantir a renda mínima e geração de renda familiar

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
-----------	-----------	-----	---------	------	-----

Comentários:

d) Eliminar as piores formas de trabalho infantil no país

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
-----------	-----------	-----	---------	------	-----

Comentários:

e) Garantir a idade mínima de 15 anos para o trabalho

Excelente	Muito Bom	Bom	Regular	Ruim	N/S
-----------	-----------	-----	---------	------	-----

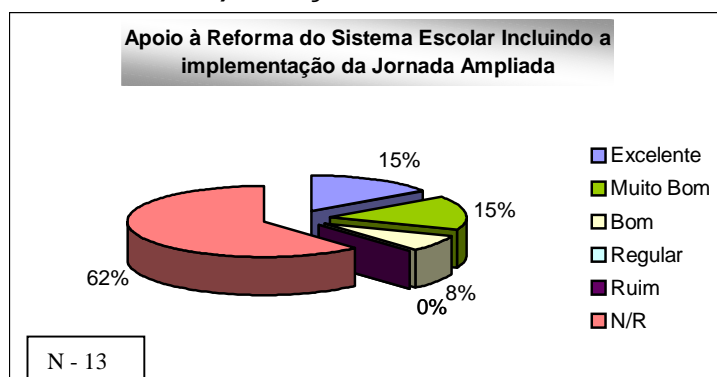
Comentários:

27. Tem algum comentário final ou assunto sobre o IPEC que não incluímos? Qual?

Appendix 3 Evaluation of ILO / IPEC Activities in Various Areas

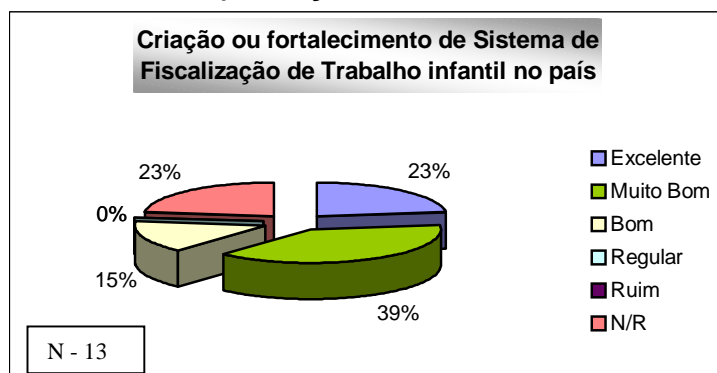
Avaliação da Atuação em áreas determinadas

A) Atuação do IPEC no



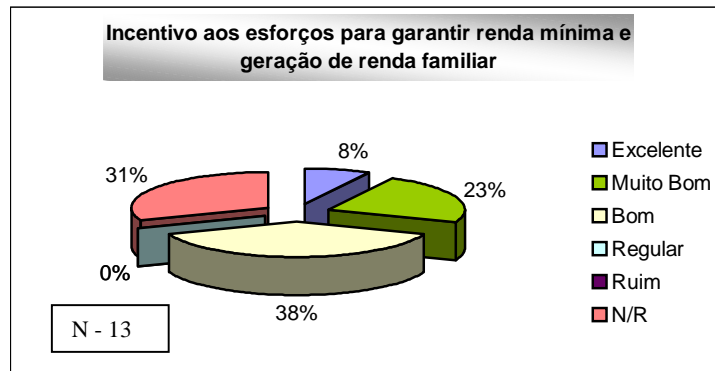
Fonte: Instituto Promundo / Instrumento de Avaliação IPEC, 2001.

B) Atuação do IPEC na



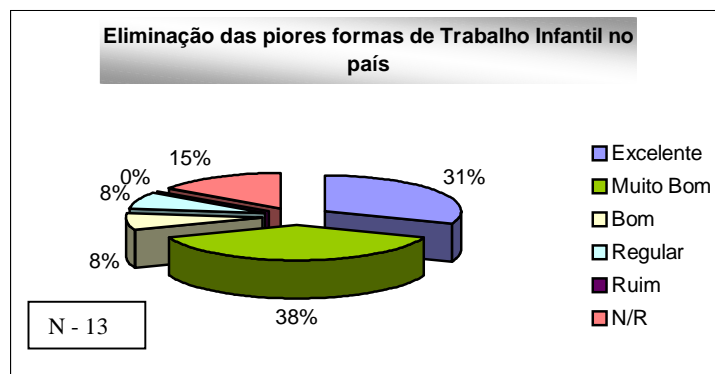
Fonte: Instituto Promundo / Instrumento de Avaliação IPEC, 2001.

C) Atuação do IPEC no



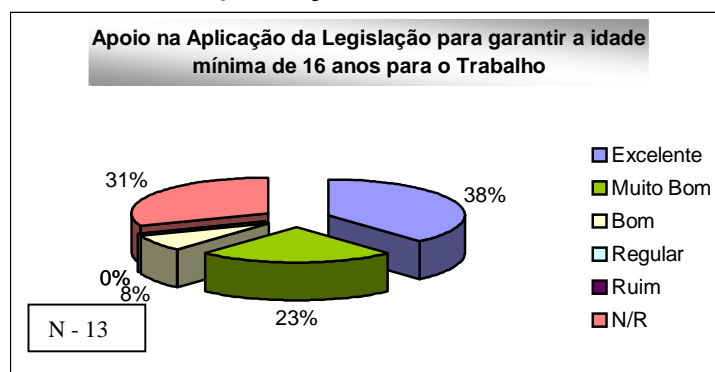
Fonte: Instituto Promundo / Instrumento de Avaliação IPEC, 2001.

D) Atuação do IPEC na



Fonte: Instituto Promundo / Instrumento de Avaliação IPEC, 2001

E) Atuação do IPEC no



Fonte: Instituto Promundo / Instrumento de Avaliação IPEC, 2001

APPENDIX 4 ILO-IPEC BRAZIL – DETAILED TIME LINE 1988-2000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Major Events</i>
1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A new constitution is ratified in Brazil, the end result of the return to democratic rule. Numerous civil and social rights are reinstituted, including several related to labour rights. The new constitution stipulates a minimum working age of 16.
1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Statute on the Child and the Adolescent (ECA) is signed into Brazilian law after several years of advocacy by civil society groups and parts of the government. The Statute provides for far-reaching rights for children, including provisions related to children's work. The Statute stipulates a system of monitoring of children's rights, including municipal guardianship councils (that respond to individual cases) and municipal councils for children's rights (that coordinate policies and programmes related to children and adolescents). State level children's rights councils and a federal level council (CONANDA) oversee these municipal councils.
1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ILO launches the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). Brazil is one of the first 6 countries included in IPEC. On June 4, ILO and the Brazilian Government sign a Memorandum of Agreement initiating IPEC activities in the country. The Ministry of Labour coordinates IPEC-related activities on the part of the Federal Government, reinforcing its labour inspection activities and starting national awareness-raising activities. The National IPEC Steering Committee is formed, comprised of the Government, employers' and workers' organizations and other NGOs. The committee sets priorities and plans for IPEC activities in Brazil and coordinates IPEC actions with other actors in the country. The national media devote significant attention to the theme of child labour.
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first agreements are established with the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG) to raise awareness about child labour among more than 3600 rural workers' unions. CONTAG becomes an important ally of ILO-IPEC and in 1994 became one of the co-founders of the National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour. IPEC funds one of the first experiences with income cum education subsidies to families that take children out of work in the sugar cane region of Campos (RJ).

1994

- IPEC begins to fund Action Programmes in various parts of the country, and offers technical, financial and institutional assistance.
- The National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour is formed by 36 entities -- governmental and non-governmental -- and with financial support from UNICEF and ILO. CONTAG provides initial office and meeting space for the Forum.
- With the support of ILO and UNICEF, Integrated Actions Programmes (PAIs) are implemented in several areas of high-risk child labour (charcoal regions and the sisal region). The PAI strategy includes: (1) multi-sectoral collaboration to eliminate child labour; (2) providing for the multiple needs of families and children; (3) strengthening policy responses to child labour eradication; (4) promoting awareness about child labour in target areas; and (5) improving children's access to quality education. The PAI strategy becomes the cornerstone for ILO-IPEC and governmental action in child labour eradication.
- IPEC, in collaboration with the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration (IBAM), carries out training activities to engage the municipal children's rights councils in eradicating child labour.
- Within the National Forum, various sectors include the issue of child labour in their national campaigns and in collective contracts, action plans, salary campaigns and national labour union negotiations.

1995

- The *Bolsa-Escola* programme is initiated on a statewide basis in the Federal District of Brasília under the administration of Governor Cristovam Buarque. 40,000 families are involved. UNICEF and UNESCO later evaluate the programme, declaring it successful in taking children out of work and increasing school enrolment. The initiative becomes a model for national level income support programmes implemented by SEAS (the "Criança Cidadão" programme) and the Ministry of Education (MEC), which later establishes an income support programme also called "Bolsa Escola".
- The Federal Government launches the "Vale Cidadania" programme (later called the "Criança Cidadão" or Child Citizen Programme") coordinated by the National Secretariat of Social Assistance (SEAS) of the Ministry of Social Security and Social Assistance (MPAS). The programme is an income support program that pays rural families R\$25 a month (about US\$12.50) and urban-based families R\$40-\$50 a month (US\$20-25) that take their children out of work. Payment is conditional on full-time school enrolment. In most regions, the monthly payment to families has been combined with extended school sessions for enrolled children called "Jornada Ampliada."
- The Rural Workers Union of Retirolândia in the sisal region of Bahia with IPEC support launches the "Goat-to-School" initiative, which goats (as a source of milk and meat) as a form of income generation to families with working children. The project is proven successful in promoting sustainable income generation for low-income rural families and in bringing national visibility to child labour in the sisal region. Retirolândia later becomes the first city in Bahia where the *Bolsa Escola* programme is initiated. The "Goat-to-School" programme was supported by ILO-IPEC until 2000.

1996

- ILO-IPEC continues to concentrate its efforts on eliminating the most hazardous forms (later called "worst forms") of child labour by supporting PAIs in several parts of the country.
- International events (August, in Stockholm) and national events (in Brasília) organized with the support of ILO-IPEC focus attention on the sexual exploitation of child labour. In Brazil, ILO-IPEC supports the creation of the National Network to Combat Child Sexual Exploitation. Regional Latin American meetings are also held on the issue.

- On September 6, 1996, Brazil's President signs a "Memorandum of Agreement" between the major trade unions in Brazil, the Board of the Comunidade Solidaria initiative (a public-private social assistance initiative), and NGOs to define a series of joint actions to eradicate child labour.
- The Abrinq Foundation, an entity derived from the Brazilian Association of Toy Manufacturers, creates the "Child-Friendly Businesses" seal ("Empresa Amiga da Criança"), a social labelling program offered to businesses that declare they do not use child labour in their production. This social labelling programme was recently evaluated by IPEC Brazil in collaboration with the Abrinq Foundation and the University of São Paulo. Partly as a result of this evaluation, the Abrinq Foundation has introduced key changes in the seal monitoring scheme.
- Based on pilot experiences in the charcoal region of Mato Grosso do Sul, the Federal Government institutionalises the Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour (PETI), as part of the Social Assistance Bureau (SEAS) of MPAS.
- The association of shoe manufacturers based in Franca, São Paulo, creates the Instituto Pró-Criança (the Pro-Child Institute) to fund projects to remove children from work in shoe manufacturing. The Institute also develops a social labelling programme given to shoe manufacturers who affirm that they do not use child labour. An inspection programme carried out by a local university periodically visits the firms to confirm the absence of child labour.

1997

- In January, the President launches programmes to eradicate the worst forms of child labour in Pernambuco and Bahia.
- In February, EMBRATUR (the Brazilian Tourism Company) launches a campaign against sexual tourism.
- The State Government of Rio de Janeiro implements integrated action programmes (PAIs) in 8 municipalities.
- The Ministry of Labour creates special commissions called Nucleos de Combate ao Trabalho Infantil (Later called GECTIPA, or Grupo Especial de Combate ao Trabalho Infantil e Proteção de Adolescentes Trabalhadores) to inspect and address child labour via the Regional Labour Delegations.
- State-level programmes for the eradication of child labour (PETIs) are implemented in Pernambuco and Bahia, as part of the state secretariats of social assistance.
- Through the Ministry of Education and Sports, the Federal Government creates the "All Children in School" Programme to increase primary school enrolment rates.
- The first state fora for child labour eradication and prevention are established. By 2001, state fora exist in all Brazilian states.
- In December, the President declares priority for child labour eradication in 1998 and announces that the Criança Cidadão programme will support 3 million children (the actual number of children reached by the initiative as of 2000 is less than 400,000).
- The National Geography and Statistics Institute (IBGE), based on 1996 national household survey data (PNAD), reports that the number of children working in the country declined by 670,000.
- ILO organizes the World Conference on Child Labour in Oslo.

1998

- The International March Against Child Labour is held. More than 1000 organizations carry out national activities in 99 countries. Portions of each national delegation then travel to Geneva to culminate the march.

- PAIs in the charcoal region of Mato Grosso do Sul and the sisal region of Bahia are declared successful when data are showing that no more children are working in charcoal production areas and about 8,100 children are found working in sisal production in Bahia.
- Resources from PAIs are extended to low-income families whose children are not working as a way to prevent child labour.
- The Labour Attorney General's Office (MPT) intensifies their actions against child labour in several regions with technical and institutional support from ILO.
- In December, the Brazilian constitution is amended (through Emenda Constitutional no. 20), raising the minimum working age from 14 to 16.

1999

- On December 14, the Federal Government signs ILO Conventions 138 and 182 and sent them to the Congress for ratification.
- The Federal Government announces that it will include R\$ 1 billion (approximately US\$ 500,000 at the time) in its multi-year budget for eradicating child labour, primarily through the PETI programme.
- The PETI programme announces its objective to remove 866,000 children from the worst forms of child labour as a short-term priority.
- SEAS begins negotiating resources for child labour eradication with the World Bank.
- SEAS develops a planning manual with programme requirements for the national PETI, which contains a number of changes, some of which are criticized by partner organizations. For example, the Criança Cidadão programme is revised so that working children can only participate for two years (renewable for an additional 2 years).
- Members of the National Forum, supported by IPEC, develop a National Plan for Combating Child Labour, which includes three basic components: (1) quality education for all children; (2) inspection of labour sites; and (3) family income support programmes to compensate for lost income from children's work.
- The Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) is approved in negotiations between IPEC, IBGE and ABC (in consultations with other institutions, including the National Forum, UNICEF and the World Bank).
- The issues of domestic labour and children working in drug trafficking are included in IPEC and the National Forum.

2000

- The Federal Government announces the Alvorada Project (also called the IDH-14) that aims to integrate government services focusing on basic education and infant mortality in the Brazilian states with the lowest ratings in the Human Development Index. SEAS announces that child labour eradication will be included in the programme
- The National Forum publishes a set of guidelines (called "The Guidelines for a National Policy on Child Labour") highlighting its priorities, which are: (1) to systematize data on child labour in the country; (2) to analyse legal norms in the country related to child labour; (3) multi-partite consultation and articulation; (4) to promote improvements in public education for all children in the country; (5) to promote adequate monitoring of workplaces with regard to child labour; and (6) to promote family income support programmes as well as local sustainable development.
- ILO and UNICEF announce their intention to gradually withdraw funding from the National Forum. Several members of the Forum question this decision.
- IPEC begins to support a project to train monitors in the Jornada Ampliada programme in Pernambuco state, with the goal of improving the quality of after-school activities for children in high-risk areas of child labour.

2001

- With the formation of a state forum for combating child labour in Tocantins state, state all states have functioning state for a for the eradication of child labour.

Appendix 5 Analysis of Media Reports of Child Labour

TRABALHO INFANTIL NA MÍDIA IMPRESSA

Com o objetivo de analisar o tratamento que a mídia impressa deu à temática do trabalho infantil, foi realizada uma pesquisa bibliográfica. Essa pesquisa foi realizada no setor de recortes de jornais da Biblioteca da Câmara dos Deputados. Esses recortes abarcaram a temática dessa pesquisa a partir do ano de 1996 até o mês de dezembro de 2000. A análise foi feita com todos os recortes presentes. Esse período totalizou 287 recortes de jornais com todos os enfoques. O resultado final pode ser melhor visualizado a seguir:

QUADRO 1

Ano de Publicação

Ano	N
1996	60
1997	86
1998	54
1999	58
2000	29
Total	287

QUADRO 2

Periódicos Que Tratam da Temática do Trabalho Infantil

Periódico	N
Isto É	3
Veja	3
Correio Braziliense	68
Folha de São Paulo	73
Estado de São Paulo	58
Jornal do Brasil	24
Jornal de Brasília	13
O Globo	25
Gazeta Mercantil	16
Outros/sem informação	4
Total	287

QUADRO 3

Temas Ligados ao Trabalho Infantil

TEMAS	N
Tráfico	1
Sisal	8
Resina	1
Prostituição	3
Pesca	1
Perua/lotação	1
Pedreira	9
Palmito	1
Lixão	3
Laranja	12
Garimpo	1
Fumo	3
Fábricas	5
Doméstica	8
Construção Civil	1
Carvão	12
Caranguejo	1
Cana	11
Camelô	1
Calçados	5
Agricultura	7
Total	95

QUADRO 4

Instituições Mencionadas nas Reportagens

Instituições	N
OIT (Convenções, banco de dados)	89
PETI	23
IPEC	2
PAI / PAS	8
Fórum Nacional de Prevenção	5
Cespi	2
Total	129