

**Breaking the Intergenerational Cycle of Poverty?
Young People's Long-Term Trajectories in Brazil's
Bolsa Família Programme**

*Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
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For JAL, parce que *ce qui mérite d'être fait, mérite d'être bien fait.*

ABSTRACT

One of the most influential trends in antipoverty policy in recent decades has been the emergence of conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes. CCTs seek to address poverty in the short-term through the cash benefit to meet immediate needs, and in the long-term by increasing human capital formation among poor children to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. With their growing popularity, there has been considerable effort to evaluate CCTs' impacts; however, evaluations have been limited mostly to measuring short-term impacts. Very little is known of CCTs' long-term impacts, particularly the extent to which human capital formation among beneficiary children and young people is occurring and whether this may be contributing to changed life trajectories for them.

Drawing on qualitative research with current and former beneficiaries of Brazil's Bolsa Família programme (BFP), this thesis helps to fill this gap by exploring young people's schooling and labour market trajectories and outcomes, and the implications of these for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. The micro-level qualitative approach taken in this research stands in contrast to the almost exclusively macro-level, quantitative evaluations that have dominated the CCT research. Such approaches are not well suited to teasing out the complex social processes that shape long-term trajectories and outcomes, nor to understanding the perspectives and experiences of young beneficiaries' themselves. This research demonstrates the importance of young beneficiaries' perspectives and experiences in understanding the long-term impacts of CCTs, as well as the social processes shaping them. This thesis makes three main contributions to the current research on CCTs. Analytically, it deconstructs and theorises the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction; empirically, it sheds light on the long-term impacts and outcomes of CCTs and the factors that influence these; and methodologically, it employs a qualitative approach that engages directly with beneficiary youth and families.

The findings show that the human capital model that underpins CCTs does not hold when considering beneficiaries' long-term trajectories and outcomes. Young beneficiaries do not appear to be securing the schooling outcomes that would be consistent with changed labour market trajectories, nor do they appear to be incorporated into the labour market in ways that hold much scope for lifting them out of poverty. Rather, various structural barriers and social

processes not accounted for in the BFP/CCT model – from the quality of schooling and learning, to labour market segmentation and labour supply, demand and returns; to wider structures of marginalisation –, appear to constrain young beneficiaries' opportunities to move out of poverty. The findings highlight some of the contradictions and tensions that currently exist between programme goals and structure, implementation, and outcomes. Although CCTs have contributed to important gains for the poor in various ways, their potential for facilitating long-term poverty reduction appears limited. Rather, CCTs as a policy tool for breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty will require re-thinking the ways in which such programmes are situated within broader structures of inequality and limited opportunities that contribute to the reproduction of poverty across generations.

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CHAPTER 1

Conditional Cash Transfers and Long-Term Poverty Reduction

1.1 Introduction.

“I will go much further than my parents, I will seek something better.” (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Alessandro, a 16-year old young man living in a favela in the municipality of Jaboatão dos Guararapes in the Northeastern Brazilian state of Pernambuco, is a beneficiary of Brazil's Bolsa Família programme (BFP), the country's flagship antipoverty programme and one of the world's first conditional cash transfer programmes. His comments reflect the idea that the Bolsa Família will provide his pathway out of poverty; that, through access to schooling, it will enable unprecedented intergenerational social mobility, in turn lifting him and his family out of poverty. This thesis explores precisely this question, the question of whether and the extent to which the Bolsa Família, and conditional cash transfer programmes more broadly, are able to facilitate long-term, sustainable pathways out of poverty.

One of the most influential trends in antipoverty policy in recent decades has been the emergence of conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes, whereby poor households receive cash payments from the state on the basis that the children and young people in the household fulfil education- and health-related conditions. CCTs aim to address short-term poverty alleviation through the cash benefit to help families meet their immediate needs, and long-term poverty reduction through the human capital-related (education and health) conditionalities, which are seen as key to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Pioneered by Mexico and Brazil in the mid-1990s, CCTs have been rapidly adopted as key pillars in the poverty

reduction strategies of many developing countries, particularly in Latin America but increasingly across Africa and Asia, and even in some developed countries.¹

With the rapid proliferation of CCTs in the social policy landscape of many countries, there has been a considerable effort to evaluate their impacts. Given the relatively recent implementation of CCTs and a lack of data tracking recipients over time, evaluations have been mostly limited to the short-term, focusing on measures of consumption, school enrolment and attendance rates, and rates of vaccinations, nutritional status, and attendance at health centres. Despite explicit long-term aims, there is very little evidence of CCTs' impacts over the long-term, particularly the extent to which human capital formation among young beneficiaries is occurring, and the extent to which it is likely to contribute to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty.

This thesis seeks to help fill this gap in our understanding of CCTs' longer run impacts through an examination of one of the first and largest CCT programmes, Brazil's Bolsa Família. It seeks to unpack the theory of change that underpins the goal of long-term poverty reduction in the CCT model, and, in relation to this model, examine young BFP beneficiaries' schooling and labour market trajectories and outcomes, and the implications of these for long-term and intergenerational poverty reduction. This study departs from much of the literature on CCTs in drawing on qualitative methods – primarily semi-structured interviews with current and former beneficiary young people and their families along with some descriptive questionnaire data – to explore the impacts of the BFP from the perspective of young beneficiaries themselves. It brings together both a structural and individual level analysis, bridging the gap between the social policy research, which has tended to focus on the macro, policy level dynamics of social welfare investments, and the childhood and youth studies research, which has tended to focus on individual level experiences of young people, without situating them within the broader structural and policy context in which young people live. This approach illuminates unidentified and unexplored dimensions of young beneficiaries' longer term trajectories and prospects for moving out of poverty.

¹ Policy experimentation with CCTs is also under consideration in other developed countries. See, for instance, the recent European Commission's (2014) report on lessons from Latin America's CCTs and policy transferability for European countries.

The study's findings suggest that the programme is not having the intended long-term impacts on poverty reduction and that the human capital model that underpins CCTs does not hold for young BFP beneficiaries. Young people do not appear to be securing the schooling trajectories and outcomes and the changed patterns of labour market insertion that would be consistent with the CCT model for poverty reduction. Whereas the existing literature on CCTs takes school enrolment and attendance rates as a proxy for human capital development and in turn assumes the creation of long-term pathways out of poverty for young beneficiaries, this study finds that these measurements are a poor reflection of the realities of many young beneficiaries. Young people often experience substantial delays to their progression through school and many do not complete the basic education cycle in either a timely manner or at all. In addition, the quality of schooling received by young beneficiaries is both poor in absolute and relative terms, and schooling outcomes in terms of learning and skills development remain poor, with most young people leaving the basic education cycle without adequate literacy and numeracy skills. These findings call into question the notion that formal schooling is generating much human capital among young beneficiaries that will enable them to secure better jobs upon entering the labour market and in turn move out of poverty over the long-term.

The findings confirm the increasing acknowledgement in the research on CCTs of the importance of quality of schooling in determining the extent to which these programmes may be successful over the long run. The qualitative approach adopted here, however, additionally illuminates dimensions of young people's schooling trajectories and outcomes not yet incorporated into the CCT research and policymaking. Specifically, young beneficiaries' schooling trajectories are largely non-linear (evidenced in age-grade gaps but also in early school leaving). Young people do not appear to progress through schooling and into the labour market in the linear manner that the 'life stages' model, central to human capital theory and to CCTs, foresees. Rather, various factors, including gendered roles, responsibilities and identities, and perceptions of quality of schooling appear central in shaping their trajectories and the decisions they make about schooling and employment. This challenges the notion that the BFP is contributing to higher educational attainment and to changed life trajectories that would be consistent with long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. The findings highlight both the

social and relational dimensions of young people's lives and the importance of understanding these in examining the impacts of CCTs as well as the value of qualitative research on CCTs in illuminating these (thus far ignored) dimensions of beneficiaries' lives.

Similarly, young BFP beneficiaries' labour participation has received remarkably little attention in both the CCT literature and policymaking. The findings in this study offer some of the first empirical evidence of young beneficiaries' patterns of labour market insertion. These patterns do not appear to be consistent with the human capital-based CCT model, nor with long-term poverty reduction. Early productive inclusion is common among many young beneficiaries, many of whom balance both work and schooling or leave school early in favour of labour participation. Moreover, the patterns of young people's productive insertion suggest a high degree of precarity and instability. Many young people remain out of school and yet marginalised from or within the labour market, relegated to the informal sector, typically in casual, poorly remunerated, and highly precarious employment, or without employment all together.

A lack of longitudinal data following beneficiaries over time, particularly after having left the Bolsa Família programme, has meant a paucity of research on the question of intergenerational change in CCTs, despite explicit aims to this end. In the absence of large scale longitudinal quantitative data, this study offers some of the first intergenerational comparative analysis of the impacts of CCTs. The findings suggest that the BFP has secured important gains for poor households in terms of their ability to meet basic needs as well as an unprecedented (albeit still limited) extension of social protection to a population previously largely beyond the reach of the state. There appears, however, to have been limited intergenerational change to schooling patterns among beneficiary young people vis-à-vis their caregivers and no discernible intergenerational improvement in patterns of labour market insertion. At the same time, the narrative at the heart of the BFP and CCTs offering education as the key to social mobility has contributed to raising young people's aspirations and expectations of the payoffs of schooling upon entering the labour market. In the context of a narrative that perpetuates an individualised conceptualisation of the production and reproduction of poverty, whereby 'success' and 'failure' in moving out of poverty is wholly contingent on individual effort and merit, these raised aspirations and expectations but yet limited opportunities for achieving them are highly problematic. Combined, the findings of this study offer a picture of very limited opportunities

for social mobility and for breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty through the Bolsa Família, and indeed suggest fundamental tensions and flaws within the CCT model itself.

This chapter provides the framework for the empirical analysis that follows. It first reviews the current literature on CCTs and the BFP, the emergence of these programmes as key pillars of social policy architectures and poverty reduction efforts in many developing countries – in Brazil and beyond – as well as the current evidence on their impacts and outcomes. The gaps identified in the current evidence on CCTs and the BFP provide the basis for the research questions; specifically, what are the long-term impacts of the BFP for young beneficiaries, how are these manifested in their schooling, labour market and life trajectories, and what do these trajectories imply for the potential of the BFP to facilitate long-term and intergenerational poverty reduction? The following section outlines the theoretical framework used as the basis for the empirical analysis. It unpacks the theory of change behind the aim of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction in CCTs, based on human capital theory, to establish some of the theoretical limitations of the model and the ways in which additional theoretical approaches can contribute to our understanding of the process of poverty reduction and of young beneficiaries' lives and life trajectories. The final sections of this chapter lay out both the contribution this research makes to the literature on CCTs, social policy and children and young people – empirically and methodologically – as well as the organisation of the thesis by chapter.

1.2 Conditional Cash Transfers and the Bolsa Família Programme.

1.2.1 The Emergence and Design of CCTs.

There has been a great deal of interest in social protection over the last two decades, held up as “the latest set of powerful tools” in poverty reduction (Devereux & McGregor, 2014, p. 297). Social protection has been conceived in a variety of ways, one of the most popular of which has been conditional cash transfer programmes (CCTs). Indeed, one of the most striking features of the last decade is the widespread adoption of CCTs across Latin America and increasingly across the developing world, despite the diversity in national social protection systems and ideological leanings of the political parties in power (Lo Vuolo, 2015). Cash transfers, and

particularly *conditional* cash transfers, thus constitute one of the most important and widely adopted policy instruments in poverty reduction strategies today.

The increased attention to social policy and social protection, and the emergence of CCTs, can be understood as a response to the social and human costs of the debt crisis, structural adjustment and the subsequent neoliberal reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. The crisis and reforms precipitated both rising poverty and inequality across Latin America along with the erosion of the social sector at precisely the moment when it was most needed (Molyneux, 2006). By the 1990s, growing recognition of these social and human costs led to a greater focus on poverty – epitomised in the World Bank’s ‘New Poverty Agenda’ in the 1990s, and the UN’s Millennium Development Goals in 2000 (Molyneux, 2006) – and a move towards ‘inclusive neoliberalism’ and ‘adjustment with a human face,’ in an effort to reach those who did not benefit from market-driven development under neoliberalism (Mahon, 2010).

In tandem with the recognition of the need to address the social costs of economic reforms in the 1980s and 90s, increasingly favourable macroeconomic conditions from the early 2000s opened policy space to address these costs. A period of sustained growth beginning in the early 2000s, driven by rising global (and particularly Chinese) demand for Latin America’s primary commodity exports, expanded the state’s fiscal capacity in many parts of the region, allowing for a greater share of state resources to be directed to redistribution in the form of new social policies and investments in welfare. This has not been, however, simply an economic project. Rather, a political shift in establishing new state-society relations and in imagining new forms of democratic belonging appears to have taken place to varying degrees across the region (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2012). Indeed, expanded fiscal capacity has allowed for attempts to articulate a new political economy of development in many parts of Latin America (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2012), one that gives prominence to addressing the historically persistent problems of high inequality and poverty.

While this has coincided with a shift to the left in Latin American politics – often referred to as the Pink Tide –, and indeed left of centre governments in the region have been particularly active in attempts to address the social deficit of the legacy of structural adjustment and reform, the expansion of pro-poor policies has not been unique to the left. In fact, many right of centre

governments in the region have supported the expansion of social assistance, particularly in the form of CCTs.²

In the policy realm, this period has been marked by, on the one hand, cautious macroeconomic management, and, on the other, an expansion of discourses of citizenship and inclusion through expanded and new social policies. As Martínez Franzoni and Sánchez-Ancochea (2014) note, there has been a concerted effort in many countries to improve both market incorporation (that is, people's participation in the cash nexus in the form of formal and well-paid jobs) and social incorporation (that is, access to decommodified means of securing wellbeing, independently of the market). In the case of the former, growth in formal employment and minimum wages has played a key role in expanded market incorporation. In the case of the latter, the expansion of social assistance, particularly through conditional cash transfers, has provided a minimum set of entitlements to segments of the population previously largely excluded from state policy (see, for instance, Reygadas & Filgueira, 2010).

In Brazil, between 2002 and 2015, the Lula and Rousseff administrations, while maintaining relatively prudent macroeconomic policies, placed notable and historically unprecedented emphasis on addressing the country's persistently high levels of poverty and inequality and put both social and market incorporation at the centre of their policy agendas. An agreement between government, employers' and workers' associations secured regular adjustments to the minimum wage (Ferreira de Souza, 2012), producing real growth (above inflation) of 76% between 2003 and 2015, increasing the consumption capacity of many low-income groups either directly or indirectly through associated increases in pension benefits and unemployment insurance (Andrade de Oliveira e Silva, 2017). The increases in the minimum wage (Ferreira de Souza, 2012), along with increasing formalisation in the labour market and a declining skills premium (Lustig et al., 2012), have played a pivotal role in the recent marked and

² The association of new social policies, particularly CCTs, with the left in Latin America should not be overstated. Rather, the rapid expansion of CCTs across the region and globe can be understood at least in part by their appeal to both the political left for their redistributive capacity and to the political right for their 'co-responsibilities' that require the poor to demonstrate behavioural changes in order to receive the cash, in the vein of offering a 'hand up rather than a hand out.'

consistent decline in income inequality, which fell from a Gini coefficient of 0.592 to 0.537 between 1998 and 2009 (Barros et al., 2010), a 30-year low (Hailu & Soares, 2009).³

Efforts to broaden social inclusion through social policy have focused largely, although not exclusively,⁴ on expanding social assistance, primarily through the Bolsa Família programme and the Benefício de Prestação Continuada (BPC) – a non-contributory pension for the elderly and disabled with a per capita household income of less than one-quarter the minimum wage. Expenditures on social assistance rose 375% between 2002 and 2015 (Andrade de Oliveira e Silva, 2017), making an important – if less substantial – contribution to the decline in income inequality over this same period (Lustig et al., 2012).⁵

Despite this articulation of a new political economy of development in the form of concerted efforts to better incorporate large segments of the population previously excluded in many ways from both the formal labour market and from state social policy, progress has focused much more on establishing a social protection floor and raising the minimum living standards of the poor (Hunter & Sugiyama, 2009) – and in a relatively limited way – rather than on closing the gaps between higher and lower income groups in terms of social incorporation (Martínez Franzoni & Sánchez-Ancochea, 2014). This is consistent with the shift that emerged with the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s in the conception of the role of social policy and the types of social protection programmes that should be adopted that in the ‘New Poverty Agenda’. Keynesian social policies aimed at stimulating consumption were supplanted with highly targeted policies that focus on human capital development; in particular, investment in children became a key component of new social protection programmes with the aim of ‘breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty’ (Mahon, 2010). Investments in human capital, however, were meant to enable the poor to participate in a liberalised global economy, not to challenge the

³ Nonetheless, inequality in Brazil remains extremely high, surpassing an estimated 90% of countries worldwide (Paes de Barro et al., 2007).

⁴ Expenditures on education, particularly at the tertiary level, and on health (notably with the expansion of the universal basic health care through the Sistema Único de Saúde) also increased in absolute but not relative terms, while social security spending increased primarily as a result of increases to the minimum wage (Andrade de Oliveira e Silva, 2017).

⁵ The sustainability of this ‘new political economy of development’ and particularly of policies to expand market and social incorporation in the context of less favourable economic conditions has been questioned. Indeed, in Brazil, the deteriorating economic situation, the current administration’s fiscal adjustment project, and the ongoing political crisis, have already resulted in declining investment in social assistance (Andrade de Oliveira e Silva, 2017), and will likely negatively impact efforts towards greater market and social inclusion.

neoliberal paradigm or associated economic reforms. Furthermore, these investments were not intended for all people; rather, social expenditures were to be targeted to the poorest.

The social protection programmes that emerged under this new paradigm tended to be not only highly targeted, but also far less generous than universal systems. The new paradigm also involved a significant shift in the conception of poverty, its causes and solutions, which came to be understood as located solely at the individual level. CCTs embodied the key tenets of this new paradigm, emphasising highly targeted human capital investments in children and young people as the key to ‘breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty,’ and thus emerged as the preferred choice of many governments among social protection policies.

CCTs have seen both rapid uptake and expansion of coverage over the past decade. By 2010, CCT programmes had been implemented in 18 countries across Latin America, covering an estimated 113 million people (Cecchini & Martínez, 2012), and in at least 30 countries worldwide (Barrientos & Niño-Zarazúa, 2011). Hanlon et al. (2010) estimate that upwards of 190 million households, and 860 million people, benefit directly or indirectly from some form of cash transfer (conditional or unconditional). In many countries, CCTs now encompass large and expanding portions of the population. As one of the world’s first and now the largest CCT programme, the Bolsa Família (BFP) reaches approximately one-quarter of the population and has been the model for many similar programmes in other countries. Similarly, Mexico’s Progreso/Oportunidades/Prospera programme covers nearly one-quarter of the population. The reach of CCTs has been particularly notable given that they account for a very small percentage of GDP, often less than one percent (Lavinas, 2013).

The value of CCT benefits varies considerably among programmes. In Latin America, the value of benefits in 2010 ranged from 6 percent of beneficiaries’ average income in Brazil to 20 percent in Mexico (Barrientos & Niño-Zarazúa, 2011). The value and duration of benefits can be either fixed or variable. Transfers are made in cash, typically as direct deposits into bank accounts set up for beneficiaries and linked to a debit card. This is argued to be less paternalistic and more effective for meeting households’ needs than in-kind transfers. Provision is usually

made to the female head of household, based on the argument that they are more likely to use the transfer for investment and consumption focused on the child.⁶

1.2.2 Brazil's Bolsa Família Programme.

Historically, Brazil's social protection system was largely based on a contributory social security system that was highly focused on the urban population and the formal sector, excluding most rural and informal workers (Bastagli, 2009), while social assistance was dominated by non-profit charitable organisations, with government intervention restricted to temporary and emergency measures (Ferreira de Souza, 2012). It was only in the post-authoritarian period, with the establishment of a new constitution (1988), which enshrined quite progressive social rights, that the basis of a new, more inclusionary welfare system was put in place. In this context, the BFP emerged as a key tenet of this new social protection system.

The BFP emerged through policy innovation at the municipal level. Three municipal CCTs with education-related conditionalities arose independently in 1995 (Soares, 2012). The success of these programmes prompted the creation of the first federal CCT programme, the *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (PETI, or Child Labour Eradication Programme) in 1996, targeting children aged 7 to 15 years old, working in sectors and activities considered to be dangerous, unhealthy or degrading (Soares, 2012). In 2001, the federal government launched the *Bolsa Escola* programme at the national level, targeting households with children between the ages of 6 and 15 years old, with conditions attached to school attendance (Soares, 2012). This was soon followed by several other cash transfer programmes, which in 2003, were amalgamated under the umbrella Bolsa Família programme by then President Lula.

⁶ While targeting female heads of households as recipients of CCTs is argued to contribute to their empowerment through access to greater financial resources (Britto, 2004; CEDEPLAR, 2007; Suarez & Libardoni, 2007), the notion that simply naming women as beneficiaries guarantees their access to the cash benefit has been questioned (Devereux, 2002). Moreover, the gendered targeting of CCTs has been problematised for the lack of attention to women's own wellbeing and to the additional burden placed on women in meeting conditionalities (Molyneux, 2006), as well as for the reinforcement of gender stereotypes and norms, particularly the notion that fathers and males do not have a role to play in children's development (Molyneux, 2006; Tabbush, 2008) and the social construction of 'good' vs. 'bad' mothers (Bradshaw, 2008).

The BFP has both fixed and variable as well as conditional and unconditional benefits. The tiered benefit system provides an unconditional cash transfer to households with a per capita income below the extreme poverty line, and a conditional cash transfer on a per child basis, conditional on education and health criteria being met, to households with a per capita income below the poverty line. The tiered benefit structure is detailed in table 1; the best-known part of the programme and the focus of this study are the benefits for families with school-age children with conditions attached to school enrolment and attendance (the Child Benefit and the Adolescent Benefit in table 1).

Table 1: Bolsa Família Benefit Structure

Benefit	Inclusion Criteria	Income Criteria	Value of Transfer	Conditionalities
Child Benefit	Households with children and young people aged 0-15 years	Households with a per capita income below R\$170.00 (USD\$50) ⁷ per month	Transfer of R\$39.00 (USD\$11.50) per month per person meeting criteria up to five people per household	Children aged 6-15: 85% school attendance rate each month Children under the age of 7: receive recommended vaccinations and attend regular health check ups
Adolescent Benefit	Households with young people aged 16-17 years	Households with a per capita income below R\$170.00 (USD\$50) per month	Transfer of R\$46.00 (USD\$13.50) per month per person meeting criteria up to two people per household	75% school attendance rate each month
Pre-natal Benefit	Households with a pregnant woman	Households with a per capita income below R\$170.00 (USD\$50) per month	Transfer of R\$39.00 (USD\$11.50) per pregnant woman per household	None
Post-natal Benefit	Households with children aged 0-6 months	Households with a per capita income below R\$170.00 per month	Transfer of R\$39.00 (USD\$11.50) per child under the age of 6 months per household	None
Extreme Poverty Benefit	--	Households with a per capita income under R\$85.00 (USD\$25) per month	Variable transfer to raise per capita income to R\$85.00 (USD\$25) per month	None

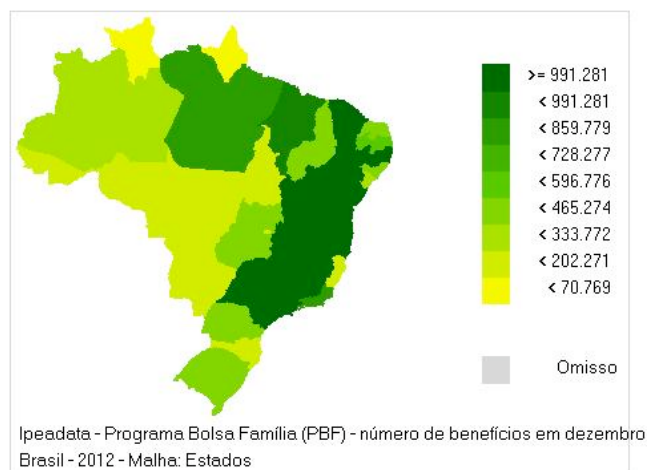
Source: Compiled by author with data from the Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Agrário (2016)

⁷ All conversions calculated at November 2016 exchange rate.

The BFP has educational conditionalities that require beneficiary children and young people to maintain a minimum rate of school attendance of 85% per month for children aged 6 to 15 years old, and 75% per month for young people aged 16 and 17 years old. The BFP was initially restricted to families with children, but the programme now has provisions for households without children to receive a minimum stipend if their monthly per capita income meets the income threshold. While there are different methods of targeting used across different CCT programmes around the world, the BFP uses a geographical quota along with self-declared income verified against government records (Bastagli, 2009).

When the four constituent programmes were amalgamated into the BFP, their existing beneficiaries totalled 6.7 million households (Soares, 2012), but by 2012⁸ this had grown to nearly 14 million (IPEA, 2016). The highest concentration of beneficiaries is in the Northeast region, one of the poorest areas of the country. Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of the BFP benefit by state, by both number of beneficiary households and total value of benefits.

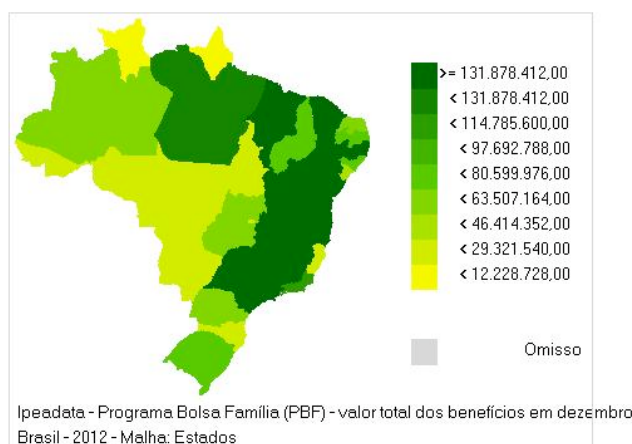
Figure 1: Map of Beneficiary Households (number of beneficiaries), by State (2012)



Source: IPEA (2016)

⁸ Most recent year of available data at the time of writing.

Figure 2: Map of Bolsa Família benefits (value of benefit), by State (2012)



Source: IPEA (2016)

The BFP benefit is not indexed to inflation (Lavinias, 2013), but there have been regular adjustments to account for inflation. At the same time, the value of the transfer is relatively low since broad coverage has been prioritised over substantial increases to the value of the benefit. The BFP relies primarily on self-reported income to determine eligibility, while targeting is conducted by municipalities based on data from the *Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios* (PNAD, National Household Survey), the census and school census (Britto, 2004). Municipalities are responsible for the selection of beneficiaries through their departments of social assistance, while the federal *Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Agrário* (MDS; Ministry of Social and Agrarian Development; formerly, *Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome*, Ministry of Social Development and Fighting Hunger) oversees programme management, and the *Caixa Econômica Federal* disburses the cash transfers (Medeiros et al., 2008). Data collection, registration of beneficiaries, and monitoring of conditionalities occurs under a single registry called the *Cadastro Único*, a rolling census of the poor in Brazil (that is, those earning less than half the minimum wage on a per capita basis, or a household total of less than three minimum wages), including personal and employment information (Soares, 2012).⁹ The *Cadastro* data are cross-checked against other government registries to verify eligibility.

⁹ Since the *Cadastro* is used for a variety of purposes beyond the BFP, however, the criteria for inclusion in the *Cadastro* are not the same as for inclusion in the BFP.

The BFP signifies a departure from traditional approaches to social policy in Brazil to the extent that it recognises the importance of a basic income, without the requirement of formal sector employment. Yet, while the BFP is the first regular antipoverty programme in Brazil (Lavinias, 2013), it has not yet significantly altered the distribution of social spending in favour of the poor. Overall social spending in Brazil is quite high for the country's income level, yet it is highly skewed in favour of social security and pensions and therefore disproportionately favours middle and upper income groups, while the poor rely on cash transfers such as the BFP, which represents less than 1% of GDP (Lavinias, 2013). Moreover, some authors have raised concerns that investment in the BFP, in demand-side interventions, has diverted resources and attention from investments in supply-side service provision (Hall, 2008). This may prove problematic for the BFP over the long run if investments in demand-side interventions are prioritised over investments in the quality of social service provision for which demand is being created.

1.2.3 The Evidence on the Impacts of CCTs and the Bolsa Família.

With the rapid expansion of the Bolsa Família as a key tool of social protection in Brazil, and beyond, there is a now large body of literature that seeks to evaluate their impacts. Given CCTs' relatively recent implementation, evaluations and impact assessments have been limited mostly to short-term measures of consumption, school enrolment and attendance, and rates of vaccination and attendance at health centres (Bourguignon et al., 2003; Rawlings, 2005; Andrade, 2007; CEDEPLAR, 2007; Resende & Oliveira, 2008; Segall-Corrêa et al., 2008).¹⁰ The long-term impacts of CCTs and the BFP on poverty, particularly with regard to young beneficiaries' long-term trajectories and outcomes in schooling and the labour market, have received comparatively little attention. Additionally, few studies have considered the micro-level experiences of beneficiaries themselves, especially young beneficiaries. This section examines the empirical evidence from both the secondary literature and government data, highlighting the gaps in our knowledge of CCTs' longer term impacts.

¹⁰ Much of the evidence cited here is based on Latin American CCT programmes as a result of both longer implementation periods and more widespread adoption.

Poverty and Inequality:

Given the Bolsa Família's aims of poverty reduction in both the short and long-term, the programme's impacts on poverty and inequality are important to evaluating its success. With the expansion of the BFP, there has been intense debate about how much of the recent decline in income inequality in Brazil¹¹ can be attributed to the programme relative to other factors. Lustig et al. (2012) find that falling inequality has been the result of a combination of factors related both to labour and non-labour income, including lower wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers, declining spatial (rural/urban) and sectoral (formal/informal) segmentation of the labour market, a rising minimum wage, and the expansion of coverage of cash transfer programmes. Consistent with these findings, other authors also find that changes to labour income to be the main cause of the decline in inequality, while the BFP alone explains only about 10% of the decline in the Gini coefficient (Paes de Barro et al., 2007; Soares & Sátyro, 2009).

During this same time period, Brazil has also seen a marked decline in poverty, with the poverty rate dropping from 26% to 14% between 2003 and 2009, and the extreme poverty rate declining from 10% to 5% during this same period (Sánchez-Ancochea & Mattei, 2011). The extent to which the BFP has contributed to this decline has also been the subject of much research. Compared to the impacts on inequality, however, the BFP has had a more limited impact on poverty rates, despite explicit aims to this end. The programme has been much more successful in terms of reducing the poverty gap and the severity of poverty, with less impressive impacts on overall declines in absolute poverty (Soares & Sátyro, 2009; Lavinias, 2013; Sandberg, 2015). For instance, various authors attribute between a 12 and 18% decline in the poverty gap to the BFP, and a 19 to 22% reduction in the severity of poverty (see Soares et al., 2007, and Soares & Sátyro, 2009, respectively). In contrast, the decline in absolute poverty and extreme poverty have been much less notable, at 1.9% and 1.6%, respectively (Soares et al., 2007). This suggests that the BFP's benefits are enough to push poor households above the poverty line that were previously just below it, but hold more limited potential for lifting those further from the poverty line above it.

¹¹ See section 1.2.1.

Consumption:

In the short-term, CCTs have seen considerable success in increasing consumption levels among the poor; for instance, by improving the diversity of foods consumed or by protecting assets and stabilising income (Rawlings, 2005). In terms of boosting consumption among the poor, the cash provided through CCT programmes appears to have had a significant positive impact. Examining Brazil's BFP, Resende and Oliveira (2008) find that average annual expenditures of beneficiary households were R\$300¹² higher than non-beneficiary households and that those increased expenditures were concentrated on food, education, hygiene and clothing. Citing a 2007 impact evaluation, Soares et al. (2010) also note increases in monthly household expenditures among beneficiary households, with an increase of R\$23.18¹³ on food, R\$2.65¹⁴ on education, and R\$1.34¹⁵ on clothing for children. Similar trends have been found in impact evaluations of other Latin American CCT programmes.

Health:

Despite a relative consensus in the CCT literature on the positive impacts on consumption, the evidence of increased consumption on health outcomes is less consistent. For example, Andrade et al. (2007) note no impact on the nutritional status of beneficiary children in Brazil's BFP. Regardless of actual impacts, the Bolsa Família appears to increase the perception of food security, with every R\$10¹⁶ of transfer reducing the perception of food insecurity by about 8% (Segall-Corrêa et al., 2008).

The lack of definitive impacts in terms of nutritional and health outcomes in Brazil's BFP stands in contrast to the substantial increases in immunisations, health check-ups and nutritional monitoring in other CCT programmes in Latin America (see, for instance, Attanasio et al. (2005) on Colombia's *Familias en Acción*; Coady (2003) on Mexico's *Progreso/Oportunidades/Prospera*; Barrientos & Niño-Zarazúa (2011) on Peru's *Juntos*; and Maluccio & Flores (2004) on Nicaragua's *Red de Protección Social*), suggesting that supply-side services may be a constraint to meeting health-related conditionalities in the BFP (Soares et al., 2007).

¹² USD\$88.00 at current (November 2016) exchange rate; USD\$130.00 at 2008 exchange rate.

¹³ USD\$6.82 at 2016 exchange rate; USD\$12.88 at 2007 exchange rate.

¹⁴ USD\$0.78 at 2016 exchange rate; USD\$1.47 at 2007 exchange rate.

¹⁵ USD\$0.39 at 2016 exchange rate; USD\$0.74 at 2007 exchange rate.

¹⁶ USD\$2.94 at current exchange rate; USD\$5.56 at 2007 exchange rate.

Schooling:

CCTs aim to contribute to building human capital among the poor with conditionalities attached to schooling based on the strong established correlation between schooling and future economic wellbeing through increased labour productivity and income. Much of the empirical evidence on schooling among young beneficiaries supports a positive impact on school enrolment and attendance rates, particularly at the secondary level (see Bourguignon et al., 2003; CEDEPLAR, 2007; Soares et al., 2010). For instance, Silveira Neto (2010) estimates a 2 and 3% increase in school attendance and enrolment, respectively, as a result of the BFP. Similar positive impacts on school enrolment and attendance have been found elsewhere in Latin America (see Galasso (2006) on Chile's *Chile Solidario* programme; Schady & Araujo (2006) on Ecuador's *Bono de Desarrollo Humano*; Attanasio et al. (2005) on Colombia's *Familias en Acción*).

On the other hand, the impact on grade promotion remains ambiguous (see Soares et al., 2010; Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012). Perhaps most importantly, the evidence on the value of this schooling is unclear. Though Glewwe and Kassouf (2012) find a small positive impact on grade promotion rates, there appears to be growing evidence that the BFP and CCTs more generally have had very little impact on achievement and learning. In a study of BFP beneficiary children in São Paulo state, Santarrosa (2011) estimates no significant effect on cognitive development and academic achievement. In a study of Mexico's programme, Behrman et al. (2009) find that despite increases in school enrolment and attendance, there is no evidence of improved achievement or learning on test scores in reading, mathematics and language. Similarly, other authors have noted that there is little evidence of improved learning outcomes (i.e., human capital formation) despite notable increases in school enrolment and attendance rates as a result of CCTs (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009).

Overall, the empirical evidence suggests that CCTs have had a positive impact on the uptake of educational services. Yet, the extent to which improved enrolment and attendance rates have led to learning, knowledge and skills (human capital) acquisition remains unclear. This will depend to a large extent on factors beyond the 'quantity' of education that beneficiaries receive. Ultimately, school enrolment and attendance are necessary but not sufficient to ensure

that beneficiaries are better educated and that they are able to translate the knowledge and skills acquired in school into the labour market to secure better jobs and move out of poverty.

There is growing acknowledgement that CCTs should lead to enhanced opportunities beyond the programme, and that the cash alone cannot alleviate poverty over the long run. Rather, a redistribution of assets (e.g., human capital, productive capacity) and an alteration of labour market structure and employment opportunities within society are necessary to impact poverty beyond the receipt of the cash transfer (Medeiros et al., 2008). As Hanlon et al. (2010) highlight, there is often

[...] an unwarranted assumption about cause and effect, [...] ignoring class, social capital, and the quality of education. Merely pushing more poor children into overcrowded schools does not produce better-educated adults with jobs. Rather, education must be accompanied by a job-creating growth strategy. (p. 134)

The problem here is two-fold. On the one hand, there is an inherent but erroneous assumption in CCTs that school enrolment and attendance necessarily lead to learning and human capital formation. On the other hand, there is a second inherent assumption that better economic opportunities will be available in the labour market for young beneficiaries, that these will be both accessible to them and will offer returns sufficient to lift them out of poverty. In their book *Just Give Money to the Poor*, which reviews global trends in the adoption of cash transfer programmes, Hanlon et al. (2010) articulate this problem:

It will be important to consider what kinds of opportunities children have when they eventually leave school; some worry that pupils supported by cash transfers will not gain better jobs. Three factors come into play. First despite extra schooling, such students are not better educated. Second, most countries are not creating new jobs rapidly enough to match the increases in the numbers of students who are completing their schooling. Third, as a consequence, success in job seeking depends increasingly on contacts (what economists call social capital) and on knowing people in the place of employment. This circumstance, of course, discriminates against young people from very poor backgrounds. (p. 136)

Thus, there is both a lack of empirical evidence on the long-term impacts of CCTs and yet increasing awareness that the short-term incentives to the uptake of schooling may not be sufficient to reduce poverty over the long-term. There is therefore a need to understand the

long-term impacts of education-based CCTs in a way that incorporates not only the uptake of schooling (i.e., enrolment and attendance rates), but also the experiences and outcomes of schooling in terms of human capital formation and labour market insertion, as well as the social processes that shape them. This gap in the empirical evidence on the long-term impacts of CCTs is precisely the problem that this thesis aims to address through a qualitative methodological approach that engages directly with young beneficiaries themselves to understand the complexity of social processes, pressures and norms that shape their schooling, labour market and life decisions.

1.3 Research Questions.

At the broadest level, this thesis seeks to address the following question: to what extent do education-based conditional cash transfers contribute to long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction? It does so through an examination of the paradigmatic Brazilian Bolsa Família, and in particular, the schooling, labour market, and life experiences and trajectories of young programme beneficiaries. Specifically, this study addresses the following two research questions:

- Q1. What are the trajectories of young people in Brazil's Bolsa Família programme, and what are the implications of these for long-term poverty reduction?
- Q2. What are the social processes that shape young people's trajectories and possibilities for moving out of poverty over the long-term?

The next sections outline the theoretical framework used to answer these questions – specifically, it unpacks the logic behind CCTs and identifies the gaps in the model in theorising the long-term impacts of such programmes – and situates the thesis within the literatures on children and young people and on social policy, highlighting the contribution this study makes to bridging these two bodies of research.

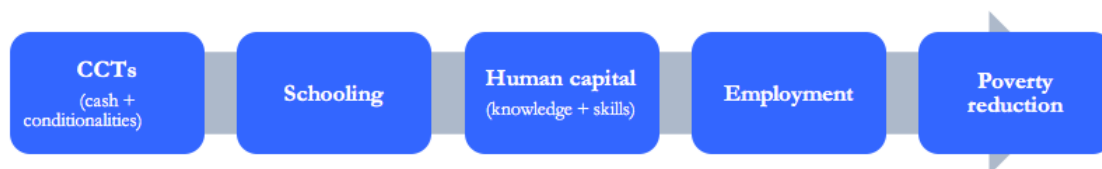
1.4 The Theory of Change in Conditional Cash Transfers.

1.4.1 CCTs and Human Capital Theory.

Conditional cash transfers are based in a particular understanding of poverty; that is, that poor households face individual constraints, such as low levels of physical assets and education (human capital) (Roelen, 2014), resource constraints that might limit their ability to invest in these assets and education, and/or misinformation about the returns to these investments (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009). Low levels of human capital and constraints on investing in children's human capital thus prevent many poor households from escaping poverty across generations. CCTs seek to address this deficit in human capital among the poor by providing the resources (cash) and the incentives (educational conditionalities) to facilitate human capital development among poor children, which will allow them to lift themselves and their families out of poverty over the long-term (Roelen, 2014).

The reproduction of poverty across generations is therefore understood to stem from a lack of investment in human capital, particularly in the area of education. Conditionality is meant to ensure that households make 'efficient educational decisions,' which will boost human capital stocks in poor households, in turn increasing productivity and incomes and expanding labour market opportunities (Valencia Lomelí, 2008). CCTs thus link the intergenerational transmission of poverty to a lack of human capital and, in turn, to poor labour market opportunities and outcomes. The implicit logic of the programmes' structure and long-term aims is illustrated in figure 3.

Figure 3: The CCT Model for Long-Term Poverty Reduction

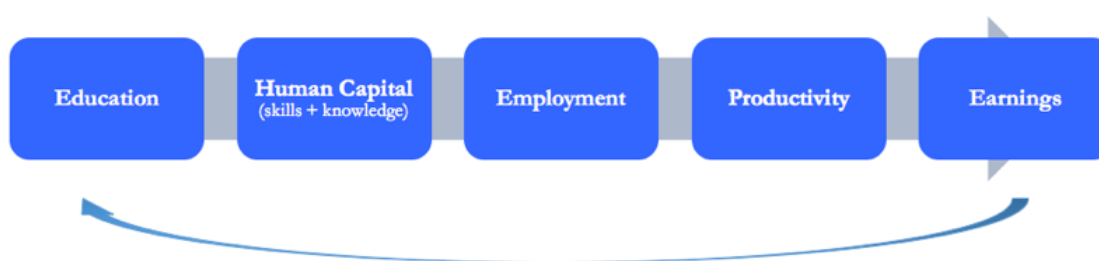


Source: Author's own.

Through conditionality, CCTs require the uptake of education on the assumption that increased access to formal schooling will lead young beneficiaries to acquire the human capital (i.e., the knowledge and skills) required to improve employment outcomes in the labour market upon completion of compulsory schooling (Saad-Filho, 2015). In turn, enhanced productivity and earnings for young beneficiaries as they move into adulthood (Valencia Lomeli, 2008) will allow them to move out of poverty, breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Within the aim of long-term poverty reduction, the CCT model thus makes implicit assumptions about the relationships between education, employment and income based in human capital theory.

Human capital theory sees educational attainment and skills development as the main determinants of labour mobility. Schooling contributes to the development of human capital, which, in combination with other sources of skills development, determine productivity and thus access to employment and income (Davis & Moore, 1945; Mincer, 1958; Becker, 1962; Becker & Chiswick, 1966). In essence, education is the mechanism through which individuals acquire the skills required by the labour market, and labour market outcomes (i.e., employment and earnings) are proportional to individuals' human capital endowments. Figure 4 illustrates human capital theory.

Figure 4: The Relationship between Education and Earnings in Human Capital Theory



Source: Author's own.

Human capital theory remains dominant in the literature on education and labour market outcomes¹⁷ and is the basis on which conditionality in cash transfers aims to impact long-term poverty. The theory assumes both that schooling will lead to human capital accumulation and that higher human capital stocks lead to increased labour and income mobility. This fails to

¹⁷ There is, however, an extensive literature critical of human capital theory, highlighting the fact that it only considers the economic benefits of education (see, for instance, Robeyns, 2006).

account for the host of other factors that may determine human capital accumulation and labour market outcomes (e.g., discrimination or social capital may be more important in shaping access to the labour market than human capital; labour market structure may limit the employment opportunities available). While human capital theory may be central to the logic and design of CCTs, it would appear insufficient in fully understanding the relationship between schooling, human capital and employment.

Much of what we know of CCTs and their impacts on poverty derives from unwarranted assumptions about the automatic connection between schooling, human capital formation and employment within the human capital model, as well as an assumption that the human capital model reflects young beneficiaries' lives. In fact, we know very little of whether the links between CCTs and the ultimate goal of poverty reduction – premised on the human capital model – are borne out in practice. The theoretical framework for this study attempts to move beyond the human capital approach that underpins the CCT model and policy evaluations, to explore the longer term trajectories of young beneficiaries, the extent to which these are consistent with long-term pathways out of poverty, and the social processes shaping these trajectories. The next section unpacks the human capital model that underpins CCTs. Drawing on additional theoretical approaches that highlight inherent assumptions in the model, this section seeks to extend and fill in some of the gaps in the current model. The following section then challenges the human capital-based CCT model itself and attempts to move beyond it in conceptualising young beneficiaries' lives and trajectories out of poverty.

1.4.2 Unpacking and Extending the Human Capital Model for CCTs.

Based on the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction illustrated in figure 3, this section unpacks the assumptions underlying the human capital-based CCT model and draws on alternative theoretical approaches to understand the underlying assumptions of the model.

Conditionality and Schooling:



Attaching conditions to cash transfers is seen by many as key to breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty through human capital accumulation among poor children (de Janvry & Sadoulet, 2005). It is argued that poor households underinvest in children's human capital, reinforcing the persistence of poverty across generations (Das et al., 2005); conditionality aims to change household behaviour by providing the incentives to make the (claimed) necessary human capital investments and financial resources to compensate for the direct and opportunity costs of making these investments. As such, conditionality is the direct link between the cash benefit and (a) the short-term aim of increased uptake of schooling, and (b) the long-term aim of poverty reduction through human capital accumulation.

Proponents of conditionality cite empirical evidence showing increases in school enrolment and attendance to support their role in ensuring investments in children's human capital (CEDEPLAR, 2007; Medeiros et al., 2008; De Brauw & Hoddinott, 2011). There are, however, arguments made against the use of conditionality, primarily questioning whether the conditions are demeaning to the poor, whether they place excessive demands on (typically female) heads of households (Molyneux, 2006; Bastagli, 2009), and, more critically to the human capital logic of CCTs, whether conditions do in fact alter behaviours and preferences (Baird et al., 2009). The conceptualisation of conditionality within CCTs has varied across programmes. At one end of the spectrum, some maintain that conditionalities are central to the functioning of CCTs, placing emphasis first and foremost on the goal of human capital accumulation and strictly enforcing compliance. This 'co-responsibilities' model has been most prominent in Mexico's programme. At the other end of the spectrum, others argue that CCTs are primarily social protection programmes, rooted in a social right to a basic minimum standard of living, and that maintaining too many or too strict conditionalities will only lead to sanctioning or excluding the most vulnerable households among the poor (see Soares, 2012 for a discussion of

these two approaches). In discourse, the BFP has adopted the latter approach, although this is less clear in practice. The BFP effectively chose not to monitor compliance with conditionalities until 2006 (Soares, 2012) but nonetheless achieved high rates of compliance (Soares & Sátyro, 2009), although monitoring and enforcement of conditionality has since increased. At the government level, the conceptualisation of conditionality within the Bolsa Família is more closely aligned with a social rights approach than a co-responsibilities one. Within government framing, conditionality is intended as a mechanism for identifying vulnerable households that need additional support in accessing their social rights to education and health services, guaranteed under the 1988 Constitution. As such, non-compliance is viewed as indicative of a particularly difficult situation faced by a household and thus is meant to trigger additional home visits and support from social workers to enable the household to meet conditionalities (Soares, 2012). The extent to which this conceptualisation of conditionality reflects implementation, however, is less clear, and in fact the distinction between ‘co-responsibility’ and social rights approaches appear to be more a matter of narrative than practice.

While conditionality provides a direct and explicit link between CCTs and schooling for young beneficiaries, this connection may also be influenced by an understanding or perception of access to social protection or to education as a social right, both on the part of the state and the poor (see Hunter & Sugiyama, 2014). On the other hand, individual preferences may also mediate the relationship between CCTs and schooling. For example, the perceived parental responsibility to send one’s child to school and the perception of the value of education may also be important factors in determining the uptake of schooling. The growing literature comparing the impact of conditional and unconditional transfers (Baird et al., 2009) as well as the research demonstrating the high value poor families and young people place on formal schooling as a key pathway out of poverty (Jeffrey et al., 2004; Crivello, 2011; Bourdillon & Boyden, 2014) suggest these are important factors. The role of conditionality in the logic of the CCT model in altering (or not) the behaviour of beneficiaries regarding the uptake of schooling and the reasons associated with any changes could speak to different understandings and value placed on education, perceptions of the quality and relevance of education, and perceptions and experiences of social rights and citizenship. Thus far, there has been very little exploration of the factors underpinning the relationship between conditionality and schooling; rather, much of the literature evaluating CCTs has assumed any link between conditionality and schooling is the

result of misaligned incentives and preferences. The theoretical framework adopted in this study incorporates these varied factors potentially mediating the relationship between conditionality and schooling.

Schooling and Human Capital Accumulation:



In the context of a broader global push to expand access to education,¹⁸ CCT research and policy have focused almost exclusively on school access – namely enrolment and attendance –, which has been taken as a proxy for both higher educational attainment and higher human capital accumulation among young beneficiaries. Yet progression and completion rates are arguably better measures of educational attainment than enrolment and attendance. Moreover, there is increasing acknowledgement in both the CCT and education research, as well as in broader international poverty reduction strategies, such as the Sustainable Development Goals,¹⁹ that school access does not guarantee learning (Berhman et al., 2009). Rather educational quality and process (i.e., *what* is being accessed and what *capabilities and competencies, or skills*, are being acquired) are equally relevant (CREATE, 2008). Simply requiring school attendance, as CCTs do, does not guarantee or even necessarily support human capital formation or poverty reduction. There is, nonetheless, a growing consensus²⁰ around the need to account for the quality, not just the quantity, of education in considering student outcomes. Indeed, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015 (UN, 2015) explicitly acknowledged the lack of attention to quality of schooling in the MDGs. An exploration of the long-term impacts of CCTs on poverty reduction, requires moving beyond the notion that CCTs’ ability to get children and young people into the classroom is sufficient; rather, it must consider how they

¹⁸ For instance, the UN’s Millennium Development Goals; UNESCO’s Education for All agenda.

¹⁹ See Goal 4, and especially sub-points 4.1 and 4.6 in the SDGs Outcome Document (UN, 2015).

²⁰ For example, in the World Declaration on Education for All (UNESCO, 1990); the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000); the Education for All’s 2002 and 2005 reports (EFA, Global Monitoring Report 2002; 2005).

perceive and experience school, what they learn at school, and the relevance of this in enabling them to secure better employment outcomes upon leaving school.

Despite growing awareness that quality of education is critical to achieving human capital formation, establishing what constitutes ‘quality’ in education is far from straightforward (EFA, 2005). As Leu (2005) notes, ‘quality’ in education is often used in a “detached way, assuming unanimity on what the term means and the desirability of the various educational aims and approaches promoted under the banner of quality without explicitly defining what it means” (p. 4). Many attempts have been made to operationalise ‘quality’ in education. A common approach in both the academic and policy literature has been through an ‘input-process-output’ approach that looks at school characteristics that impact learning and achievement. This approach seeks to measure ‘inputs,’ such as teaching and learning materials, physical infrastructure, and teacher quality, and then to measure educational ‘outputs,’ usually in the form of student achievement on standardised assessments (Leu, 2005; Tawil et al., 2012). In this approach, the concept of quality in education is measured primarily through quantitative measures, which can be problematic for many reasons, not least because not all dimensions of quality can be measured through quantifiable indicators (Tawil et al., 2012). At the same time, a relatively simple methodology for assessing a complex issue has led to the dominance of this approach in international discourse and assessments.

Recently, more attention has also been given to teaching and learning, such as learning time, teaching methods, assessment and feedback, particularly in the school effectiveness literature, which has been especially prominent in research on education quality in developing countries (Leu, 2005). This has often led to a proliferation of the use of lists of characteristics of ‘effective’ schools, ‘effective’ teachers, minimum competencies and performance indicators, which tends to overlook “inherent assumptions about people, how they feel, how they should behave, and how organizations work” (Leu, 2005, p. 18). This highlights the importance of qualitative methodologies that engage directly with young people’s experiences of quality at school. Other approaches to conceptualising quality in education include an efficiency model, which looks at efficiency within the education system in terms of completion, dropout and grade repetition, essentially equating quantity with quality.

Moving beyond concepts of quality as quantity, an educational process model considers the content, context and relevance of education provided at school (Leu, 2005; Tawil et al., 2012). Similarly, a learner-centred approach, based on the principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1990), puts learning at the centre of the concept of quality and offers principles of quality (rather than an operation model), such as inclusiveness, equity, diversity and children's rights (Tawil et al., 2012). Here, the focus is on learner-centred methods of teaching, along with curricula that are relevant to learners' lives and incorporate 'life skills.' Yet another approach, a multidimensional social interaction approach, sees education as a public good and a space in which different stakeholders with different perspectives interact (Tikly & Barrett, 2007). From this perspective, quality must be understood within local, historical, socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts, and emphasises the role of education systems in the reproduction or reduction of social inequalities (Tawil et al., 2012).

This study draws on elements of each of these theoretical models in conceptualising quality in education. The research draws on the efficiency model through an examination of quantitative proxies for quality, including enrolment, attendance, progression and completion, and on the input-process-output approach in considering a selection of inputs that were highlighted by the young beneficiaries as particularly important and relevant to their perspectives and experiences of schooling. In addition, drawing on both the education process and learner-centred models, this study examines the content, context and relevance of teaching and learning and the extent to which school is understood to contribute to developing the skills and values that young people view as important to their futures. And finally, drawing on the multidimensional social interaction approach, this study also considers the role of the education system in the reproduction of social inequalities.

In considering the relationship between schooling and employment, there is increasing evidence that suggests that this link may not be a given; rather, the skills learned at school (i.e., human capital) may be more relevant to labour market outcomes than simply years of schooling. A growing literature explores the relationship between the skills acquired at school and individuals' income and labour market outcomes, and there appears to be a strong correlation between cognitive achievement and future wages, even after controlling for years of schooling, implying that learning – as opposed to educational attainment – is key to returns to education in

the labour market (EFA, 2005; Leuven et al., 2004; Hanushek & Woessmann, 2008). Thus, if CCTs are to ensure that beneficiaries' schooling translates into changed life trajectories and long-term poverty reduction, they will have to consider not only the quality of schooling received by beneficiaries, but also the learning and skills that beneficiaries may or may not be acquiring at school and the relevance to young people's everyday lives.

Increasing educational access has highlighted both the issues of educational quality and high levels of competition for young people entering the labour market (Rolleston & James, 2011). As Rolleston and James (2011) note, "the development of productive capacities or skills is the key mechanism through which education acquires economic value, both to individuals and society" (p. 3). School plays a key role in the development of young people's capacities and skills, often referred to as cognitive and non-cognitive skills. Cognitive skills refer to basic skills such as literacy and numeracy, which form the foundation for the development of more complex skills, such as critical thinking, problem-solving and communication skills (Rolleston, 2014). Non-cognitive skills refer to the "affective or behavioural attributes, capacities or traits of the individual which are not themselves cognitive process, but which are nonetheless important with regard to some of the same life-outcomes" (Rolleston & James, 2011, p. 7). They include such skills as motivation, agency, self-efficacy and self-esteem, and are considered important in shaping the way young people manage life experiences, constraints, and opportunities, including schooling trajectories and achievement, and future labour market outcomes (Heckman et al., 2006; Carneiro et al., 2007; Dercon & Krishnan, 2009; Díaz et al., 2013).²¹

Thus, understanding the extent to which the human capital-based CCT model does or does not hold for young beneficiaries over the long-term requires a broader conceptualisation of the relationship between schooling and human capital formation than has dominated the CCT research, one that incorporates not only schooling quantity (*both* in terms of access and attainment), but also school quality and learning outcomes. In exploring the relationship between schooling and human capital formation, the theoretical framework thus considers several key dimensions outlined in this section: (a) quantity of schooling (both access and attainment); (b)

²¹ While the concept of non-cognitive skills has been widely adopted by economists and policymakers, it has also been critiqued both for the attempt to measure characteristics that are not measurable as well as for the use of the concept in narratives of the 'shortcomings of the poor' in explaining poverty (see Camfield, 2015).

quality of schooling, with ‘quality’ considered from a variety of theoretical approaches; and (c) learning and skills development, through an examination of cognitive and non-cognitive skills and relevance of these to young people’s lives.

Human Capital Accumulation, Employment and Poverty Reduction:



The human capital-based CCT model makes an implicit link between improved schooling and better labour market trajectories. As illustrated in figure 4, human capital theory sees productivity and employment as directly related to educational attainment. That is, workers with higher educational attainment will be more productive and will secure better compensation (income) for this higher productivity (Davis & Moore, 1945; Mincer, 1958; Becker, 1962; Becker & Chiswick, 1966). There is an extensive literature that links education with employment and much of the poverty reduction literature has acknowledged the key role of labour markets in shaping long-term poverty reduction and the need for a “strong process of job creation in which the poor are the main beneficiaries” (Zepeda, 2009, p. 4).

The CCT model’s assumed link between schooling and better labour market outcomes will only be achieved, however, if there exist sufficient job opportunities within the labour market, to which young beneficiaries have access, and that offer sufficient returns. Despite the inherent links in the CCT model between young people’s schooling, employment, and long-term poverty reduction, the research on CCTs has neither theorised nor empirically examined young beneficiaries’ labour market participation,²² beyond the assumption that higher school enrolment and attendance rates will translate into better jobs.

²² The CCT research has, at least in a limited fashion, dealt with the labour participation of beneficiaries more broadly; however, this has focused on the cash transfer as a disincentive to labour participation for parents/caregivers in recipient households. To my knowledge, there has thus far been no attempt to examine *young* beneficiaries’ labour participation. Indeed, the lack of research on young people’s labour participation in the context of the Bolsa Família was recently noted by the OECD (2014).

In considering how and to what extent CCTs link young beneficiaries to the labour market, three dimensions seem to be key: (1) access to employment (i.e., labour mobility); (2) the availability of employment in the labour market (i.e., labour market structure); and (3) the returns to employment (i.e., skills premium). In terms of the first dimension, there are three main theoretical approaches to explaining the determinants of labour and income mobility: human capital theory; dualistic theories; and social capital theory. As discussed earlier in this chapter, human capital theory views earnings as a function primarily of the supply of and demand for labour in a competitive labour market, as well as differences in productivity (Perry, 2006). Dualistic theories see income and mobility as influenced by segmentation in the labour market, leading to differentials among workers with similar skills as a result of either discrimination or barriers across occupations (see, for instance, Phelps, 1972; Collins, 1971; 1979). Social capital theory highlights the importance of social networks and contacts in determining access to – and sometimes remuneration from – employment opportunities (Granovetter, 1974; Lin, 1999; Mouw, 2003). Given that the previous section reviewed human capital theory in detail, the focus here will be on dualistic theories and social capital theory in providing alternative theoretical explanations for the link between schooling/human capital and employment.

Dualistic theories explain employment outcomes and income differentials through unequal advantages in labour markets that can result in low-earnings traps for the poor, either due to discrimination or segmentation within the labour market. In the case of discrimination, personal characteristics – such as race, gender, social class – impact individuals' labour mobility. Several variants of discrimination-based theories offer different explanations for the channels through which personal characteristics limit or enhance labour market outcomes, including employers' beliefs and expectations of workers' productivity (Phelps, 1972), the dynamics that determine access to schooling (Collins, 1971; 1979), and employers' preference for cohesion through a given social composition within the workplace (Becker, 1971). Access to employment may be limited by a variety of processes of discrimination based on race/ethnicity, gender, or other characteristics, such as geography (e.g., neighbourhood an employee is from), which may negatively affect the ability of CCT beneficiaries to translate schooling and human capital into changed labour market trajectories and outcomes.

In Brazil, the historical relationship between race or colour, discrimination and disadvantage is both nuanced and complex. Racial inequalities in Brazil are rooted in the legacy of slavery and, in terms of labour market integration, the absence of policies after abolition to assist ex-slaves to integrate into the formal labour market (OECD, 2014). This legacy remains evident in the disproportionately high rates of poverty among blacks and the stark educational and wage gaps between the white and black population.²³

Most studies of racial gaps in Brazil focus on the theory of cumulative disadvantage (Hasenbalg, 2005; 2006; Valle Silva, 1999; in Osório, 2008), which sees race as an additional factor to class or social origin. That is, black children in Brazil are more likely to be born into poverty than their white counterparts, and therefore are more likely to suffer the disadvantages induced by poverty from early in the life cycle. They are more likely to attend lower quality schools than white children, they are more likely to suffer prejudice from teachers and peers, and less likely to achieve the same educational attainment levels. This in turn leads to lower paying, more insecure, often informal-sector jobs. Thus, upon entry into the labour market, educational attainment differences along with other disadvantages induced by poverty are such that discrimination within the labour market is not even particularly necessary to reproduce a racial gap in labour market outcomes. In turn, their children are born into the same cycle of disadvantage, reproducing racial gaps across generations.

Indeed, the average income of the white population in Brazil is twice that of the black population. While the ratio between the average incomes of the two groups has been declining in recent decades, this is attributed to overall declines in inequality for society as a whole, since black Brazilians are concentrated among the poorest income quintiles (Osório, 2008). Educational indicators show a diminishing proportional gap, but not an absolute one. Comparing secondary school completion in among white and black Brazilians over time, Osório (2008) notes that while in 1976, 8.2% of white Brazilians had completed secondary school, only 2.6% of black Brazilians had. Roughly 30 years later, by 2005, 25.1% of the white population

²³ While racial classification in Brazil is complex, and most studies of race in Brazil have typically used at least three categories (white, brown and black), Osório (2008) argues that including 'brown' and 'black' under one category is more useful, as both groups face similar discrimination and marginalisation. See Osório (2008), sections 2.1 and 2.2, pages 5-8 for a discussion of racial classification and the use terms for racial identification in Brazil.

had completed secondary school compared to 18.3% of the black population. This implies a reduction in the relative gap between the white and black population from 3.1 (that is, secondary school attainment was about 3.1 times higher among white compared to black Brazilians) in 1976, to 1.4 in 2005, but a growth in the absolute gap from 5.6% to 6.9% (Osório, 2008). Osório (2008) concludes that while the education system in Brazil performs poorly in general, it performs even more poorly for black children and young people, who are more likely to be out of school or to be lagging behind their white counterparts. While evidence of educational gaps between the white and black population in Brazil is not new, Osório's (2008) analysis shows that, despite improvements in educational attainment levels, racial differences continue to be reproduced.

There is an extensive literature that demonstrates the persistence of racial and gender disadvantage in the labour market as well (Arias et al., 2004; Loureiro et al., 2004; Lovell, 2006; Ferreira & Veloso, 2006; Osório, 2008; Saboia & Saboia, 2009; Fontes et al., 2012; Cacciamali & Tatei, 2013). Lower wages and higher rates of informality both contribute to the disproportionate representation of non-whites among the poor (Arcand & D'Hombres, 2004; Arias et al., 2004). Saboia and Saboia (2009) find that earnings for white Brazilians are on average double those of non-whites, with the wage gap decreasing with higher educational attainment. Non-whites also have higher rates of informality (Menezes-Filho & Scorzaface, 2009), although the gap does appear to be declining, likely due to the narrowing educational gap (Soares et al., 2007). Similarly, there is evidence of gendered wage differentials in the labour market. For instance, Cacciamali and Tatei (2013) find that the gender wage differential ranges from 47 to 63%, and is most pronounced for workers with a secondary school level education. Moreover, disadvantage based on gender and race often intersect, with the highest differentials found among black Brazilian women.

In addition to human capital endowments and discrimination within the labour market, social capital or networks may also influence income and labour mobility.²⁴ The literature on social capital and labour markets suggests that social networks may facilitate access to new labour market opportunities (Granovetter, 1974) and may contribute to the creation of virtuous circles

²⁴ The importance of social networks and contacts in finding employment has been much less studied in the developing world than in the US and Europe.

in employment, from reducing precariousness, to improving workers' wellbeing and happiness, to generating new social capital (Sabatini, 2009).²⁵ Informal contacts, acquaintances, neighbours, friends and relatives can impact labour mobility through information about and possibly access to employment opportunities (Granovetter, 1974; Lin, 1999; Mouw, 2003). To the extent that social capital influences labour mobility, it could expand or constrain the labour market opportunities of young CCT beneficiaries and thus impact their opportunities for moving out of poverty.

While there is little research on social capital and labour market access and mobility in developing countries,²⁶ there is evidence that it contributes to labour mobility in Brazil. For instance, in an ethnographic study of poor youth enrolled in literacy programmes, Bartlett (2007) finds that among the study participants who either found a job or a better one over the course of the two-year study, all did so through their social networks. Thus, despite the literacy programme ostensibly aiming to expand labour market opportunities through human capital development, participants' opportunities were ultimately determined by social rather than human capital. In the context of CCTs, both the quantity and quality of young beneficiaries' social networks may impact their access to employment and thus their opportunities to translate their schooling and human capital into better jobs.

Despite the analytical distinction between human capital and dualistic explanations of earnings and mobility, there is probably much overlap and feedback between both human capital and dualistic factors (Perry, 2006). Social networks likely work in tandem with these forces to expand or limit employment opportunities within the context of these existing access constraints. In short, dualistic and social capital theories suggest that there are factors beyond

²⁵ The formulations and applications of the concept of social capital have been hugely diverse (Fine, 2010). Two main strands of interpretation of the concept of social capital are arguably the conceptualisations offered by Putnam (e.g., 1993; 2000) and Coleman (e.g., 1988) on the one hand, and Bourdieu on the other. While a thorough treatment of each is not possible here, the concept of social capital as used here is more consistent with Bourdieu's use of the concept. Bourdieu sees social capital as the "property of individual actors, or groups" (Morrow, 2001, p. 56), and consists of both social networks and sociability (the processes by which social networks are sustained) (see, for instance, Bourdieu, 1984). As Morrow (2001) highlights, Bourdieu was particularly interested in the ways in which economic capital interacted with other forms of capital to reproduce social inequalities in everyday life.

²⁶ An extensive literature emerged in the 1990s and early 2000s on the role of social capital in development (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Molyneux, 2002). The conceptualisation of social capital within this literature has often lacked precision (Harriss & de Renzio, 1997); however, it tends to be much more aligned with the work of Coleman and Putnam than with that of Bourdieu.

human capital accumulation that may influence access to employment for CCT beneficiaries. Thus, in considering how and to what extent CCT beneficiaries are able to translate additional schooling and human capital into the labour market, it would seem important to expand the discussion to include other potential factors beyond human capital.

Shifting to the second possible dimension of the relationship between schooling/human capital and employment, the availability of jobs within the labour market may be central in shaping young beneficiaries' employment outcomes. While theories of labour mobility assume the availability of jobs and focus exclusively on access, the structure of the labour market and its ability to create jobs may be equally relevant. For instance, there is an extensive literature in Latin America on the structural heterogeneity of labour markets, which tend to be characterised by large gaps in productivity between and within different sectors and which has been argued to limit the process of job creation (CEPAL, 2012; CEPAL & ILO, 2012). Within an economy, structural heterogeneity results in some areas of high productivity, on par with developed countries, but many areas of very low productivity, with low wages, little use of technology and mechanisation, and low capital density (CEPAL, 2012). The latter generally corresponds to the informal sector and typically demands unskilled labour while providing little in the way of employment protection or social benefits. In contrast, the high productivity sectors are characterised by a higher concentration of capital and technology, higher wages, as well as greater stability of employment (through labour contracts) and access to employment benefits (through social security).

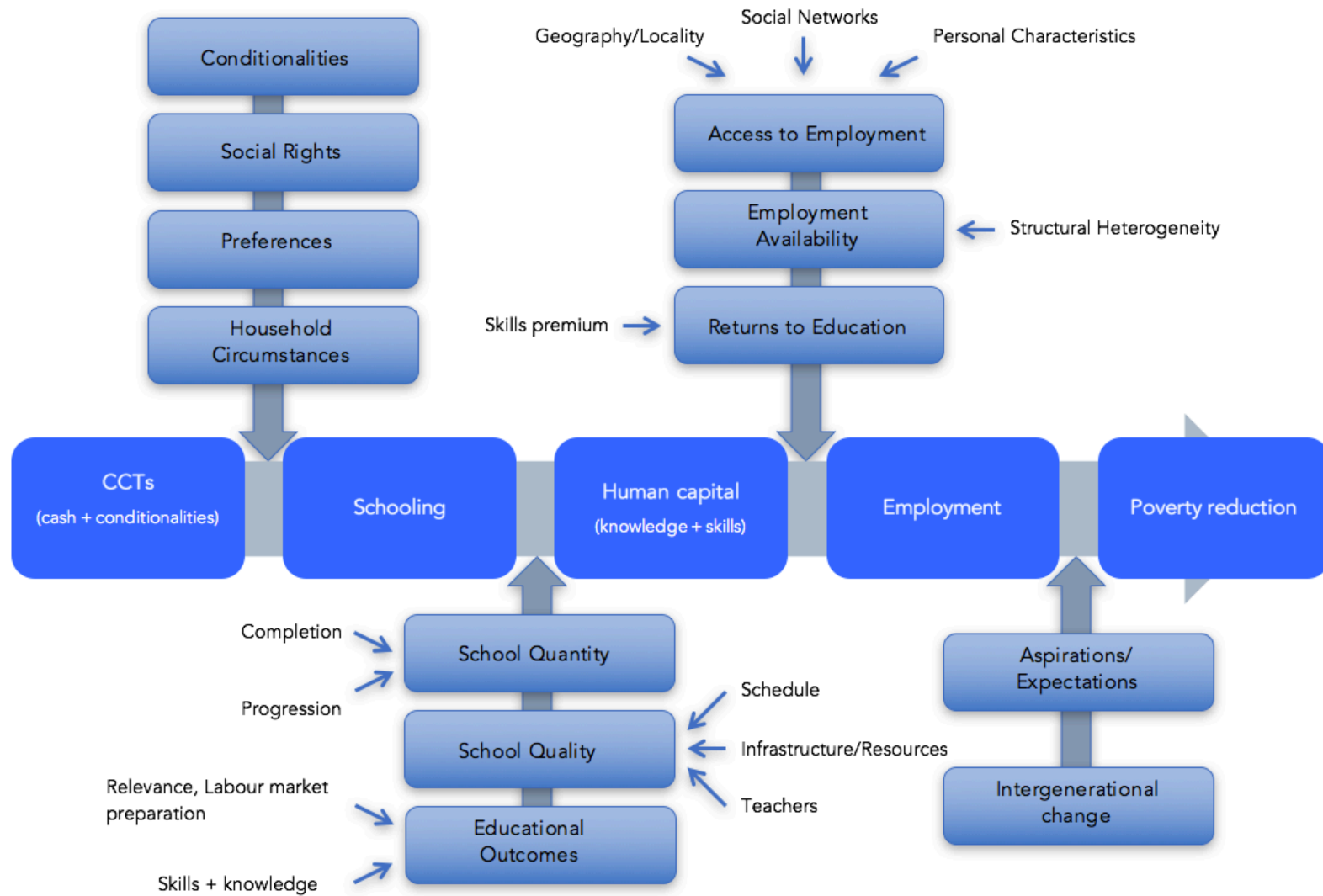
The degree of economic structural heterogeneity varies across Latin America, but even in countries with an intermediate level of heterogeneity, such as Brazil, high productivity sectors produce on average 68% of output but create only 18% of employment, compared to low productivity sectors that make up over 50% of employment but contribute less than 11% of output (CEPAL, 2012). Unsurprisingly, low productivity employment is highly concentrated among lower income quintiles (CEPAL, 2012), limiting the availability of good jobs to the poor. Such labour market segmentation – between the formal and informal sectors, but possibly also between rural and urban sectors – may not only constrain the availability of employment but also income and mobility between sectors. Comparisons of the informal and formal sectors have shown consistently lower wages in the former (Gasparini & Tornarolli, 2007; Bargain & Kwenda,

2011; Botelho & Ponczek, 2011). Labour and income mobility in the informal sector, however, appear to decrease with higher levels of educational attainment (Da Silva & Pero, 2008), suggesting there is a cap on the level of social mobility accessible to those in the informal sector.

Finally, considering the third dimension to the relationship between schooling/human capital and employment, the research on skills premia suggests that the ability to translate human capital into jobs that would be consistent with the poverty reduction aims of CCTs may also depend on returns to education. Increased real wages are associated with increased productivity, and higher access to employment benefits and social protection, which all contribute to improved incomes and wellbeing. Trends in the skills premium since the early 2000s indicate a declining wage premium for those with tertiary and completed secondary education in tandem with the expansion of basic education (Manacorda et al., 2010; Gasparini et al., 2011; OECD, 2014; Wang, 2015), at least partly due to policies such as the BFP. In addition to a diminishing skills premium for secondary educated workers, increasing levels of unemployment and informality among those with intermediate levels of education have been noted (Menezes-Filho & Scorzaface, 2009). If the CCT model does hold true for young beneficiaries and they are completing the basic education cycle, these trends could put in question the value of additional schooling acquired as a result of the BFP for gains in income and wellbeing. Ultimately, the wage/skills premium offered for intermediate/secondary education is fundamental to the logic of CCTs as a long-term poverty reduction strategy. If CCT beneficiaries are able to complete some or all of secondary school where they previously were not, but there are no gains in earnings attached to this additional education, it is unlikely that the intergenerational cycle of poverty will be broken.

Thus, exploring the long-term impacts of CCTs and the processes shaping the relationship between human capital and labour market outcomes may require consideration of issues of access, availability and returns to employment. These dimensions have thus far been overlooked in the CCT research, but will be key to understanding the possibilities and mechanisms through which the intergenerational persistence of poverty may be broken via schooling and employment. Informed by the theoretical literature reviewed here, the theoretical framework in figure 5 provided the basis for exploring these missing dimensions within the CCT model.

Figure 5: Theoretical Framework for CCT Model



1.4.3 Questioning and Moving Beyond the Human Capital Model for CCTs.

The previous section unpacked and extended the CCT model in order to (a) identify the theory of change behind CCTs; (b) identify the possible dimensions to this theory of change not yet incorporated into the CCT literature, as suggested by a broader review of the theoretical literature; and (c) lay out a theoretical framework based on this literature for exploring the long-term impacts of the BFP. This section further challenges the CCT model at a more fundamental level; it contests the linearity and the individualised conceptualisation of poverty at the heart of CCTs as profoundly inadequate to understanding the complexities of young beneficiaries' longer term trajectories and the structural constraints they face in moving out of poverty.

CCTs are premised on a model that functions entirely at the individual and household level, ignoring the structural context in which the programme and beneficiaries exist. This has been true not only of CCTs but more generally of the types of programmes adopted in response to the social costs of neoliberal reforms in the 1990s. As Molyneux (2006) notes, these 'new social investments' represented a re-configuration of state-society relations that shifted much of what were previously responsibilities of the state onto the individual and family:

As elsewhere, the official policy discourses and forms of entitlement that are being created in Latin America tend to place more emphasis on individual responsibility. [...] It now involves the 'co-management of risk'; that may be interpreted to mean that the individual has to make responsible provision against risks (through education and employment), the family, too, must play its part (through better care), while the market (through private interests) and the community (through decentralization of 'co-responsibility' and the voluntary sector) are all involved in decentring of expectations of welfare from the state. (p. 430-431)

The New Poverty Agenda driving social protection in recent decades has thus emphasised (a) highly targeted social investments (for only the poorest segments of society) that focus on human capital investments aimed at children and young people with the aim of breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty; and (b) a highly individualised understanding of poverty and the pathways out of poverty, with little attention to the political and economic structures that shape both poverty and the possibilities beneficiaries have for moving out of poverty. CCTs, and the human capital model that underpins them, epitomize both these trends.

The human capital model on which CCTs are based views labour market outcomes as directly related to an individual's human capital stocks generated through schooling. Based on this model, CCTs attach conditionalities to school enrolment and attendance on the premise that poverty is a result of the incapacity, irresponsibility or ignorance of poor parents/caregivers to invest in their children's education. The discourses related to both to cash transfers and conditionalities in Latin America have been couched in the language of empowerment and capabilities, of 'co-management' and 'co-responsibility,' with the notion of 'self-help' being key to the process of poverty reduction (Molyneux, 2006). Recent social policy interventions aim to 'empower' the individual, to build their capabilities, a highly individualistic understanding of the pathways out of poverty (Molyneux, 2008).

CCTs are thus based in an understanding of poverty rooted in the "personal characteristics and circumstances of individuals and households" (Devereux & McGregor, 2014, p. 297), and therefore adopt the individual and/or household as the unit of analysis for intervention in designing solutions to poverty. Devereux and McGregor (2014) note the 'methodological individualism' of this approach.²⁷ It entails inherent assumptions around the causes and solutions to poverty, which are understood to operate solely at the individual level. That is, poor people are poor due to their own failings, and the solution to poverty lies in addressing these failings through interventions targeted at the individual and household – in this case, incentivising poor parents to make the 'right' choices about their children's schooling – as opposed to structural level interventions, such as addressing problems in the education system or labour market.

[T]he poor are always considered responsible for their poverty. Rather than directly tackling the social risks facing the poor (which can be structural and contingent), policies that follow the risk management framework instead prioritize reduction of economic risks. This continues to be the case in Brazil's [...] CCT program. Despite their acknowledgement that poverty, in an abstract sense, is the result of structural problems, ... CCT programs suggest the best way to address these problems is through individual and family-level intervention. (Dapuez et al., 2016, p. 6)

²⁷ See also Ulrichs & Roelen (2012); Dapuez et al. (2016).

CCTs envisage the pathway out of poverty as contingent solely upon individual beneficiaries' efforts in the uptake of schooling, failing to acknowledge the structural conditions that may shape, constrain or interrupt the assumed links between schooling, the labour market and poverty reduction.²⁸ For instance, this model cannot account for segmentation of the education system and issues of quality of schooling, or for labour market conditions that may not offer the access, opportunities or returns to employment. Yet young people's experiences of poverty and life trajectories, as well as the social protection schemes (CCTs) from which they may benefit, do not operate in isolation of broader relational and political economic forces. While an individualised understanding of poverty, its causes and solutions, may provide some insights into the 'story' behind CCT beneficiaries' experiences of poverty, it is not the full story, as it does not allow for more complex explanations of what poverty is and how it is produced and reproduced. It ignores the "roles of social structures, institutions, politics and power at every level" (Devereux & McGregor, 2014, p. 298). It fails to consider the links between individuals and households, and these wider structural conditions and the ways in which the latter both shapes and is shaped by individuals and their life trajectories.²⁹ There is a growing literature that highlights the fundamental flaws in the logic of CCTs to the extent that it ignores structural conditions, such as unequal access to services, differing capital and assets levels upon entering labour markets, social discrimination and exclusion (Ulrichs & Roelen, 2012; Sandberg, 2015; Dapuez et al., 2016). As Sandberg (2015) notes,

CCTs' presumed capacity to enable a break in intergenerational transmission of poverty is not based on empirical evidence. Rather, it constitutes an analytical statement largely based on incomplete deductive reasoning: educational enrolment is equated with educational outcomes, which in turn is assumed to automatically enable social mobility. This presumed causality chain seems to be founded on an invalid de-coupling of structural and contextual factors empirically found to impact on the correlation. The underlying logic is flawed in that it ignores the multidimensionality and complexity of poverty, educational outcomes, and social mobility. Particularly in Latin America, this

²⁸ This individualised conceptualisation of poverty allows policy to avoid dealing with the more difficult structural, institutional and relational problems that shape poverty.

²⁹ This may lead to unintended consequences that are misaligned with poverty reduction goals. For instance, at the micro level, implementing poverty interventions in one dimension of wellbeing may have negative impacts on other dimensions (e.g., targeted social grants may lead to stigmatisation of recipients, discord in communities, labelling or reinforcing of particular understandings of poverty). At the macro-, structural level, such an approach may fail to have the intended outcomes because it does not account for the broader structural conditions that may alter or be altered by the intervention. For instance, CCTs may incentivise increases in the uptake of schooling such that the increase in labour supply depresses returns to education (Devereux & McGregor, 2014).

trajectory is riddled with structural inequalities, basic capabilities constraints, and supply-side deficiencies. (p. 65)

Indeed, very little attention has been paid in either the CCT literature or in policymaking to the structural constraints that beneficiaries may face to moving out of poverty. For instance, there has been little recognition of the importance of the quality of services mandated by CCTs. This is problematic as the implicit assumption in CCTs is that the quality of those services, such as the education system, is adequate and consistent with ensuring human capital and poverty reduction goals. Yet there is much evidence to support the deficiencies in educational services as the main cause of Latin America's human capital problems (Sandberg, 2015; see also CEPAL, 2010; IDB, 2007; Reimers et al., 2006; UNDP, 2010). Similarly, there is a critical assumption in CCTs that breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty will be achieved by young beneficiaries obtaining better employment; yet, CCTs have mostly lacked any direct (or indirect) links with labour markets or labour market policies. Beyond these structural constraints related to education and productive insertion, the CCT model also ignores the fact that children and young people do not live in a vacuum, untouched by their familial, community and social context.

Ultimately, the longer run trajectories of young beneficiaries will be highly contingent on a host of factors not currently incorporated into the CCT model. Thus, in understanding the potential that CCTs hold for changing young people's life trajectories and for poverty reduction over the long-term, it is crucial to account for the broader structural context shaping their lives and opportunities. The theoretical framework in figure 5 draws together diverse sets of literature to illustrate the ways in which CCTs must be situated within the broader political, economic and social structures that will be at least as important as individual-level factors to shaping the long-term outcomes of CCTs and the possibilities for young beneficiaries to move out of poverty.

Beyond the individual-structural critique of the CCT model, the linearity of the model for intergenerational poverty reduction is also fundamentally problematic to the extent that it ignores the complexities of young beneficiaries' life trajectories and the social processes shaping the decisions they make about schooling, labour participation, and family. The CCT model echoes much of the academic and policy literature based on a linear 'life stages' model (see, for instance, Lloyd, 2005; for critiques, see Camfield, 2011; Boyden & Dercon, 2012) that reflects broader global tendencies to frame 'successful' childhoods and 'transitions to adulthood' around

the assumption of the completion of compulsory schooling and entry into the labour market. Much of this literature frames young people in terms of progression over the life-course through sequential stages based on age and social life – from childhood to youth, to adulthood; from school to work, etc. Thus, schooling and work are viewed as the “main means of transitioning to a materially successful adulthood” (Camfield, 2011, p. 670).

According to the human capital-based CCT model, young beneficiaries move in a linear direction through schooling, after which they enter the labour market with greater skills and capacity to secure better livelihoods. This linear progression is evidenced by the age requirements for young people to receive the CCT benefit, which generally are capped at the age for completion of the basic education cycle, based on the presumption of a linear, uninterrupted progression through schooling. This linear movement from schooling towards the labour market, and the notion that young people should enter the labour market only *after* the completion of the basic education cycle is at the heart of CCTs. The cash benefit is conceived as compensation for the opportunity cost of young people’s labour (which they are assumed to give up in favour of attending formal schooling).

Despite the linear model of youth that permeates the policy literature, there is a growing body of research in the sociology and geographies of childhood and youth that problematises youth transitions as linear, particularly in the context of poverty (Morrow, 2013), as well as the contradictions created by the linearity of the human capital model for poor young people (see, for instance, Punch, 2002; Thompson, 2002; Jeffrey & McDowell, 2004; Jeffrey & Dyson, 2008; Jeffrey, 2010). Some authors have questioned the value of the concept of ‘transitions’ itself in that it suggests false binaries – between child and adult, school and work – and assumes a linear progression from one life stage to the next (Morrow, 2013). Others have suggested that concepts such as ‘critical moments’ (Thompson, 2002) and ‘vital conjunctures’ (Johnson-Hanks, 2002; Jeffrey, 2010) may be more useful, as these concepts account for the uneven and sometimes contradictory challenges that young people face in their lives (Camfield, 2011). Still others have offered concepts such as ‘social navigations’ (Vigh, 2009) to explore how young people manage these challenges.

This literature highlights that young people's schooling, labour market and life trajectories, particularly in situations of poverty, rarely reflect a linear developmental path (Camfield, 2011). There is now widespread critique of the linearity of 'life stages' models that fail to account for the diversity of young people's experiences in schooling, the labour market, and other settings, which are often "not sequenced in any predictable manner or in the way in which classic western models of growing up might lead us to expect" (Jeffrey, 2011, p. 793). For instance, in her research with young people in Bolivia, Punch (2002) shows that young people's school-to-work transitions may be influenced by a range of interconnected factors, including locality, economic resources, parental and individual attitudes, gender, and social norms (such as those related to birth order) and relations (such as networks). This is likely also the case in Brazil, and there is empirical evidence to suggest that such factors may play a crucial role in shaping young people's trajectories. Taking the example of gender, for instance, there is considerable evidence of both the high prevalence of early pregnancy in Brazil (World Bank, 2015) and its association with early school leaving (Almeida & Aquino, 2009). Yet the CCT model and the academic and policy literature that supports it have yet to acknowledge the extensive research contradicting the linearity of life stages models.

There is an equally extensive literature on the complexity of the intergenerational transmission of poverty that highlights the multitude of factors involved, from economic, to political, environmental and social (for instance, Harper et al., 2003; Moore, 2005). Yet, the CCT model fails to account for this complexity and the range of factors – such as social relations (family, kin or household structures), social norms and practices (e.g., shaping access to assets and the distribution of these within and between generations), and social networks (e.g., shaping access to opportunities and resources) – that play a key role in shaping not only young people's trajectories across the life-course (Jeffrey & McDowell, 2004) but also the transmission of poverty across generations.

The research on young people's trajectories and transitions and intergenerational poverty thus indicates that the process of long-term poverty reduction is much more complex than the human capital-based CCT model suggests. Young people may not move through school and the labour market in the linear fashion predicted by CCTs. Movement in and out of school and/or the labour market may mark many young people's lives in a more complex way and over a more

extended period of time than the CCT model considers. This may imply that CCTs' benefit structure and conditionalities – particularly in terms of the age and schooling requirements – and the logic of poverty reduction may be at odds with young people's trajectories and the social processes shaping them.

1.5 Contribution to the Literature.

Analytical Contribution:

While CCTs have been extensively evaluated *ex post*, their design and structure has not been based on *ex ante* analyses to establish that the theoretical underpinnings of these programmes reflect an accurate assessment of the problem of persistent poverty (i.e., that a low uptake of schooling is the key barrier to moving out of poverty), as well as an accurate interpretation of the underlying causes of the reproduction of poverty across generations (i.e., the linear human capital model) and of the nature of the solutions needed (i.e., that a lack of uptake of educational services reflects low value placed on children's schooling). Thus, Sandberg (2015) argues that

it may be wise to revisit the initial problem diagnoses and test whether CCTs are in fact the most optimal intervention in a region [Latin America] *where you are just as likely being poor because you are poorly educated as you are being poorly educated because you are poor.* (p. 62-63; italics in original text)

Based on the evidence discussed earlier in this chapter showing the relatively small increases in school enrolment rates as a result of CCTs, it would seem unlikely that a lack of uptake of education or a low value placed on education among poor families sufficiently explain the problems of persistent poverty and low human capital accumulation in Brazil or Latin America. If the diagnosis of the problem is incorrect, then it would seem likely that the theoretical underpinnings, the logic on which these programmes are based, may also be flawed. As Sandberg (2016) and others (see also Ravallion, 2008; Gaarder et al., 2010; IEG, 2011) have highlighted, there is a paucity of research that analyses the theory of change and the inherent assumptions underpinning CCTs:

CCT evaluations have largely ignored analyses and tests of programme theory, i.e., the underlying rationale behind the interventions, why they are needed in the first place, and why and how they are expected to have an impact. (p. 321)

As previous sections of this chapter have shown, this research contributes to addressing some of these shortcomings in the existing literature on CCTs by deconstructing the theory of change behind CCTs, the inherent assumptions about how such programmes are meant to and do (not) work, extending and challenging the theoretical model in CCTs, and testing the model empirically.

Empirical Contribution:

Not only is there a paucity of research on the theory of change in CCTs itself, but also on whether this theory of change is borne out in practice; that is, we know very little of the link between CCTs and the ultimate goal of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. Specifically, there is very limited research on the extent to which human capital accumulation is occurring among young beneficiaries, and, to my knowledge, no research thus far that examines young beneficiaries' labour participation or their longer run trajectories, particularly once leaving the programme. Nor has the current research on CCTs adequately considered the social processes shaping the lives and trajectories of young beneficiaries, particularly regarding schooling and the labour market. Similarly, partly given their relatively recent implementation, there has been little attention to the intergenerational dimensions of CCTs, especially the dimensions of continuity and change in beneficiary families' lives and experiences of poverty. This study starts to fill these gaps in our understanding of the long-term impacts of CCTs based on the programmes' theory of change, of the longer run trajectories of young beneficiaries and the structural barriers and social processes that shape these trajectories, and of the intergenerational changes and continuities in the lives of young beneficiaries and their families to which CCTs have contributed.

The findings demonstrate that the Bolsa Família programme does not appear to be facilitating the changed educational and labour market trajectories for young beneficiaries that would be consistent with long-term pathways out of poverty and breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Rather, young beneficiaries face very limited improvements to their educational trajectories and outcomes. Moreover, young people's schooling trajectories are shaped by

perceptions of school quality and of gender, factors not accounted for in the CCT model. Similarly, young beneficiaries' labour market trajectories thus far indicate little if any intergenerational improvement or prospect for social mobility. Overall, this study shows – thanks to the qualitative methodological approach – that young people's trajectories and outcomes are subject to many influences beyond those accounted for in the CCT model, highlighting the need to understand the structural and relational context in which young people live, and the social norms, responsibilities and identities that shape the decisions they make around schooling and employment in considering CCTs' potential for long-term poverty reduction.

Methodological Contribution:

As the discussion in the previous section alludes, there has been a disconnect between the growing body of research on children and young people and the development studies literature more broadly, and specifically, the social policy literature. In contrast to the socialisation and developmental psychology approaches that have traditionally dominated research about children (Ansell, 2009), beginning in the 1990s, the new sociology of childhood highlighted the need to consider children as social actors and brought an appreciation for childhood as a social construct (James & Prout, 1997; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). This led to new research focused on qualitative, participatory approaches and ethnographic and child-centred methods. While research on youth has been less dominated by approaches based in developmental psychology, and the tradition of qualitative research is much more established, the literature has focused heavily on the experiences of youth in developed countries (Huijsmans, 2017). This has in turn influenced much of the epistemological framing of the emerging research on young people in developing countries (Huijsmans, 2017), which has only recently been broadened to consider young people's everyday lives and 'non-exceptional' groups of young people in thinking about development. Still, childhood and youth studies have only marginally informed debates in development. Yet, in recent decades, there has been a great deal of interest in children and young people in development, although this interest has been primarily informed by research in economics, the medical sciences and developmental psychology (Huijsmans, 2017).

CCTs are indeed a prime example of this interest, along with growing attention to early childhood interventions and the idea of human capital investments as a poverty reduction strategy (Huijsmans, 2017). This adult-centric approach in development studies and practice, and in CCTs more specifically, is problematic both for the limited understanding these impart of the impacts of such interventions from the perspective of children, as well as for the lack of attention to the relational, contextual and life-course dimensions of these impacts.

[T]his research treats childhood as a site of intervention ignoring children's active engagement with and appropriation of programmes, important variations in how interventions play out, the constantly evolving relational and generational fabric within which children and young people live their lives and in which programmes intervene, as well as the temporal dimension that would show that at least some children may 'do well' later in life despite initial hardships and deprivations (Boyden et al., 2015b). (Huijsmans, 2017, p. 2)

References to 'young people as the future,' as well as debates about children and youth related to issues of 'child poverty,' 'adolescent sexuality,' 'youth employment,' and 'the youth bulge' illustrate how young people have become 'clients' of international development and yet at the same time how limited the integration of the theoretical and methodological innovations from the childhood and youth studies research has been in development research and practice (Huijsmans, 2017).

Part of this may be explained by the focus of much of the research in childhood and youth studies on young people's perspectives, highlighting the socio-cultural construction of childhood and life phases (White, 2002; Hart, 2016), and on arguing for the importance of studying young people's lives in their own right. This reflects an effort to give young people 'voice' in research that for decades prior had failed to take account of young people's perspectives; however, this has also meant that the broader structural context that shapes young people's experiences and lives has often been ignored.³⁰ Childhood and youth studies has tended to focus on the cultural dimensions of development issues rather than the political and economic context in which they occur (White, 2002; Hart, 2008; 2016), such that research seeking to understand "the wider political economic factors ('systems') – operating over time – that

³⁰ For instance, there has been a tendency to focus on young people's life phase in the present as distinct, with a lack of attention to young people's concerns about their anticipated futures and their roles and responsibilities in social reproduction – a process inherently linked to the structural, not simply individual, level (Ansell, 2014).

perpetuate situations inimical to children's wellbeing remains limited" (Hart, 2008, p. 10). As White (2002) and Hart (2008; 2016) argue, there is thus a need to move beyond the traditional focus on children and young people as isolated from their historical, political, economic and social context. While there is a need to describe young people's experiences, these must be located within the broader material context and wider political economy that structure young people's lives and experiences of poverty. Related to this, there is a need to move away from research that focuses on snapshots of young people's lives and towards a consideration of their experiences in terms of their life trajectories (Hart, 2008).

Similarly, much of the economics research on poverty reduction and social policy – heavily dominated by impact evaluations within the field of behavioural economics – has been highly focused on the individual. This has involved very little consideration of the structural factors – the social, political and economic context – shaping the production and reproduction of poverty, as well as of the perspectives of the poor and their experiences of poverty. Where this research does consider the poor at the micro, individual level, this has been limited to discussions of the behaviour and incentives of the poor and interventions that would address these (see, for instance, Banerjee & Duflo's *Poor Economics*, 2011). Indeed, such research is part of a paradigmatic shift in the poverty reduction literature over the last decade towards greater emphasis on evidence-based social policy (Sandberg, 2016), typically relying heavily on methods such as surveys, randomised control trials and social experiments, with a focus on 'hard evidence' to support policymaking (Duflo & Kremer, 2003). Such methods provide a simple solution to the problem of the counterfactual and have been held up as the most rigorous technique of programme evaluation (Sandberg, 2016), and consequently have featured prominently in the implementation of many cash transfer programmes. While such methods have their use, the singular focus on them has led to considerable limitations on the type of evidence being produced on CCTs in that it pertains primarily to both short-term and average effects (Sandberg, 2016). From a political economy perspective, average effects provide limited insights to the distributional, contextual or longer-term implications. The social policy literature on CCTs has thus focused almost exclusively on the macro-level implications of these programmes, particularly on short-term measures of schooling and health, paying little attention to the ways

in which these impacts are distributed and shaped at the individual and household level by structural level constraints.³¹

More broadly, the literature on the politics of social policy has, in contrast, focused very much on the structural level and on the political and economic conditions shaping the evolution of given policy regimes or architectures. For instance, there has been a great deal of attention to the role of political and economic conditions (Huber & Stephens, 2001) that shape the development of social policy architectures – whether more residual and fragmented or more universal in nature – including the impact of such factors as political parties (Pribble, 2013), state actors (Martínez Franzoni & Sánchez-Ancochea, 2016), democratic institutions (Filgueira, 2007), and global political economy (Rudra, 2007). This literature engages very little, however, with the ways in which people as individuals, households and communities interact with and experience social policies, or with the micro-level ways in which these policies affect the lives of the poor.

Thus, neither the social policy and antipoverty research, nor the childhood and youth studies literature sufficiently consider simultaneously both the individual and structural levels in understanding the relationship between beneficiaries and social policies, with how the micro- and the macro-levels connect. This research sits between and draws on both the childhood and youth studies literature, in seeking to understand young people's lives at the micro-level, as well as the poverty reduction and social policy literatures, by exploring how individual, micro-level experiences and perspectives of young people reflect and shed light on macro-level policy debates. This study bridges the individual and structural levels, on the basis that connecting these two are crucial to understanding both the long-term impacts of CCTs for young beneficiaries as well as the factors that shape outcomes. On the one hand, drawing on the social policy literature, consideration of the broader structural context in which CCT programmes and beneficiaries exist is necessary to understanding the potential life trajectories of young beneficiaries and the capacity that CCTs hold for facilitating long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. On the other hand, drawing on the childhood/youth studies literature, consideration of the perspectives and experiences of young beneficiaries is important to understanding (a) their trajectories and the ways in which the structural context plays out at the micro-level in expanding and limiting

³¹ With the notable exception of a small but growing body of qualitative research on CCTs. See for instance, Molyneux (2006), Streuli (2010), Pires (2014), Cookson (2016).

their opportunities and outcomes; and (b) the ways in which CCT design and implementation operate at the micro-level in terms of the programmes' goal of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. Thus, while this research seeks to give voice to a highly marginalised group and one that has been almost wholly excluded from the social policy and CCT research and policymaking, it does so while situating these voices within their structural context, and in an explicit attempt to speak directly to and inform macro-level policy debates. Moreover, the theoretical framework and methods used in this study emphasise a focus on the life-course and young people's trajectories rather than a de-contextualised snapshot of their lives at a particular moment in time.

The qualitative approach taken here stands in contrast to the almost exclusively quantitative evaluations that have dominated the CCT research and policy literature. These quantitative approaches are not well suited to teasing out the complex social and structural processes that shape long-term trajectories and outcomes. The dearth of qualitative research has implied very little consideration of the trajectories of young beneficiaries and the implications of these for the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction. Moreover, there has been very little attention to the perspectives of young beneficiaries themselves on either the programme, their schooling, or their trajectories and future aspirations and expectations. This research shows that (especially, *young*) beneficiaries' perspectives are crucial to understanding not only the long-term impacts of CCTs on young people's trajectories and on the potential for poverty reduction, but also the social processes and structural conditions that shape them.

This thesis thus makes three main contributions to the literature on CCTs. Analytically, the research deconstructs, extends and challenges the theory of change behind CCTs. Empirically, the research sheds light on the long-term impacts of CCTs for young beneficiaries and the (both individual and structural) conditions and social process that influence them. This contributes to the very limited body of research on CCTs from the perspectives of young beneficiaries³² and offers some of the first evidence on longer run trajectories of young beneficiaries in schooling and the labour market, as well as some of the first intergenerational comparative analysis of CCT beneficiaries. And methodologically, it brings together theoretical

³² See also Streuli (2010) and Pires (2014).

approaches in the poverty reduction and social policy literatures and childhood and youth studies to use the micro-level perspectives, experiences and trajectories of young BFP beneficiaries to inform more macro-level debates. In doing so, it employs a qualitative approach that engages directly with young beneficiaries and their families, in contrast to much of the literature on CCTs which tends to focus on quantitative, macro-level programme impact evaluations.

1.6 Organisation of the Thesis.

This chapter has (a) set out the research problem to be addressed in this thesis (broadly, the question of the long-term impacts of CCT programmes); (b) traced the emergence of CCTs as key pillars of social policy in Brazil, Latin America and increasingly across the developing world; (c) described the basic tenets of the Bolsa Família programme; (d) reviewed the current evidence on the impacts of CCTs; (e) unpacked, extended, and challenged the theory of change behind CCTs' aim of long-term poverty reduction, laying out a theoretical framework for examining the long-term impacts of CCTs; and (f) outlined the analytical, empirical and methodological contribution this study makes. The rest of the thesis is organised as follows.

Chapter 2, *Research Design and Methods*, explains the choice of case study, outlines the qualitative approach adopted and the specific methods employed to investigate the research questions, describes the sample of young people and their families who constitute the main research participants, reflects on the ethical implications of the research process, explains the process of the data analysis undertaken, and identifies the limitations of the study.

Chapter 3, *Young People's Schooling Quantity, Quality and Learning*, draws on empirical evidence from interviews with young beneficiaries as well as national and international data on schooling quantity, quality and learning outcomes to argue that (a) measurements of schooling focused on enrolment and attendance rates, which have dominated the CCT research, do not capture an accurate picture of young beneficiaries' schooling; and (b) young beneficiaries' experiences, both in terms of quality of schooling and learning, do not appear consistent with the notion that increased schooling required by the BFP is indeed facilitating much human capital formation among beneficiaries. The findings fundamentally challenge the notion that

CCTs can break the intergenerational cycle of poverty through schooling and human capital development.

Chapter 4, *Young People's Schooling Trajectories and Social Transitions*, explores young people's trajectories through and out of school and the social processes that shape these, illuminating the ways in which, as well as the reasons why, the linear, 'life stages' model of CCTs and human capital theory do not hold true. This chapter argues that several key factors appear to shape young people's trajectories out of school prior to completion: gender and perceptions of school quality. Through biographical accounts, this chapter explores the differing impact of gender in shaping young women and men's trajectories out of school. The chapter shows that, in addition to gender, young people's perceptions of school quality are also critical to shaping their schooling trajectories. The findings illustrate the importance of understanding young people's trajectories and the factors that shape them – and the value of the qualitative methodology in illuminating these – to assessing long-term impacts and outcomes in CCTs. They also fundamentally question the notion that CCTs may be serving to increase both schooling attainment and achievement, and thus the capacity of such programmes to facilitate long-term poverty reduction via increased schooling.

Chapter 5, *Young People's Labour Market Trajectories and Experiences*, draws again on biographical accounts to examine young people's experiences of labour participation, demonstrating that the linear progression from school to the labour market assumed in the CCT model does not hold true. Rather, young people often either balance school and work in parallel, or move in and out of school based on the need (or perceived need) to work. Moreover, young people do not appear to be able to move into or within the labour market in a way that appears consistent with the changed labour market trajectories and long-term poverty reduction. The findings challenge the link between schooling and human capital on the one hand, and labour market outcomes on the other.

Chapter 6, *Poverty, Wellbeing and Intergenerational Change*, first explores continuity and change in the lives of Bolsa Família beneficiary youth and their families, drawing on questionnaire and interview data. It argues that the BFP has played a key role in changing experiences of poverty across generations in terms of shifts in access to social services and protection, education, and meeting basic needs. Yet, there is a great deal of continuity across

generations in beneficiaries' experiences of poverty and wellbeing insofar as they continue to be shaped by precarious patterns of labour market insertion, marginalisation, high levels of inequality and lack of opportunity. The chapter then shifts to explore young people's aspirations and expectations around social mobility and intergenerational poverty reduction. It argues that the BFP and the associated international discourse linking schooling and poverty reduction have helped to raise both young people's and their families' aspirations and expectations of social mobility, and yet it is not at all clear that young people will be able to realise these.

Chapter 7, *CCTs: Delivering on the Promise of Poverty Reduction?*, draws together the policy implications of the previous empirical chapters in a discussion of the limitations, contradictions and opportunities identified in the empirical discussion. This chapter highlights the disjuncture between the human capital model at the heart of CCTs and young people's experiences and trajectories. It then examines complementary programmes to the BFP to consider whether these provide an appropriate tool for addressing the gaps in the current model. Finally, the chapter argues that, beyond the shortcoming in the model and in complementary policies, there is a fundamental contradiction between, on the one hand, the CCT model and the inherent individualisation of poverty it perpetuates, and, on the other hand, the evidence on young people's trajectories and the (largely structural) factors shaping them. It concludes that the BFP in its current form does not appear to hold much promise of delivering on the promise of intergenerational poverty reduction and indeed such a goal would require a fundamental re-conceptualisation of both poverty and young people's lives within the CCT model.

Finally, **Chapter 8, *Conclusion***, reviews the main findings of the thesis and identifies future areas of research.

CHAPTER 2

Research Design and Methods

2.1 The Value of Qualitative Research on Conditional Cash Transfers and Young People.

The academic and policy literature on conditional cash transfers has relied heavily on quantitative analyses of CCTs' impacts on poverty and human capital development. As a relatively recent innovation in poverty reduction strategies, analyses of the impacts and outcomes of CCTs have focused on the short-term; indeed, given their recent implementation and the relatively long period over which CCTs aim to meet their goal of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction, quantitative analyses of longer term impacts remain unfeasible in many contexts. As a result, much of the literature on CCTs has taken quantitative indicators, such as school enrolment rates, school dropout rates, vaccinations rates etc., as proxies for human capital development. Improvement in such short-term indicators is in turn assumed to indicate not only improvements to human capital stocks but also to possibilities for moving out of poverty for young beneficiaries over the long run.

While this quantitative approach has led to a rich set of data on short-term impacts on schooling (particularly on school enrolment and attendance), it has been ill-suited to understanding how these shape the micro-level experiences and life trajectories of young beneficiaries themselves, and of the social processes and structures that shape them. There is increasing acknowledgement in the CCT research that assumptions about the long-term impacts of CCTs based on the existing quantitative evidence is premature, and that there is a paucity of research that examines the underlying assumptions and theory of change in CCTs for poverty

reduction (see, for instance, Ravallion, 2008; Gaarder et al., 2010; IEG, 2011; Sandberg, 2015; 2016). Rather, qualitative research is much better suited to addressing the shortcomings in the existing literature. Denzin and Lincoln (2013) note that while quantitative research is typically focused on measuring outcomes, qualitative research is best-suited to studying social processes. As such, they argue that there is increasing recognition of the role that qualitative research should have in policy studies and policymaking. Moreover, quantitative research tends to assume very linear relationships between key variables; yet, it is clear from the theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter that the links between education, human capital formation, employment and poverty reduction are far from linear.

The existing research on CCTs provides limited knowledge for future policymaking as it provides data on “short-term average effects in localized contexts with limited external validity, and hence provides information neither on distributional nor long-term impact” (Sandberg, 2016, p. 320-321). Both distributional and long-term impacts are key to the logic of long-term poverty reduction in CCTs, suggesting that a more nuanced understanding of how these programmes’ play out in the everyday lives and trajectories of beneficiaries will be important to understanding the potential for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. As Hulme (2004) highlights, the average effect can be problematic in terms of understanding the impacts of poverty at the micro-level:

Ultimately, it is individual people who experience the deprivations of poverty, not countries or regions. Understanding what happens ‘on average’ or to the ‘average’ poor person or household can be an erroneous basis for decisions on intervention. (p. 162)

Similarly, the lack of attention to the micro-level impacts of CCTs and the experiences of beneficiaries themselves has been particularly problematic in understanding these programmes from the perspectives of young beneficiaries themselves. This is characteristic of many development interventions, as Huijsmans et al. (2014) point out:

[T]he incorporation of the young in theories and practices of development can too often be characterised as an ‘absent presence’ [...] The young are evidently present as targets of development interventions, and often feature prominently on the covers of development reports and textbooks. Ideologies and practices of development are also frequently justified or critiqued in the name of young people as the ‘next generation’ or ‘the future.’ (p. 163)

Indeed, both academic research and CCT policies position young beneficiaries as passive recipients of the benefit and of human capital investments. Only later, in adulthood, are they seen to possess agency in deploying such investments for their own and their families' benefit.

Overall, both the long-term impacts and outcomes of CCTs, particularly from the perspective of young beneficiaries, and the social processes that shape these outcomes have received comparatively little attention. This is precisely the analytical, empirical and methodological contribution that this study makes: to bring a better understanding of the trajectories of young Bolsa Família beneficiaries, the complexity of the social processes shaping these trajectories, their prospects for moving out of poverty over the long-term, and the ways in which their experiences can better inform poverty reduction policies. The qualitative approach here is particularly well suited to illuminating such questions and to understanding young beneficiaries' lives and trajectories holistically, accounting for the structural, social and relational contexts in which they live and make decisions about schooling and employment.

2.2 Research Design.

Based on the theoretical framework, this study adopted an explanatory qualitative research design, as explained by Guest (2012):

[...] a skeletal conceptual framework for data collection that focuses inquiry but does not sharply define its limits, [...] using previous work as a scaffold to explore the internal structure and dynamics of a concept. (p. 38)

A strongly inductive approach took the theoretical framework as an initial guide for field research, but with the expectation that it would evolve and expand during data collection. The theoretical framework was not developed as a set of hypotheses to be tested, but rather as a starting point to exploring the relationships between CCTs, education, employment and poverty reduction in the theory of change in CCTs, as well as the ways in which this maps onto the lived realities of young BFP beneficiaries' lives and trajectories.

The methods and data used in this study are consistent with the theoretical and analytical positioning of the research. The research engages directly with beneficiaries, primarily young

beneficiaries, to explore their perspectives, experiences and trajectories in relation to Brazil's Bolsa Família programme and its prospects for facilitating long-term, intergenerational pathways out of poverty. The methods encompass semi-structured interviews with young beneficiaries and their families, a questionnaire with (usually female) heads of household across two time periods, field notes and reports, interviews with government officials at the local, state and federal levels, as well as secondary data available through national and international databases on schooling and the labour market.

The methods and data incorporate both an individual and structural level analysis. While the questionnaire and interviews with beneficiaries consider individual perspectives, experiences and trajectories, they also attempt to explore the structural factors shaping these (e.g., the importance of social networks for young people's access to the labour market). The interviews with government officials, as well as secondary data, especially on the education system (e.g., on school quality; schooling outcomes) and labour market conditions (e.g. discrimination and segmentation within the labour market; labour supply and demand; returns to education), seek to contextualise the micro-level perspectives and experiences within data on broader macro-level structural trends and to explore the ways in which individual and household trajectories both shape and are shaped by these trends.

There is ostensibly a tension here between, on the one hand, the critique of the insufficiency of the individual level analysis implicit in the human capital-based CCT model, and on the other, the emphasis on methods that seek to understand individual young people's lives and experiences of the Bolsa Família and of living in poverty. Yet, deconstructing the logic of long-term poverty reduction in CCTs and analysing the extent to which this is reflected in young people's lives necessarily requires starting at the individual level. Indeed, many of the gaps in the current CCT research highlighted in the previous chapter result from a lack of engagement with individuals and households who benefit from CCTs, despite the logic of the program operating at the individual and household level. The methods and analysis employed here, however, aim to address some of these shortcomings in the existing literature, by both engaging with

beneficiary individuals and households as well as situating them within the structural context that shapes the opportunities and constraints they face in moving out of poverty.³³

2.2.1 Case Study: *The Bolsa Família and the Northeast of Brazil.*

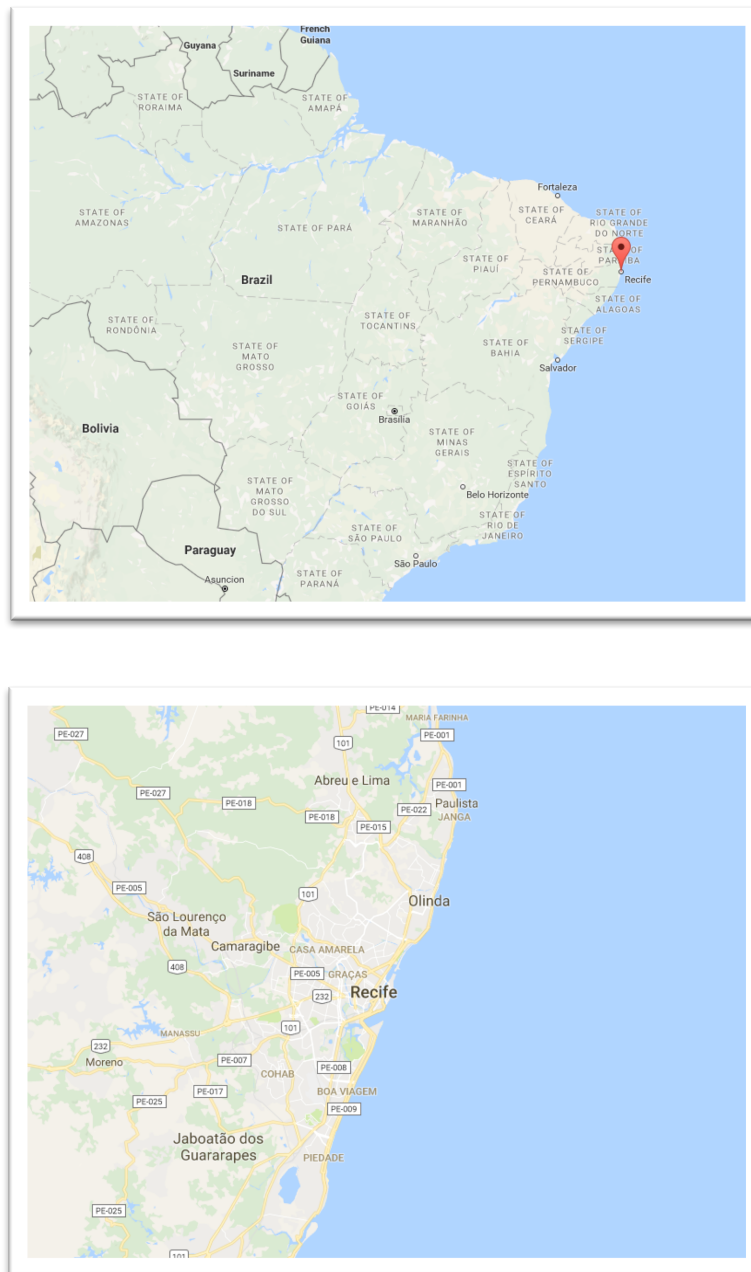
Explanatory research questions seeking to understand social processes and phenomena are best suited to a case study research design (Yin, 2009), largely due to their “holistic analysis” (Gerring, 2007, p. 37). Gerring (2007) argues that the depth of case studies provides a “detail, richness, completeness, wholeness, or the degree of variance in an outcome that is accounted for by an explanation” (p. 49). The explanatory inquiry in this study is best served by a case study method, focusing on Brazil’s BFP as a case study of education-based CCTs and their potential for facilitating long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

The choice of case study was based on several factors, including: (a) *the implementation period of the programme* –the BFP is one of the few CCTs that has been in place over a period of time sufficient to consider longer term impacts for young beneficiaries; (b) *the size of the programme* – the BFP is the largest CCT globally, covering an estimated one-quarter of Brazil’s population; and (c) *the level of development of the economy and the capacity of the labour market to absorb increasingly skilled workers* – among countries that have adopted CCTs, Brazil’s economy and labour market is arguably better positioned than most to accommodate improved labour market incorporation among young beneficiaries as they exit the programme. More broadly, the choice of the BFP as a case study represents what Gerring (2007) terms a ‘theoretically prominent’ or ‘paradigmatic’ case study. The Bolsa Família has been widely studied as a paradigmatic case in the CCT research, and has been held up as the gold standard model for many subsequent programmes across the globe, and thus is likely to hold important lessons for other countries using CCTs as a policy tool for poverty reduction.

³³ Building on this, future research might consider the more explicit intra-household dynamics and relationships that shape life trajectories and possibilities for moving out of poverty. This might include an examination of siblings’ experiences and the household level factors that may produce different trajectories and opportunities for different young people within the same household.

Case studies focus on “an intensive study of a single unit or small number of units (the cases), for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)” (Gerring, 2007, p. 37). This study focuses in large part on one urban area in Brazil: the greater Recife metropolitan area, encompassing the municipalities of Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes (although not the adjacent municipalities of Olinda and Camaragibe), in the state of Pernambuco, in the Northeast of Brazil. The maps below show the location of Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes in Brazil and in Pernambuco state.

Figure 6: Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes, Pernambuco, Brazil

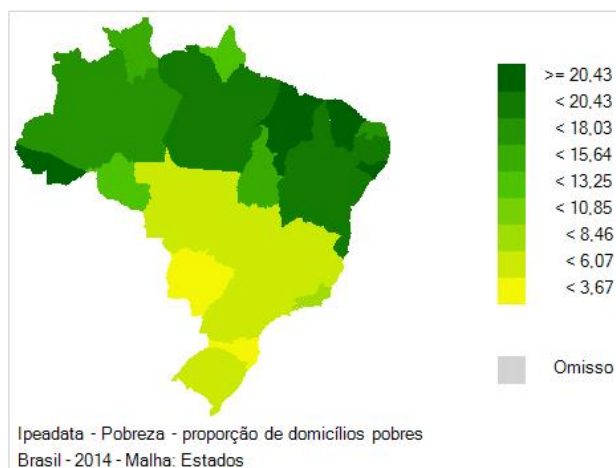


Source: Google Maps (2016)

Traditionally the poorest region of Brazil (see figure 7), the poverty rate in the Northeast region was 20.49% in 2014, compared to a national poverty rate of 9.97% (IPEA, 2016). Moreover, the extreme poverty rate in the Northeast region was 7.43% in 2014 compared to a national average of 3.52% (IPEA, 2016). 20.27% of households in Pernambuco state were living in poverty in

2014, the third highest poverty rate among Northeastern states (behind Alagoas and Maranhão), and roughly average for the region.³⁴ Similarly, at 7.11% in 2014, the extreme poverty rate in Pernambuco was just below the regional average of 7.42%.³⁵

Figure 7: Map of Households Living in Poverty (percentage of population, 2014)



Source: IPEA (2016)

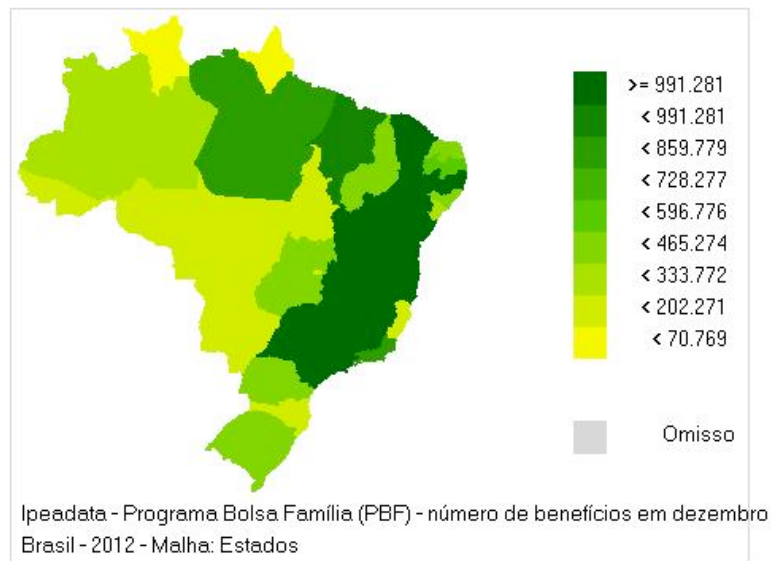
Unsurprisingly then, the Northeast also has the highest concentration of Bolsa Família beneficiaries in the country. Figures 8 and 9 illustrate this concentration, showing the number of BFP beneficiaries and the value of benefits distributed through the BFP by state. Similarly, table 2 shows the concentration of beneficiaries in the Northeast region. Within the Northeast region, Pernambuco has the second largest number of BFP beneficiaries and second highest total value of benefits distributed through the BFP, after Bahia state. The metropolitan area of Recife counted 363,538 beneficiaries and disbursed over R\$45³⁶ million in benefits in 2012 (IPEA, 2016).

³⁴ Northeast regional average (for Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Sergipe states) of 20.67% in 2014, calculated by author based on data from IPEA (2016).

³⁵ Northeast regional average calculated by author based on data from IPEA (2016).

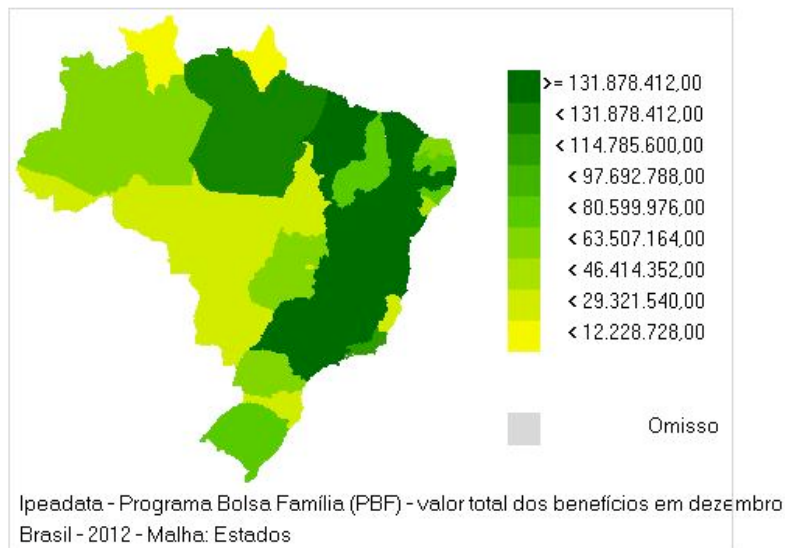
³⁶ USD\$21.4 million (2012 exchange rate); US\$13.6 million (2016 exchange rate).

Figure 8: Map of Beneficiary Households (number of beneficiaries), by State (2012) ³⁷



Source: IPEA (2016)

Figure 9: Map of Bolsa Família benefits (value of benefit), by State (2012)



Source: IPEA (2016)

³⁷ Most recent year of data available at time of writing.

Table 2: Number of Bolsa Família Beneficiaries by Region (2012)

REGION	NUMBER OF BENEFICIARIES
Centre-West	775,260
North	1,574,868
Northeast	7,047,624
South	1,060,356
Southeast	3,442,625

Source: IPEA (2016)

Beyond the rationale for choosing a case study in Brazil, and in the Northeast of the country, the theoretical framework suggests several other considerations in selecting an urban over a rural area. Over 85% of the population in Brazil is urban (World Bank, 2016), highlighting the increasing relevance of understanding the dynamics of urban poverty in Brazil. Moreover, the theoretical framework suggests that, at a minimum, accessibility and quality of social service provision as well as the capacity of the labour market to accommodate young beneficiaries exiting the BFP is key to examining the theory of change in CCTs. A large metropolitan area such as Recife/Jaboatão dos Guararapes should offer both better access to and quality of social service provision (e.g., educational services) for BFP beneficiaries, as well as a greater diversity of economic opportunity and capacity of the labour market to absorb young beneficiaries exiting the BFP compared to rural areas, which have traditionally been dominated by agriculture and poor access to and poor quality of social service provision. In this sense, an urban area should provide a ‘best case scenario’ for the success of CCTs’ theory of change; that is, in terms of social service provision and labour market opportunities and the extent to which they contribute to facilitating young beneficiaries’ long-term pathways out of poverty. In addition, given the concentration of poverty and the BFP itself in the Northeast, focusing on this region, and specifically the metropolitan area of Recife, should provide as much of an accurate depiction as possible in a small sample size of the general conditions and challenges that many young urban BFP beneficiaries face in moving out of poverty.

From a practical standpoint, the use of secondary data, especially labour market data, inherently limited the choice of case study. National labour market data are collected through the *Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego* (PME; the Monthly Labour Survey), which uses data from only a

handful of major metropolitan areas in Brazil.³⁸ Drawing on such secondary data to contextualise the micro-level experiences of beneficiaries necessitated focusing on one of the cities included in the PME in the Northeast of the country. In addition, one of the most compelling reasons for selecting the Recife area was access to historical data for BFP beneficiaries and their children from which to both build a sample and to trace their trajectories over time. Longitudinal data on BFP beneficiaries is not available through the federal or subnational governments, nor through the national registry of beneficiaries, the *Cadastro Único*. While the latter provides a snapshot of beneficiaries at a particular point in time, the government does not track beneficiaries over time, nor after they have left the programme. This inherently complicates attempts to consider long-term impacts and outcomes for beneficiaries and, at least in part, helps to explain the paucity of research on this issue. Access to historical data from a previous study (described in the next section) for my sample thus provided a unique opportunity to examine progress and change over time amongst current, former, and comparable non-beneficiary families that would not have otherwise been possible. This strengthens the research design from relying simply on retrospective recounting of past household and individual circumstances, which is inherently limited by the inaccuracies of human memory, to providing a historical source of data on such circumstances. Additionally, access to these data allowed for building the sample from the previous study's random and representative sample of beneficiary and comparable non-beneficiary households. It was not feasible to maintain a random and representative sample for this study, and the sampling technique introduced different limitations (discussed later in this chapter), however, this provided the opportunity to include research participants from a broader geographical area than would have been possible through snowball sampling, lending greater diversity to the sample and results.

2.2.2 Research Participants, Sample and Location.

The primary focus of this study is exploring young BFP beneficiaries' schooling, labour market and life experiences and trajectories and the ways in which these shape their possibilities for moving out of poverty over the long run. The primary research participants were current, former and comparable non-beneficiary youth between the ages of 16 and 22 years old, living in

³⁸ Recife, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Porto Alegre. National averages for employment, unemployment rates etc. are calculated on an average of the rates of only these cities.

the municipalities of Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes. Secondly, the heads of household or primary caregivers to these young people were also key research participants.

The sample of households (including caregivers and young people) was drawn from a previous impact evaluation conducted in 2008 for the municipality of Recife, led by Professor Lena Lavinias at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro alongside researchers from the Federal University of Pernambuco.³⁹ The sample for this study was built from the sample in the 2008 study, which included the names, basic demographic and contact information for participants (such as phone numbers where available,⁴⁰ an address or description of location, neighbourhood), by first narrowing the list of potential participants from the 1,780 households that participated in the 2008 study to a list of 664 households that included children and young people aged 10 to 15 years old in the original sample. The age criteria for potential inclusion reflected the aim of researching young people who, when the data collection for this study was conducted six years on (2014/15), should have been in the final years of secondary school or just finished the basic education cycle (assuming the linearity of the human capital model in CCT's held). The list of potential participant households was further narrowed by eliminating three neighbourhoods, comprising 11 households, that were assessed through discussion with research assistants to pose significant safety risks for data collection, leaving 653 households to contact for participation.

The process of contacting potential research participants began with the help of one research assistant, who started with a list of 116 households randomly selected from the list of 653 eligible households with young people. Due to unforeseen circumstances, however, this research assistant was unable to continue with the project and, part way through data collection, left the study. Three new research assistants were hired and ultimately conducted most of the research assistance for the project. The remaining eligible households (537) were divided by neighbourhoods between the three research assistants according to geographic area. A protocol for the process of contacting the families on the list of eligible households was established,

³⁹ Professor Lavinias retained ownership of the data collected in 2008 and kindly shared the data from this previous study with me.

⁴⁰ Because a substantial number of families did not have either a landline or mobile phone at the time of the original study, often the phone numbers provided were not for the participants themselves but rather for a family member, friend or workplace with a phone.

providing a written narrative for the research assistants to follow in explaining to the head of household why we were contacting them, who we were and the relationship to the previous study, what the research aimed to do, who we were interested in speaking with and why, what participation would involve (and what it would and could not)⁴¹, and provisions for consent and anonymity. Due to the wide geographic distribution of the eligible households across four municipalities in the greater Recife metropolitan area – Recife, Jaboatão dos Guararapes, Camaragibe and Olinda –, the contact process was done primarily by telephone rather than in person. With limited time and resources, the final sample of 23 households represent those families that we were able to initially contact by telephone. This was, however, often a lengthy process to track down the intended contacts through phone numbers that were often either not their own, and/or were often in and out of service due to the cost of maintaining phone plans. Additionally, the shift from the primary use of landline to mobile phones between the original study in 2008 and fieldwork in 2014/15 meant that many of the telephone numbers were no longer in service and that the research team was unable to track down many eligible households. This contact process thus inherently biases the sample for this study in favour of less geographically mobile households; that is, those we were able to find six years on remained in the Recife area and had some access to a telephone.

Ultimately, from the list of 653 households with young people in the relevant age range, the research team successfully contacted 26 households, of which two opted not to participate and one was willing but unable to complete all parts of participation in the research due to work constraints and thus has not been included in the final sample of 23 households. This sample size is smaller than was originally intended, but reflects the challenges of locating and contacting families six to seven years on from the initial study that was never intended to be a longitudinal project. Although the size of the sample in this study was limited, as Bloor and Woods (2006) note, qualitative research is generally more concerned with the ‘information richness’ than the units sampled.

Fieldwork was spread over three trips of two to three months at a time between October 2013 to 2014. The slow process of both contacting and finding a convenient time to visit the

⁴¹ All efforts were made to ensure participants understood that participation in the research would have no impact on their access to the BFP benefit.

families, as well as the unforeseen circumstances with the first research assistant mentioned earlier, meant that data collection was conducted between March 2014 and December 2015, some of which was done exclusively by the research assistants after training and working with me for several months. The 23 participant households span 16 different communities (favelas) in the municipalities of Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes. Data were collected through questionnaires to the caregivers/heads of households (N = 23) and through semi-structured interviews with at least one young person in the relevant age range within each household and who was or had previously been a named beneficiary of the Bolsa Família programme (or, in the case of non-beneficiary households, fulfilled the age criteria) (N = 24).⁴² Table 3 below details the sample, including demographic information for the young people interviewed as well as the names and relationship to their caregivers who responded to the questionnaire.⁴³

⁴² The sample includes 24 young people from 23 households because in one family, two young people who were previously named beneficiaries of the BFP were interviewed.

⁴³ All names have been anonymised.

Table 3: Research Participant Households

	Name of Young Person	Caregiver	Caregiver relationship to young person	Gender	Age	BFP Recipient
1	Adriana	Ana	Mother	F	19	Former
2	Alessandro	Vitoria	Mother	M	16	Current
3	Anderson	Marcella	Mother	M	18	Current
4	Camila	Michele	Mother	F	17	Former
5	Cláudia	Renata	Mother	F	16	Current
6	Davi	Lara	Mother	M	17	Current
7	Gabriel	Emanuelle	Mother	M	17	Former
8	Gisele	Verônica	Mother	F	19	Former
9	Iara	Milena	Mother	F	18	Current
10	João	Aline	Mother	M	19	Former
11	José Antonio	Letícia	Grandmother	M	20	Former
12	Juliana	Isadora	Mother	F	20	Former
13	Leandro	Sara	Mother	M	17	Current
14	Lídia	Beatriz	Grandmother	F	22	Never
15	Lucas	Clarice	Grandmother	M	19	Former
16	Luiza	Clarice	Grandmother	F	18	Former
17	Mayara	Laís	Sister	F	19	Former
18	Natália	Marcia	Mother	F	19	Former
19	Nívia	Francine	Mother	F	18	Former
20	Noemi	Fernanda	Mother	F	17	Current
21	Rebeca	Helena	Mother	F	16	Current
22	Rodrigo	Ester	Grandmother	M	18	Former
23	Sofia	Patrícia	Mother	F	17	Current
24	Vanesa	Cecília	Mother	F	20	Former
Total: 24 young people		Total: 23 Caregivers (and participant households)	Mothers: 18 Grandmothers: 5 Sisters: 1	Male: 9 Female: 15	Average age: 18	Current beneficiaries: 9 Former beneficiaries: 14 Non-beneficiaries: 1

The average age of the young participants was 18, with a higher number of females (15) interviewed than males (9). This largely reflects who the research team was able to track down after the six or more years since the original study, but also the lower availability of young men to participate in the study as a result of higher labour participation.⁴⁴ Most young participants self-identified as ‘brown’ or ‘mixed’ race (15), while a smaller number self-identified as ‘black’ or

⁴⁴ Several young men were willing to participate in the study but were unable to find a time within their work schedules to arrange for an interview and thus were not included in the sample.

‘white’ (5 and 4, respectively). Given the age criteria for inclusion, as well as the common experience of early trajectories out of school that will be discussed in later chapters, a higher number of young participants were former (14) rather than current (9) beneficiaries. The caregivers interviewed were exclusively female, which reflects the high number of single female-headed households in the sample: of 23 participant households, 12 were single female-headed households. Caregivers included mothers, grandmothers, and sisters, with an average age of 46 years old.

The data collected through the questionnaire administered for this study, as well as the questionnaire from the 2008 study, offer some insight into the current state and evolution of the living conditions of the participant families. Participant households include an average of 5 people, with a range of 2 to 8 people.⁴⁵ The communities in which participant families live are all informal settlements spread amongst wealthier areas of the city. Public service provision, such as sanitation and utilities, is limited and households typically access water, electricity etc. through informal means. Within these communities, access to health centres, schools and supermarkets is quite high, although not much change was evident over the time between the initial study and this one. There were, however, substantial increases in police posts in these communities, while participant families noted a decline in sufficient transport links and access to leisure facilities in their communities. The most commonly noted complaints by participants about their communities included problems of violence and drugs, and less significantly, problems of accessibility in old age due to the steep hills on which many communities are built. Nonetheless, most caregivers maintained that they would not choose to leave their communities if given the choice for the familiarity offered by their neighbourhoods and for having only ever lived there.

Most families live in housing shared with extended family, and this proportion has dramatically increased over the period between the two studies (2008-2014/15). Families have lived in their current homes for an average of 23.4 years. This is perhaps unsurprising given the inherent bias in the sample towards less geographically mobile (and possibly upwardly income mobile) households; however, this may also suggest limited scope for social mobility. While

⁴⁵ Not all the young participants still lived in the households included in the questionnaire data, however; some had established their own households and families, while others had moved to live with other family members (grandparents, siblings etc.).

improvements have been made to houses over time – such as improvements to the quality of materials used for flooring and walls (there was a decline in households with dirt floors and walls made of mud or collected materials between 2008 and 2014/15) – these were nonetheless small improvements. Houses are in large majority considered to be permanent rather than temporary structures, although only a small but increasing minority (5% in 2008 compared to 25% in 2014/15) hold titles to the land on which their houses are built. By 2014/15, all homes had running water (up from 91% of households in 2008), and access to durable goods had improved. For instance, nearly all households had a refrigerator and at least one mobile phone by 2014/15. Similarly, just under half of households had a washing machine and a computer by 2014/15, compared to less than one-fifth in 2008. Internet and cable TV access also increased, from 0 to 39% and from 0 to 13% in 2008, respectively. Overall, the questionnaire data reveal improving if still precarious living conditions amongst participant households.

In many ways, however, participant families remain highly marginalised from everyday life in the city. In conversation, both caregivers and young people often alluded to this marginalisation – for instance, having never been to the beach despite Recife having the longest stretch of urban beach in Brazil, or having never been to the centre of the city. In some cases, illiteracy limited mobility (particularly for caregivers and older generations); for many, however, a lack of resources, in the form of time and/or money, and, in some ways, a sense of exclusion or separation from the rest of the city seemed to limit mobility within the city.

While these families, and especially the young people, were the primary research participants and focus of this study, interviews were also conducted with municipal, state and federal level government officials from the Ministries of Social Development and Education in Brasilia (federal), Recife (state) and Rio de Janeiro (state and municipal). The sample for these interviews was developed through contacts obtained through colleagues in Oxford and in Brazil. Initial interviewees typically referred other contacts who would be of interest to the research, either unprompted or when asked.

2.2.3 Methods of Data Collection.

The methods of data collection employed in this study include a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, field notes/reports, government interviews, and secondary data. This section details these methods. All but the latter two methods were undertaken with the help of research assistants. See appendix A for further details of the research team.

Semi-Structured Interviews:

The primary method for data collection was semi-structured interviews conducted with young people between the ages of 16 and 22 years old. Interviews were conducted in the young people's homes, most often that they shared with parents/caregivers, typically in common areas such as a living room, or on a porch, or the front steps of the house. A great deal of curiosity about the research among the families, friends, neighbours meant that while the interview was with the young person, often other people were present, at least for part of the interview. Interviews lasted about one hour on average, although the time spent in the home was much longer, typically at least three hours to allow for the interview with the young person, a questionnaire with the caregiver/head of household, and more general informal conversation.

The interviews were semi-structured, based on an interview guide structured around the research questions and the broad themes suggested by the theoretical framework. Thus, the interview guides elaborated the themes of young people's participation in the Bolsa Família programme, perceptions and experiences of schooling and the labour market, aspirations and expectations for the future, and intergenerational change. Such an open-ended approach to interviewing, as opposed to a rigidly structured interview, has been argued to be the most appropriate method for addressing problem-driven research questions (Layder, 2013), as in this study. Less rigidly structured interviews seek not only facts, but also respondents' opinions and insights into particular phenomena (Yin, 2009). The research team thus sought to create a conversational tone within the interviews to focus on young people's perceptions, opinions, and experiences, and to allow for the exploration of topics that might arise beyond those outlined in the interview guide. This was particularly useful in enabling participants to talk about their lives holistically, allowing for a better understanding the diversity of social processes and factors influencing their perceptions and experiences of the BFP, schooling, the labour market, etc.

While some had encountered researchers before, several young people noted the novelty of the open-ended nature of the interview (as opposed to survey-based research) and the desire to know about their lives in holistic terms. Similarly, during the questionnaire, several caregivers commented to us that no one had ever cared to ask about or listen to their lives and experiences.

Questionnaires:

In addition to interviews, a questionnaire was completed with the caregivers of the young people interviewed. The questionnaire built on the 2008 impact evaluation study led by Professor Lavinas. Following up with the same families allowed for a comparative analysis of changes in BFP families' demographics, patterns of education, employment, and access to social protection over time that has not previously been possible due to the lack of longitudinal data. The questionnaire thus represented a unique opportunity to examine participant families' trajectories at the individual and household levels over the 6-7 years between the two studies.

As a more generalised impact evaluation, the 2008 questionnaire covered a broad range of topics, only some of which were relevant here. The 2014/15 questionnaire drew only on the sections within the 2008 questionnaire on demographics, living conditions, the Bolsa Família and social protection, education, employment, and wellbeing. Several additional topics were added to the 2014/15 questionnaire to elicit views and experiences of discrimination, aspirations and expectations for young people's futures, and perspectives on intergenerational change. The addition of these questions allowed for a comparative intergenerational analysis with some of the data from the interviews with young people.

The 2014/15 questionnaire took approximately one and a half hours to complete with the head of household. As with the interviews, it was conducted in participants' homes, often in the presence of other family, and sometimes friends and neighbours. While the questionnaire was inherently much more rigidly structured than the interviews, in practice, the conversation proceeded more loosely. The research team followed the progression of the questionnaire and asked all questions as set out in the questionnaire; however, research participants often elaborated their responses to the questions much more than can be captured in the form of a questionnaire. While these elaborations were not necessarily directly relevant to the questions

asked, they provided rich contextual information for interpreting the data. Thus, the research team attempted to capture as much of this additional context as possible in the form of field notes and reports.

Field Reports:

For every interview conducted, two members of the research team⁴⁶ were present, with one person leading on each and the other person intervening for clarification, elaboration, etc. as well as taking detailed notes that were subsequently written up in the form of field reports. These field reports reflected the general circumstances and living conditions of participant families, important events, challenges or successes in the lives of participants, intra-familial relationships as described by participants themselves or as perceived by members of the research team, the dynamics of the interviews and time spent with the families, among other topics. Sometimes, these also included research assistants' reflections on the research tools (e.g., the phrasing of specific questions) and their own emotional responses to an interview. These reports provided contextual information when analysing the interview and questionnaire data, particularly where I was unable to be present at an interview myself.

Secondary Data:

As Denzin and Lincoln (2013) note, “qualitative research is inherently multimethod in focus” (p. 9). Layder (2013) argues that the use of existing secondary quantitative data can strengthen and triangulate qualitative data and can provide a “support backdrop” to qualitative inquiry. This study capitalises on the complementarity of quantitative/qualitative and primary/secondary data, adopting a multi-level, macro/micro approach. It draws on national and subnational level data for Brazil on education and the labour market from national and international sources. Sources of secondary quantitative educational data include the national *Prova Brasil* exams, measuring literacy and numeracy at various points throughout the basic education cycle, which provide data for the national level as well as the state, municipal and school levels; the national *Censo Escolar* (School Census), providing data on school facilities and resources; and the international PISA exams, assessing literacy, mathematics and science skills

⁴⁶ This included myself as much as possible along with one research assistant; however, due to the delays in data collection caused by the first research assistant leaving the project, it was necessary for some of the final interviews and questionnaires to be conducted by two research assistants without me. This was only undertaken after training and a period of time working one-on-one with me.

for 15-year olds in OECD and several other countries. Sources of secondary quantitative labour market data include national data from the *Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego* (PME) on employment patterns; data from the OECD and World Bank; and the existing secondary literature. These secondary data provide the ‘supportive backdrop,’ the contextualisation and triangulation of the micro-level data obtained through the questionnaire and interviews.

Government Interviews:

Finally, interviews with federal, state and municipal level government officials were conducted in Brasilia (federal level), Recife (state) and Rio de Janeiro (state and municipal) to gain insight into government perspectives on and framing of the Bolsa Família. Of particular interest was their understandings of the long-term theory of change in the BFP, and consequently the degree of inter-ministerial cooperation to this end, as well as new complementary policy initiatives of relevance to the theoretical framework and theory of change in CCTs.⁴⁷ The latter provided the rationale for the government interviews in Rio de Janeiro, which, at the time, was in the process of implementing a complementary programme to the BFP, funded by the state government, aiming to address the problem of beneficiaries’ labour market insertion.

Interviews were conducted in government secretariats responsible for social development in Rio de Janeiro with the Rio de Janeiro state-level (7 interviews with 4 different interviewees) and municipal level (1 interview; 2 interviewees) governments; along with several informal interviews with an education-focused NGO in Rio de Janeiro, and a journalist studying the BFP. In Brasilia, interviews were conducted at the federal *Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome* (Ministry of Social Development and Fighting Hunger; now the *Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Agrário*) (3 interviews). And in Pernambuco, an extended interview was conducted with four interviewees in the state level government working on social development.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ All government interviews were conducted by myself in Portuguese. Data were recorded in note form only.

⁴⁸ Interviews with government officials were particularly difficult to obtain in Pernambuco state and in Recife due to limited contacts locally as well as a low response rate. In addition, across all levels of government in all three locations, it was difficult to obtain access to officials in other relevant ministries beyond the ministries of social development. This reflected both the fact that my own contacts in these areas (e.g., in education, labour) were more limited, but also the lack of perceived relevance of these areas to the BFP and the lack of inter-ministerial coordination in the BFP policy framework.

2.3 Ethical Considerations.

This study conformed to the University of Oxford's ethics guidelines and received ethics approval from the university ethics committee (CUREC). This research further drew on the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA) ethical guidelines (ASA, 1999). Broadly, this encompassed four main considerations: (a) protecting research participants, in terms of their physical, social and psychological wellbeing; (b) negotiating informed consent; (c) ensuring confidentiality and anonymity; and (d) ensuring research reciprocity.

Protection and Wellbeing:

Ensuring the protection and wellbeing of research participants, while relevant to all participants, was especially important for the BFP beneficiaries, given less familiarity with this type of research as well as their centrality to the study and its findings. A key consideration was the potential impacts of participating in the study; for instance, the types of questions being asked and the emotional responses to them. While the themes covered in the interviews and questionnaire did not explore explicitly sensitive topics, the open-ended nature of the interview, the interview location within participants' homes, and our interest in participants' lives and life experiences in holistic terms meant that participants allowed us into private spaces and dimensions of their lives, and at times were surprisingly open in disclosing difficulties and traumas they and their families had faced in the past.

Informed Consent:

Negotiating informed consent involves clearly articulating the purpose of the study and its audience, what participating in the study involves, and ensuring that consent is purely voluntary, given willingly, and can be withdrawn at any time. Rossman and Rallis (2003) emphasise that, while this is ostensibly straightforward, in the context of a foreign language and/or working with people who may not be very (or at all) literate, or for whom the practice of signing a document may be difficult or inappropriate, informed consent should be clearly translated, explained and obtained orally. Though ensuring all participants' consent was an ongoing process – from initial contact via telephone to the conclusion of interviews –, the formal

process of obtaining consent in writing or orally was conducted prior to starting data collection in the form of interviews and questionnaires.

The process of obtaining consent from participant families reflected an awareness that low literacy rates might make oral consent more appropriate in certain cases, but also that participants might lack an understanding of the context of the research, how it would be used, and what their participation involved. It was also important to clarify what the research could and could not do for participants in terms of access to the BFP and other social benefits; namely, that their participation in the study would in no way influence their access to the BFP or other benefits, either negatively or positively. Information leaflets providing contact details for the ethics committee at the University of Oxford were provided to all families to retain, although the content of the forms was explained to all participants and written and oral consent obtained as appropriate. Research assistants were trained in the process of obtaining fully informed consent, including paying attention to body language, tone of voice etc. that might suggest discomfort with participation in the research, both at the time of obtaining written or oral consent and throughout the interview.

Ensuring young participants opted in *themselves* and gave informed consent *themselves* (not only their caregivers) was essential. Given the age of the young people involved (16-22 years old), caregivers viewed young participants as sufficiently independent to give their own consent. In many ways, these young people were important contributors to their households and viewed and treated as such. This was reflected, for instance, in many caregivers deferring to their children/grandchildren in answering questions in the questionnaire (which was specifically directed at heads of households) on household matters such as income, education levels, etc. Moreover, the young people often acted as mediators for their caregivers in understanding or explaining aspects of the process of obtaining informed consent. As such, the young people interviewed here were treated as independent adults in terms of their ability to opt in and consent to participation in study, although consent from both the caregiver and young person in each participant family was required for participation and inclusion in the study.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:

A key part of obtaining informed consent was ensuring participants' confidentiality and anonymity. All the data collected from research participants has been anonymised, including the names of caregivers and young people, names of communities, schools, and data has been stored securely. Confidentiality and anonymity were particularly important in the context of the questionnaires and interviews given the potential for the study to be perceived as linked in some way to the BFP to ensure that participants understood that any information they divulged during the interview would in no way influence their access to the programme, either positively or negatively.

Reciprocity:

The ethical need for a certain level of reciprocity in research often takes the form of compensation for participants or community giving. Given the geographic spread of participants across many communities, community giving seemed neither feasible nor appropriate. Some form of compensation – for instance, in the form of food or vouchers – was considered but ultimately deemed inappropriate after discussion with local researchers. The consensus appeared to be that monetary compensation would be seen as 'buying' individuals' participation in the research and therefore compromising their full consent. Indeed, this seemed to be confirmed by the fact that not a single family or participant suggested or inquired about compensation or any form of reciprocity.

Despite opting to not offer monetary or in-kind compensation, the research team tried to offer some small form of reciprocity as appropriate, although this obviously did not match the contribution these families have made to this study. For instance, where it was evident that a family was not receiving the Bolsa Família or other social benefits that they ostensibly should be, the research team provided information and guidance to the family (usually the young person) on obtaining further information to inquire with the relevant authorities if they were indeed eligible. In addition, as discussed earlier, one of the most important dimensions of reciprocity seemed to be simply being interested in and willing to listen to participants recount their life experiences. In some instances, this seemed to be an almost cathartic process for several participants who revealed that they had not had anyone to talk to about certain experiences, whether traumatic or not. Others seemed to enjoy the idea that their lives were seen as important,

and to be part of something larger than their immediate communities and surroundings (reflecting the high degree of marginalisation experienced by participants discussed earlier). In the case of the young people, the form of reciprocity most commonly sought was advice on the process of post-secondary applications and admissions (especially entrance exams and sources of funding) or simply insight into what life in post-secondary education was like. The fact that the research assistants were local undergraduate university students meant that they were well placed to give some insights on local post-secondary education, and the interviews with the young people often concluded with extensive discussion of this.

2.4 Data Analysis.

This thesis draws on both quantitative descriptive statistics from secondary data sources and the questionnaire completed by caregivers of young BFP beneficiaries collected in the 2008 study, and qualitative data gathered from semi-structured interviews with young BFP beneficiaries. The following sections describe the data analysis process for both the quantitative and qualitative data.

2.4.1 Quantitative Data Analysis.

The quantitative data from both the 2008 and 2014/15 questionnaires are used primarily for the intergenerational comparative analysis in chapter 6. While the 2014/15 questionnaire was designed to reflect the original 2008 questionnaire as closely as possible, some limited changes were necessary in the 2014/15 questionnaire. These were a result of policy changes (e.g., to the education system, to social protection) that required updating parts of the 2008 questionnaire, and others reflected ongoing learning from applying the 2014/15 questionnaire that suggested altering the wording of some questions.

Prior to analysis, the data from both questionnaires were cleaned and, where relevant, data were recoded to ensure the accuracy of comparability across the two datasets. The data analysed were limited to the sample of beneficiary families in this study (23), excluding those families in the 2008 study who either did not fulfil the inclusion criteria for this study or who the research team was unable to contact. The questions from both questionnaires were

categorised thematically in accordance with the theoretical framework as well as themes emerging from the qualitative analysis. This allowed for consideration of patterns across categorised questions both within and across both datasets.

A first round of analysis of both datasets was undertaken, producing descriptive statistics of the questions and responses as they were coded in both questionnaires. A second round of analysis was then conducted in which some responses were recoded into broader categories where trends could be more easily discerned and where these recoded categories reflected questions arising from the qualitative analysis. Finally, a comparative analysis across both the 2008 and 2014/15 datasets was conducted to produce descriptive statistics on the evolution of beneficiary families' households, education levels, employment patterns, access to social protection, and patterns of wellbeing and intergenerational change over time.

The quantitative data from secondary sources serve as the broader macro-level context against which the quantitative data from the questionnaires and the qualitative interview data can be understood. The descriptive statistics and data from secondary sources are presented primarily as they appear in these sources; where data is based on my own calculations from secondary data, it is indicated as such.

2.4.2 Qualitative Data Analysis.

The qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with young BFP beneficiaries constitute the primary source of data on which most of the empirical chapters are based. The interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed in their original Portuguese and then translated into English. The transcription was done by several native Brazilian Portuguese speakers from the Recife area to ensure the highest degree of accuracy in the transcriptions. The Portuguese transcriptions were then translated into English primarily by myself, but several were completed by the same transcribers. All transcriptions and translations were then read and checked over by myself and another native Brazilian Portuguese speaker based in Oxford to ensure the highest degree of accuracy. Additionally, I put in place several other layers of verification of the translations to ensure their accuracy and reliability. The process of listening to the audio recordings and transcribing and translating the interviews all served as a first

iteration of the analysis. The aim was to ensure a deep familiarity with the narratives and stories of the young people interviewed and identify emerging themes and patterns that could then be tested in the thematic analysis of the coded data.

Ryan and Bernard (2003) explain that analysing text in qualitative research involves “(1) discovering themes and subthemes, (2) winnowing themes to a manageable few (i.e., deciding which themes are important in any project), (3) building hierarchies of themes or code books, and (4) linking themes to theoretical models” (p. 85). Thus, in a second iteration of the analysis, the interview data were coded thematically using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software NVivo to allow for systematic comparisons both within individual transcripts and across the dataset. The process for the choice of codes should be made transparent (Guest, 2012) and should begin with what Layder (2013) terms ‘orienting concepts’ (p. 134) emerging from the established literature. These concepts should help structure the initial data analysis, but should not constrain it; instead, they should allow the analysis to evolve iteratively as new insights are obtained from the data (Guest, 2012). This study grounded the analysis in the existing literature and established theories and concepts. A coding frame was developed based on the themes derived from the theoretical framework but evolved iteratively to incorporate themes emerging from the data. For instance, the importance of gender and identity in young people’s trajectories, and the significance of the individualised vs. structural understandings of poverty only became apparent through the data analysis. Thus, coding was both deductive (based on existing theoretical ideas) and inductive (based on themes emerging from the raw data) (Ryan & Bernard, 2003), but largely structured by the theoretical framework.

Once the interview data were coded, a third iteration of the analysis proceeded through the thematic analysis of the NVivo outputs in the form of coded text. This was done by grouping the coded text into tables organised thematically, based on the coding frame, in order to visualise the coded content in a format that allowed for systematic and rigorous verification of the emerging patterns and findings. This process also allowed for re-contextualising some of the coded text by providing basic demographic and other data for reference within these tables. It further allowed for systematic and rigorous comparison across thematic codes and within and across individual cases.

The analysis incorporated both thematic and narrative approaches, and this is reflected in the way the data is presented in the chapters that follow. Guest (2012) notes that thematic analysis does not merely consist of counting words or phrases, but rather focuses on identifying and describing themes, patterns and ideas that emerge from the data. Thematic analysis is particularly helpful in looking across cases within a dataset. In contrast, narrative analysis is particularly well suited to examining the particularity and context of individual cases. Georgakopoulou (2006) argues that narrative analysis is concerned with “meaning-making, ordering and structuring of experience” (p. 236). Both thematic and narrative approaches look for recurring content, but narrative approaches also emphasise patterns in constructions of agency and positioning, highlighting the ways in which biography, history and society intersect (see for instance, Riessman, 2002; Andrews et al., 2008). The analysis of the qualitative data here combines both thematic and narrative approaches in considering the themes and explanations that cut across the experiences and trajectories of young BFP beneficiaries as well as the familial, local, historical and social contexts in which these experiences and trajectories exist. The qualitative data presented in this thesis is structured thematically in the first order, with biographical narratives from young people providing the contextual and relational dimensions to the thematic analysis.

2.4.3 *Validity, Credibility, and Reliability of Data.*

The notion of validity remains highly controversial in qualitative work (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Indeed, Guest (2012) argues that, because explanatory qualitative research is increasingly used to inform decision-making and policymaking (as this research aims to do), the issue of ‘validity’ is particularly relevant. Because of the association of the term ‘validity’ with quantitative inquiry, however, a host of alternative terms have been offered, including “*trustworthiness, worthy, relevant, plausible, confirmable, credible, and representative*” (Guest, 2012, p. 83; italics in original). Credibility, which has gained the most traction, refers to the “confidence in the truth of the findings, including an accurate understanding of the context” (Ulin, 2005, p. 25). To this end, the importance of transparency and documentation of methods is often highlighted to ensure other researchers can understand the logic and assumptions made in gathering the data and generating conclusions (Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Yin, 2009; Guest, 2012). These first two chapters have thus sought to lay out the ontological and epistemological approaches adopted in

this study, the theoretical assumptions made in asking the research questions and in understanding and interpreting the data, along with the methods employed to collect, analyse and interpret the data, lending transparency to the research and documenting the ways in which the data collection and analysis were undertaken.

Perhaps the most common method of ensuring credibility of research findings is through the triangulation of methods, defined as “the systematic comparison of findings on the same research topic generated by different research methods” (Bloor & Woods, 2006, p. 170). The use of multiple methods as well as a multi-level analysis in this study allow for the triangulation of findings and serve to enhance the credibility of the findings. Denzin and Lincoln (2013) note, however, that triangulation is not a form of validation but rather an alternative to validation that adds “rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry” (p. 10).

2.5 Generalisability and Limitations of the Data and Findings.

2.5.1 Generalisability.

A common critique of case studies is the extent to which the findings can be generalised. Yin (2009) responds to this critique arguing that, like scientific experiments, case studies expand and generalise theory, through what he terms ‘analytical generalisation,’ instead of providing a frequency of results, termed ‘statistical generalisation.’ Rossman and Rallis (2003) argue that qualitative research is less concerned with ‘abstract universals’ (p. 68) and generalisability than with useful lessons and insights for other settings. Bloor and Woods (2006) similarly note that qualitative research is generally more interested in reflecting diversity than statistical representativeness and generalisability. In this vein, this study offers analytical generalisability in the insights provided through the theoretical framing of the research, and insights into the logic of CCTs, the extent to which this holds true for young beneficiaries, and the social processes shaping young people’s possibilities for moving out of poverty.

The combination of macro- and micro-level analyses, drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data, collected over two time periods, provides an integrated picture of the social, relational, educational, labour market contexts shaping the experiences and trajectories of young

BFP beneficiaries. This sheds light both on the individual and broader structural contexts in which these trajectories may or may not be conducive to long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. The findings thus provide analytical insights into some of the key channels mediating the relationships between education, human capital and labour markets in the context of CCTs, as well as some of the social processes shaping young people's educational, labour market and life experiences, decisions and trajectories, and the implications of these for long-term poverty reduction. While the depth of inquiry was such that a wide variety of cases could not be studied, the choice of case and methods lend themselves to a useful set of analytical lessons and insights for CCT and education-based antipoverty programmes. In turn, the analytical contribution made in this study could be applied to larger scale quantitative and qualitative research on other CCTs.

2.5.2 Limitations.

While offering some of the first evidence of the long-term impacts of CCTs for young beneficiaries, this study faces several limitations. First, the sample size is necessarily small as a result of limited resources and the difficulties related to finding participants six to seven years on from the original 2008 study. Though the sample is small, it presented a unique opportunity to examine the situation and trajectories of beneficiaries over time. Moreover, the richness and depth of the data collected through fieldwork, the triangulation of findings through additional sources and methods, and the contextualisation of micro-level findings within macro-level data all contribute to strengthening the quality, credibility and analytical generalisability of the data and findings.

Second, several constraints in sampling limit the findings. For instance, the sample is necessarily constrained by the inclusion of only urban research sites. This was an unavoidable limitation, given the availability of secondary quantitative labour market data through the PME, along with time and cost constraints; however, the educational and labour market contexts would differ greatly in a rural setting. Moreover, while the Northeast of Brazil accounts for the largest number of BFP beneficiaries, the region, and the municipalities of Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes do not necessarily represent other regions of the country, or other contexts in which CCTs have been implemented. Thus, while the choice of case study aimed to reflect the distribution of poverty and the BFP in Brazil as best as possible, as well as to test the theoretical

underpinnings of CCTs, the results cannot be taken to reflect the entire Bolsa Família programme (or other CCT programmes in their entirety), or Brazil as a whole.

In addition, the gender bias towards young women in the sample represents another limitation. It is difficult to know whether this alters the findings in any substantial way, whether young men who we were able to contact but who were unable to participate in the study due to employment commitments represented different schooling and labour market trajectories to those included in the study. It is possible (although not definitive) that this limitation may skew the findings on the quality of labour market outcomes towards a more negative picture of patterns of labour insertion, since those who were unable to participate in the study were working more reliable and longer hours, suggesting at the very least more stability in employment. Lastly, while it was possible that being constrained to conducting interviews during daylight hours could have posed a limitation on the sample, this did not appear to be the case, with the exception of the few young men who were not able to participate in the study due to employment commitments.

Similarly, because the 2008 survey was not designed as a longitudinal study, the sample is also necessarily limited to less geographically (and possibly, *socially*) mobile households, specifically those that the research team was able to find in person or by telephone 6-7 years on from the original survey with the contact information provided at that time. It is possible that this contributes to a more negative picture of households' and young people's trajectories by potentially excluding those who have been able to move to more affluent areas. By the same token, however, it is equally possible that some of those excluded from the sample for the current study may have experienced a deterioration in living standards, which could have equally prompted a geographical move (within or beyond the city of Recife). Overall, however, given the limited impact the evidence here suggests that the BFP benefit has had on families' social mobility, it seems unlikely that the benefit itself would have facilitated transformative life trajectories for many of the households excluded from the current sample.

While the limited capacity to capture the perspectives of young men with better patterns of labour market insertion as well as possibly those beneficiaries who may have been more socially mobile (whether favourably or not) was inevitable due to data and resource constraints,

these could be useful avenues to pursue in future research in order to address some of the limitations of this study's findings.

Additionally, the intergenerational comparative analysis (offered in chapter 6) is based primarily on retrospective perceptions of caregivers. While these reflections on earlier periods of caregivers' lives provide rich relational data on intergenerational change in the context of the Bolsa Família, they are limited to the extent that they are not objectively verifiable.

Finally, given the relatively recent adoption of CCTs as a key part of many countries' poverty reduction strategies, as one of the first CCTs, the Bolsa Família provides one of the few opportunities to examine the long-term impacts of these programmes. Nonetheless, the programme is still quite new and the young people interviewed here represent some of the first who would have been eligible for the BFP from a young age and throughout the basic education cycle. The young participants are still early in their completion (or leaving) of schooling and have spent a limited time in the labour market. It is thus possible that their longer term trajectories in schooling and the labour market, beyond what was possible to capture at this time, may reflect different possibilities for moving out of poverty. Future longitudinal research following the same young beneficiaries and their schooling, employment and life trajectories would shed more light on the long-term impacts and outcomes of CCTs.

CHAPTER 3

Young People's Schooling Quantity, Quality, and Learning

3.1 Introduction.

Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) explicitly link the receipt of the programmes' cash benefit to the uptake of schooling through educational conditionalities that require minimum school enrolment and attendance for beneficiary children. In the case of Brazil's Bolsa Família programme, educational conditionalities require beneficiary children and youth to maintain a minimum 85% attendance rate through the age of 15 years old, and a 75% minimum attendance rate for 16 and 17 year olds. CCT conditionalities require the uptake of schooling on the assumption that access to schooling will facilitate human capital formation (knowledge and skills development) among poor children, which in turn is expected to expand their opportunities in the labour market and allow them to lift themselves and their families out of poverty over the long run. Much of the evidence to support this link between CCTs and human capital formation has come in the form of econometric analyses of behavioural change, specifically of the impacts on school enrolment and attendance, or, the 'quantity' of schooling received by young beneficiaries. Yet, it is not clear that the uptake of schooling in and of itself is sufficient to guarantee human capital development among young beneficiaries.

As this chapter shows, CCTs must move beyond quantitative measures of school enrolment and attendance, towards a more complex assessment of the schooling received by young beneficiaries; one that accounts for not only the quantity of schooling, but also its quality, as well as the learning and skills acquisition that occurs at school. Progression through and

completion of the basic education cycle are arguably far more relevant to examining the quantity of schooling and its significance for human capital formation among young beneficiaries. At the same time, the focus on quantity of schooling has ignored any assessment of the quality of the schooling received by young beneficiaries, and their learning and achievement. As this chapter demonstrates, the latter are crucial to any consideration of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction through CCTs.

This chapter first provides a brief discussion of education in Brazil, followed by an examination of the quantity of schooling received by beneficiary youth, emphasising the need to consider not just enrolment and attendance rates, but also progression through and completion of the basic education cycle. Moving beyond the focus on quantitative assessments of schooling common in the literature on CCTs, the chapter then examines the quality of schooling received by young beneficiaries. Finally, the chapter considers young people's learning and skills development at school. Ultimately, the findings show that neither the quantity nor quality of schooling received by young beneficiaries appear conducive to facilitating the human capital formation that CCTs seek as the basis for intergenerational poverty reduction. This is confirmed by the lack of learning and skills development evident in both research with young beneficiaries themselves and in the more macro-level data on achievement in Brazil. The findings thus fundamentally challenge the notion that educational conditionalities requiring school enrolment and attendance are sufficient to induce human capital formation, and, more broadly, the notion that schooling automatically implies human capital formation (or, learning and skills development).

3.2 Education in Brazil.

From its founding during the colonial period, the Brazilian education system has been marked by an elite bias, based on a highly decentralised system that allocates responsibility for tertiary education to the federal government and responsibility for the basic education cycle to states and municipal governments (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). With relatively weak capacity and funding mechanisms at the state and municipal level, this decentralised system led to a proliferation of private institutions to fill the gap in basic education, the legacy of which persists today (Carson et al., 2014), alongside an extensive publically funded tertiary education system.

Education was a privilege reserved for centuries for elites in Brazil. The expansion of basic education only began as recently as the 1960s (Carson et al., 2014), and only at a substantial rate from the 1980s. The right to basic education and the duty of the Brazilian state to provide universal access to education for all children aged 7 to 15 was only established in law in the 1988 Constitution. This has since been extended to 12 years of mandatory free schooling from ages 4 through 17. The basic education cycle is organised around three stages: primary, known as *Ensino Fundamental I*, years 1-4; lower secondary, known as *Ensino Fundamental II*, years 5-9; and upper secondary, known as *Ensino Médio*, years 1-3. Following the establishment of the legal right to education in the 1988 Constitution, basic education was expanded in the 1990s, with participation rates for 7 to 14 year olds increasing from 87% in 1992 to 96% in 1999 (Simões, 2012).⁴⁹ Efforts have since been made to both increase overall education expenditures, and to equalise education funding across states; however, public education spending remains highly skewed in favour of tertiary education, and over a century of underinvestment in basic education has left Brazil with a significant educational deficit.

The legacy of decentralisation and underinvestment in basic education has resulted in a highly segmented school system, with a private system accessible only to upper- and middle-income families, and a public system serving almost exclusively low-income families.⁵⁰ This public-private divide has resulted in a clear role for the education system in reproducing social inequalities, as Simões (2012) notes: “poverty and inequality are closely related to the quality of educational opportunities and educational attainment in Brazil” (p. 63).

Moreover, while the expansion of basic education has increased enrolment at the primary and lower secondary levels to almost universal access (97%), enrolment at the upper secondary level is much lower (Lee et al., 2006). This indicates a high prevalence of grade repetition and ‘dropout,’ which, as Simões (2012) notes, disproportionately affects low-income students. This suggests that there is scope for poverty reduction through interventions that expand educational

⁴⁹ Note that this expansion occurred prior to the introduction of the Bolsa Família as well as its predecessor, the Bolsa Escola, suggesting that CCTs in Brazil have had limited impact on school quantity in the sense of increasing enrolment, given that enrolment was nearly universal prior to the implementation of such programmes.

⁵⁰ Unlike countries such as India, Brazil has not seen a proliferation of low-fee private schools for lower income groups (Carson et al., 2014).

opportunities, although perhaps less so through access, or ‘quantity,’ than quality. While the Bolsa Família has sought to do so through increasing education quantity, as will be shown in this chapter, it is neither clear that education quantity nor quality have been sufficiently addressed to expand such opportunities for BFP beneficiaries and to interrupt the reproduction of social inequalities and poverty through the education system in Brazil.

3.3 Quantity of Schooling Among Bolsa Família Beneficiaries.

3.3.1 The Existing Evidence on CCTs and Schooling: Schooling Quantity as Enrolment and Attendance.

In considering the impacts of CCTs and the BFP on long-term poverty reduction, the existing literature and empirical evidence has tended to rely heavily on measuring the impacts of educational conditionalities on the uptake of schooling (i.e., enrolment and attendance rates) as a proxy for human capital development (Rawlings & Rubio, 2005; Silveira Neto, 2010; Soares et al., 2010; Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010; 2012;). There is evidence of a positive, if relatively small, effect of the BFP on school enrolment and attendance. For instance, as noted in the first chapter, the BFP is estimated to have increased school enrolment and attendance by 3 and 2%, respectively (Silveira Neto, 2010). Glewwe and Kassouf (2012) also estimate that the BFP has increased enrolment by 5.5% in grades 1-4 and 6.5% in grades 5-8, while lowering the dropout rate by 0.5% for students in grades 1-4 and by 0.4% for students in grades 5-8, and increased promotion rates by 0.9% in grades 1-4 and by 0.3% in grades 5-8. In contrast to these findings, Schaffland (2012) finds only marginally higher enrolment and attendance rates among young BFP beneficiaries aged 6 to 17 compared to non-beneficiaries, concluding that the modest positive effect on schooling may be insufficient to enhance human capital accumulation. Indeed, there is growing evidence that the BFP has had very little impact on student performance and educational outcomes. A 2007 CEDEPLAR impact evaluation finds that children from BFP beneficiary households were in fact less likely to be promoted to the next grade than non-beneficiary children. Similarly, Soares et al. (2010) find that BFP beneficiary children are 4%

more likely to fail to be promoted to the next grade than children in comparable non-beneficiary households.⁵¹

At the same time, there is evidence of low completion rates among beneficiary students. For example, Simões (2012) estimates completion rates for the fourth and eighth grades at 88% and 54% respectively between 1996 and 2005, with no clear increase over the period. Moreover, enrolment rates in secondary school remained relatively low by 2008 at 50.4%, and unequal, with a substantial gap of up to 25% between the Southeast and the Northeast of the country (Simões, 2012). The low completion rate in the primary and lower secondary school cycles (Fundamental I and II), and low enrolment in upper secondary school (Ensino Médio) suggest high rates of grade repetition and leaving prior to completion of the basic education cycle. Indeed, the OECD's report on Brazil's 2012 PISA results notes that between 2003 and 2012, the prevalence of grade repetition increased among secondary school students, which has been associated with high dropout rates and student disengagement (OECD, 2012). With respect to BFP beneficiaries, Simões (2012) finds much higher rates of grade repetition and dropout among beneficiary students compared to non-beneficiaries, with a repetition rate of 40% among beneficiary students compared to 24% among non-beneficiaries, and a dropout rate of 10% among beneficiaries compared to 7% among non-beneficiaries.

These findings put into question the extent to which the BFP and associated educational conditionalities are indeed functioning to raise educational attainment and to build human capital among beneficiaries. The focus in the existing literature on enrolment and attendance rates as measures of BFP beneficiaries' schooling gained as a result of the programme tells us nothing of what occurs at school, either in terms of the quality of schooling or of learning and skills development, and thus the impact on human capital formation. Yet, the emerging empirical evidence would suggest that progression and completion are particularly problematic in Brazil and especially among BFP beneficiaries. Thus, to the extent that quantity of schooling is relevant to CCTs' aims of raising educational attainment and human capital among beneficiaries, it is

⁵¹ A variety of factors could explain this, including the possibility that the programme has increased school attendance among under-achieving students (whether because they lack motivation or because they require additional support for which schools may not be equipped) and/or among students who previously did not attend school regularly or at all and consequently must catch up with those who have attended regularly.

necessary to move beyond measures of enrolment and attendance rates, and towards a consideration of progression and completion.

3.3.2 Expanding Notions of ‘Quantity of Schooling’: The Importance of Progression and Completion.

Primary data collected in interviews with young BFP beneficiaries show high rates of enrolment, at least through the primary level of the basic education cycle (Fundamental I) and regular attendance. Most young people reported regular attendance at school, with the most commonly cited reasons for missing classes being either illness or employment interfering with school attendance.

I only miss if I’m sick or sometimes I have to work longer and I get off late and there is not enough time to get to school on time. But aside from this, it’s rare that I miss school now. (*Lucas, age 19*)

As illustrated in the dialogue with João, below, both young people and their families reported that young people’s enrolment and attendance patterns did not change upon receiving the BFP benefit.

Researcher: So did you attend school a lot when you were studying, or did you tend to miss classes?

João: No, I attended everyday. My mum wouldn’t let me miss school.

Researcher: But was her concern with your schooling or with not losing the [BFP] benefit?

João: No, it was a concern for my schooling. And even today she still is.

Researcher: Even today, not receiving the benefit, she is still concerned with your schooling?

João: Yes.

(*João, age 19*)

This is consistent with the high value placed on education and school attendance, particularly in terms of defining individuals’ self-worth and in shaping future opportunities and trajectories, expressed by both caregivers and young people themselves.⁵² This would suggest that educational conditionalities are in fact less relevant to the quantity of schooling received by

⁵² Further discussed in in the following chapter and chapter 6.

young beneficiaries than existing preferences and a belief in the value of schooling for the future benefits it will bring to the individual young person and their family. It may be that broader efforts to expand access to schooling, in combination with the emergence of a discourse that links education to future opportunity and poverty reduction, is far more powerful than educational conditionalities in shaping the value placed on schooling and the uptake of education. In this case, educational conditionality may be less relevant to shaping behavioural patterns around schooling than (a) creating a broad social belief in the value of education for young people's futures, and (b) ensuring that schooling does indeed have the expected future payoffs. Where the latter does not materialise, most obviously in the form of increased and better opportunities in the labour market, it is questionable as to whether educational conditionalities may outweigh the various factors that may push and pull young people away from progression through and completion of the basic education cycle.⁵³

As shown in table 4, the bottleneck in terms of the quantity of schooling received by young beneficiaries appears to be less one of access, with relatively high enrolment and attendance rates, at least in the primary cycle, and more one of progression and completion. Enrolment and attendance do not in and of themselves imply much of an increase in the quantity of schooling received by young beneficiaries. Rather, timely progression through and completion of the basic education cycle is arguably equally if not more relevant to assessing the extent to which young people are becoming more educated and building the human capital they may need to secure better jobs and to pull themselves and their families out of poverty.

The slow and interrupted progression through and completion of the basic education cycle suggested in the existing literature is borne out in the data from young beneficiaries. Many of the young people interviewed reported a substantial age-grade gap, with only a few completing the basic education cycle in a linear fashion, without any delays to progression. Table 4 shows the scale of the age-grade distortion among young research participants.

⁵³ See also chapter 4.

Table 4: Quantity of Schooling among Young Participants

Name	Gender	Age	School Enrolment	Level	Age-grade gap
Adriana	F	19	Yes	Tertiary	None
Alessandro	M	16	Yes	2 nd year secondary	None
Anderson	M	18	No	Completed secondary	None
Camila	F	17	Yes	1 st year secondary	1-2 years
Claúdia	F	16	Yes	9 th year primary	1-2 years
Davi	M	17	Yes	Elementary (Continuing Education for Youth and Adults – EJA)	2-3 years
Gabriel	M	17	No	8 th year elementary	3-4 years
Gisele	F	19	No	2 nd year secondary	2-3 years
Iara	F	18	Yes	2 nd year secondary	1-2 years
João	M	19	No	2 nd year secondary	2-3 years
José Antonio	M	20	No	2 nd year secondary	3-4 years
Juliana	F	20	No	2 nd year secondary	3-4 years
Leandro	M	17	Yes	2 nd year secondary	None
Lídia	F	22	No	Completed secondary	None
Lucas	M	19	Yes	1 st year secondary	3-4 years
Luiza	F	18	Yes	1 st year secondary	2-3 years
Mayara	F	19	No	1 st year secondary	3-4 years
Natália	F	19	No	8 th year elementary	5-6 years
Nívia	F	18	Yes	2 nd year secondary	1-2 years
Noemi	F	17	Yes	9 th year elementary	2-3 years
Rebeca	F	16	Yes	1 st year secondary	None
Rodrigo	M	18	Yes	8 th year elementary	4-5 years
Sofia	F	17	Yes	7 th year primary	4-5 years
Vanesa	F	20	No	Completed secondary	None
TOTAL: 24	Male: 9 Female: 15	Average Age: 18	Currently enrolled: 14 Not enrolled: 10	Primary and lower secondary cycle: 7 Secondary cycle: 16 Tertiary cycle: 1	Average age-grade gap: 2.46 years

In addition, age-grade distortion is a significant problem across the schools attended by the young people interviewed, particularly at the upper secondary level (Ensino Médio), and the

overall trend in the age-grade distortion rates does not appear to be improving, as illustrated in table 5.

Table 5: Age-Grade Distortion Rates (2+ years) and Progression in Young Participants Schools (2013)

	School Number ⁵⁴														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Age-grade distortion rate (2+ years) (Fundamental II)	32%	56%	39%	37%	45%	61%	36%	25%	17%	40%	49%	42%	58%	42%	41%
Total retention rate (Fundamental II)	23.2%	33.7%	25.7%	29%	12.8%	19%	14.5%	8.7%	4.3%	34.2%	19.4%	40%	14.3%	11.2%	20.8%
Total dropout rate (Fundamental II)	0%	0.6%	13.1%	3.9%	1.5%	8.1%	1.1%	0.4%	0%	0%	8.2%	0%	5.3%	3.9%	1.7%
Total pass rate (Fundamental II)	76.8%	65.5%	61.2%	67%	85.7%	72.9%	84.4%	90.8%	95.7%	65.8%	72.4%	60%	80.4%	85%	77.5%
Age-grade distortion rate (2+ years) (Ensino Médio)	38%	66%	n/a	61%	32%	70%	45%	n/a	53%	60%	43%	64%	75%	58%	52%
Total retention rate (Ensino Médio)	20.7%	36.7%	n/a	19.8%	10.3%	14.8%	12.5%	n/a	9.9%	39.5%	26.2%	34.1%	7.6%	6.6%	17.2%
Total dropout rate (Ensino Médio)	0.3%	6.8%	n/a	14.1%	4.8%	17.5%	6.7%	n/a	0%	3.4%	7.1%	3.3%	20.2%	6.6%	1.7%
Total pass rate (Ensino Médio)	79%	56.8%	n/a	66.1%	84.8%	67.6%	80.8%	n/a	90.1%	57.1%	66.7%	62.7%	72.1%	86.9%	81.1%

Source: Compiled with data from QEdu (2015f); data collected in 2013 Censo Escolar

⁵⁴ Schools attended by young participants have been given a number for anonymisation.

The data from the 2014/15 questionnaire confirm the high prevalence of grade repetition within participant households. 83% (N = 23) of households reported that a child within the household had been held back in school. Most (61%) of these households reported only one child repeating a grade; however, a substantial number (17%) reported more than one child being held back in school. The questionnaire data also show the growing age-grade gap over time. 89% of all children within participant households were in primary education during the appropriate age range (6-10 years old), but this drops to 53% by the lower secondary school years (age 10-15), and to 47% by upper secondary school (age 15-18).

Despite the incongruences of a significant age-grade gap in the context of educational conditionalities in the BFP, the rates of progression and completion at the national level in Brazil also reflect extensive age-grade distortions. As figures 10-12 illustrate, the problem of a significant age-grade gap (defined below as two years or more) is highly problematic across the country, but particularly in the North and Northeast, and becomes progressively more problematic as students progress through lower and then upper secondary school. Given the prevalence of significant age-grade gaps across the school system, the high age-grade distortions among BFP youth are not particularly surprising. It is therefore questionable as to whether educational conditionalities might serve to enhance human capital development among beneficiaries where the prevalence of high age-grade gaps suggests that not only progression but also learning are highly problematic in the Brazilian school system. This also challenges whether educational conditionalities and programme eligibility should be premised on a linear and uninterrupted progression through the basic education cycle when that is clearly not the norm.

Figure 10: Age-grade gap (2+ years) Fundamental I (years 1-5) (2013)

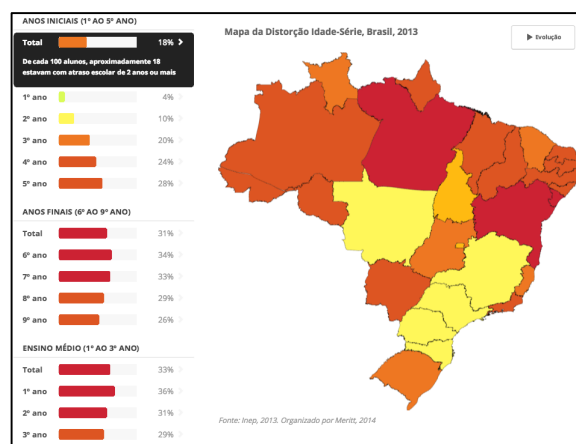


Figure 11: Age-grade gap (2+ years) Fundamental II (years 6-9) (2013)

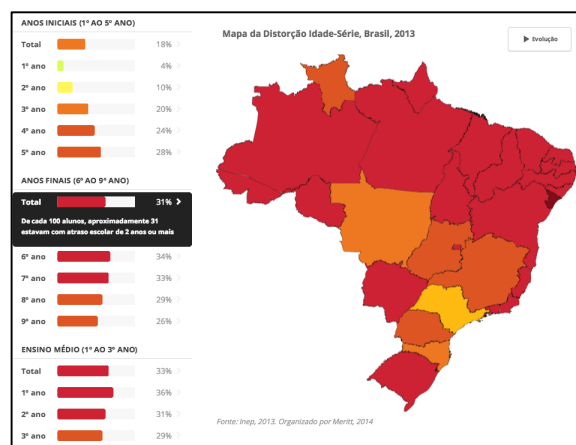
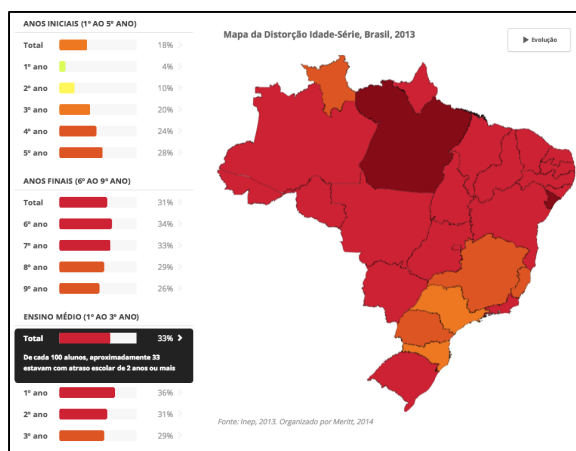
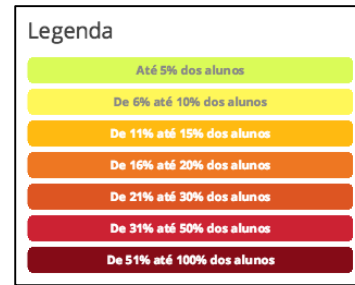


Figure 12: Age-grade gap (2+ years) Ensino Médio (years 1-3) (2013)



Up to 5% of students
 6-10% of students
 11-15% of students
 16-20% of students
 21-30% of students
 31-50% of students
 51-100% of students



Source (figures 10-12): QEdu (2014a); data from 2013 Censo Escolar

The data above mask an even more striking picture in the public school system. School census data from 2010 show an average age-grade gap of 26.3% for Ensino Fundamental (I and II; primary and lower secondary), and 38.1% for Ensino Médio (upper secondary), peaking at 41.3% in the first year of upper secondary school (QEdu, 2014b). The numbers for the state of Pernambuco are even more dire, with an age-grade distortion rate of 34.6% in Ensino Fundamental and 54.1% in Ensino Médio, and rates as high as 57.5% in the first year of upper secondary school (QEdu, 2014b). The grade promotion and repetition rates also suggest relatively low (timely) completion of the basic education cycle. The total grade promotion rate for Ensino Médio in the public school system was only 74.9% in 2010, and as low as 67.8% for the first year of upper secondary, while the repetition rates were 9.4% for public upper secondary school overall and 18.3% in the first year of upper secondary school cycle (QEdu, 2014b). Thus, despite an extensive literature showing the positive impacts of CCTs on schooling ‘quantity’ in terms of enrolment and attendance, poor rates of progression and completion paint a much less optimistic picture of school attainment among young beneficiaries. This also fundamentally casts doubt on the extent to which CCTs may be contributing to the desired human capital formation among young beneficiaries.

Thus far, CCTs have been developed based on an understanding of schooling purely in terms of ‘quantity’; that is, school enrolment and attendance. Given the evidence on progression through and completion of schooling, it is not clear that enrolment and attendance at school are sufficient to create the improved skills and capacities necessary to facilitate access to better opportunities in the labour market upon leaving school and the BFP. Rather, much depends on the experiences of beneficiaries at school (Reimers et al., 2006), including not only the ‘quantity’ of schooling they receive, but also the quality of that education and learning. There is, however,

very little consideration of the quality of education accessed by young beneficiaries, or of young people's perceptions and experiences of school. The following section aims to contribute to a better understanding of the quality of schooling accessed by young BFP beneficiaries.

3.4 Quality of Schooling Among Young Bolsa Família Beneficiaries.

There is increasing recognition of the importance of considering the quality of schooling offered to CCT beneficiaries (Berhman et al., 2009; Barrientos & Niño-Zarazúa, 2011) as well as in broader international development agendas, such as the SDGs. At the same time, defining 'quality' in schooling is not straightforward, and the ways in which it is used can vary depending on the theoretical approach adopted.⁵⁵ Drawing on the approaches to quality in education discussed in the theoretical framework, 'quality' in schooling as discussed here draws on various models, in both descriptive and normative ways. Drawing on the efficiency model, the previous section examined the quantitative proxies for quality, including enrolment, attendance, progression and completion. The next section draws primarily on the input-process-output model, examining a selection of 'enabling' inputs that were highlighted by young beneficiaries as particularly important and relevant to their perspectives and experiences of quality in school. The following section then considers student learning, drawing on educational process and learner-centred models to examine the content, context and relevance of teaching and learning, and the extent to which school is understood to contribute to developing the skills and values that students view as important to their futures. And, drawing on the multidimensional social interaction approach, this chapter has considered the role of the education system in the reproduction of social inequalities.

3.4.1 Multi-shift Schooling.

As in many developing countries (see Linden, 2001; Orkin, 2013), Brazil uses a multi-shift system in many (but not all) public schools. Some of the primary reasons for the use of

⁵⁵ There are myriad ways in which quality of schooling can be defined and this chapter does not attempt to comprehensively evaluate the quality of schooling offered in the Brazilian public education system. Rather, it focuses on some key aspects of quality that were consistently highlighted by the research on quality of education as well as by the young people interviewed.

multi-shift schooling both in Brazil and beyond include increasing the number of places offered in schools at a lower budgetary cost; broadening access to schooling and therefore equity of educational opportunities; compensating for a scarcity of human resources, whether teachers, administrators or support staff (Orkin, 2013); reducing the opportunity costs for students who need to work; and reducing overcrowding and large class sizes (Orkodashvili, 2009).

Most countries using a multi-shift system operate two shifts per day, with instructional hours ranging between approximately 3.5 hours per day (in Bangladesh) to over 5 hours per day (in Zambia), with most offering around 4.5 hours of daily instruction (Bray, 2008).⁵⁶ The Brazilian multi-shift system, however, is based on three shifts per day (morning, afternoon, and night), with a daily schedule of three to four hours of instructional time, depending on the shift attended, which the World Bank (Bruns et al., 2012) notes leaves insufficient time to cover the curriculum. This compares to an OECD average of 7 hours of daily instruction (Bruns et al., 2012).

Despite some use of full-day schooling in Brazilian public schools, multi-shift schooling remains widespread, with a 2012 World Bank study estimating that 42% of secondary school students in Brazil were enrolled in the night shift (Bruns et al., 2012). Most young people interviewed had only ever been enrolled in part-day schooling. Despite a few young people attending full-day schooling at some point, none had completed the basic education cycle solely on the full-time schedule. Moreover, a large proportion of young people attended the night shift, which typically runs from 7-10pm, although in practice many young people noted that they started classes late due to late arrivals by both teachers and students and ended early as everyone was tired by the end of the day.

Among young interviewees, only two had ever attended school on a full-day schedule, and in both cases, this was for one year of the basic education cycle, implying that shift schooling was the norm.

No, [I] only [attended for] a part [of the day] – either in the morning, afternoon, or at night. I never had a full-time schedule. (*Anderson, age 18*)

⁵⁶ There are few examples of countries that operate more than two shifts per day, as this is typically only used as an emergency measure (Bray, 2008).

When I started, in 5th year, it was like this: I would study there in the morning. [...] [In upper] secondary school, then it was in the afternoon. (*Juliana, age 20*)

In the first year of [upper] secondary school, I spent the whole year on the full time schedule. I was held back and went to another high school that was on the part-time schedule. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Multi-shift schooling necessitates a shortened school schedule, in practice consisting of at best a 4-hour school day (typically in the morning and afternoon shifts), and at worst, an hour and a half to two hours. The night shift suffers from a very short instructional day, with only three hours of scheduled instruction, but which in practice tends to be shorter. Given that half the young people interviewed attended the night shift, either out of necessity due to employment or an inability to secure a space in a day shift, this poses a serious challenge to the notion that school is making much of a contribution to human capital formation among BFP beneficiaries.

[I go to school] from 7:30 to 9pm. [...] [Classes] start at 7-7:30, 7:20 [because the teachers are late]. At 9, 9:10pm we finish. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

Despite the prevalence of multi-shift schooling in many countries, there has been very little research of the impacts of the system on either students or schools, particularly in a low-income country context (Orkin, 2013). In one of the few comprehensive reviews of the scant evidence on multi-shift schooling, Bray (2008) notes that most educators agree that the learning environment created by multi-shift schooling is inferior to that in a single-shift school. Some key issues with multi-shift schooling include but are not limited to shorter break times; reduced instructional time; a lack of school identity or sense of community within the school; reduced time for teachers to prepare for classes and to mark students' work; difficulty in building relationships between staff and students due to large populations of each; disruptions caused by students on different schedules; and high levels of fatigue among staff and students in the sessions later in the day, particularly in hot climates. Young people also noted many of these difficulties, particularly shorter breaks and instructional time (especially problematic in the night shift), disruptions caused by multiple shifts, and the fatigue and difficulty of concentrating in a hot classroom. The dialogue below with Lucas illustrates the challenges of the lack of breaks in the night shift:

[T]he night shift is a lot more complicated because you start at 7pm and get out at 10pm. And you have 5 classes straight through. That's not the case in the morning and afternoon shifts, because there is a break between classes, but not at night. The teacher leaves and not two, three, five minutes later at the most the next teacher is in the classroom. And also the classes are more rushed. So your class of Portuguese is finishing, you start mathematics, and you're left a bit...[overwhelmed]. (*Lucas, age 19*)

And João described the problem of concentrating in hot classrooms during the night shift:

Here [in Recife] we protested in front of the school because there was no air conditioning. We would be melting, dripping in sweat. Such [extreme] heat. (*João, age 19*)

While less explicitly highlighted than the challenges associated with multi-shift schooling above, the lack of a sense of connection to school and relationships with people at school, especially teachers, seemed particularly problematic in retaining young people in school.⁵⁷

Despite relative consensus among educators in favour of single-shift over double- or multiple-shift schooling, it is difficult to find reliable research comparing cognitive achievement across different types of school systems because there is no easy comparison between individual schools (Bray, 2008). Several studies have been conducted on shift schooling, although the results are mixed in terms of the educational impacts. In a study of shift schooling in Brazil, Fuller et al. (1999) examine literacy among grade 1 and 2 students in two states in the Northeast, finding “no evidence that multiple shift schools are negatively associated with early literacy levels” (p. 33). Similarly, a World Bank and IDB (2000) study of multi-shift schooling in Brazil at the upper secondary level finds no significant differences in cognitive achievement, with differences between day- and night-shift students attributed largely to socioeconomic differences, attendance patterns and school characteristics. Evidence from outside of Brazil, however, shows varied impacts on educational achievement (see, for instance, Batra (1998) on India; PASEC (2003) on Guinea; Malam Maman (2002) on Niger; García (2006) and Bellei (2009) on Chile; Cerdan-Infantes & Vermeersch (2007) on Uruguay; and Orkin (2013) on Ethiopia).

Though the evidence on the impacts of shift schooling on learning is inconsistent, most evaluations have been limited to the primary level and thus likely do not reflect the possible larger impact at higher grades. This would be problematic in the context of CCTs’ efforts to increase human capital formation through completion of the basic education cycle. In its 10-year report on the BFP, the Ministry of Social Development notes that one of the key factors in improving achievement and reducing the chances of grade repetition among young beneficiaries is extending the duration of class (Campello & Neri, 2013). Additionally, there is evidence from

⁵⁷ See chapter 4 for elaboration.

Egypt that multiple-shift schooling increases the likelihood of leaving school prior to completing the basic education cycle (see Lloyd et al., 2003). Given both the prevalence of shift schooling in Brazil, and that the young people interviewed nearly universally attended school on a shift basis, this finding appears especially problematic in the context of the BFP. As the section above showed, there are substantial problems with progression and completion among young beneficiaries; these findings suggest that multi-shift school could be contributing to the problems of progression and completion, challenging the programme's aims of increased educational attainment and human capital formation.

Instructional time in a multi-shift schooling system is evidently decreased compared to a single-shift system; however, the impact of the reduced instructional hours on educational achievement is not clear and requires further research (Linden, 2001; Abadzi, 2009). In a meta-analysis of studies on student achievement and school organisation, Glewwe et al. (2011) find that increased hours in the school day are consistently associated with a positive impact on student learning. Nonetheless, much of the research on increases in instructional time have considered changes of about 10%, and in schools with already longer school days (of six hours or more) than in many multi-shift school systems (Orkin, 2013). Given that there is evidence of diminishing marginal returns to increases in instructional time (Lavy, 2010), where the school day is relatively short, and where the increase in time spent in school would be proportionally quite large, any increases to instructional time should have a much larger impact on achievement than the existing evidence suggests (Orkin, 2013). This implies increased instructional time could hold significant gains in learning in the Brazilian multi-shift system.

What seems to be even more important than hours of instruction, however, is time spent on task; yet, there is evidence that time in the classroom, especially in developing countries, is not well used (Abadzi, 2009). Data from the OECD suggest that Brazilian public schools do not make good use of instructional time. For example, based on data from municipal schools in Rio de Janeiro, and state schools in Minas Gerais and Pernambuco, Brazilian students spend between 43 and 64% of instructional time off-task, respectively, compared to the OECD Good Practice Benchmark of 6% or less (Bruns et al., 2012). In addition, Brazilian teachers are off-task between 7 and 12% of instructional time, compared to the OECD Good Practice Benchmark of zero (Bruns et al., 2012).

Additionally, it is particularly difficult to evaluate the impact of multi-shift schooling and the concomitant reduction in instructional time on cognitive achievement as the latter is typically measured through evaluation of core subjects (e.g., mathematics, reading) on standardised national or international assessments. In a multi-shift system, it may be that the reduction in instructional hours impacts areas outside these core subjects much more than the core subjects themselves, and thus standardised assessments do not fully capture the impacts on achievement (Linden, 2001). Indeed, young beneficiaries often cited a lack of additional course options beyond the core courses offered at their schools, while they noted many other schools (especially private schools, which are full day) offered such options as English, Spanish, etc.

Young people had mixed perceptions of the impact of multi-shift schooling on their learning, although this may have been influenced by (a) little to no first-hand experience of a different shift or full-day schooling; (b) aspirations and expectations around the payoffs of schooling for their own and their families' futures, making it difficult to acknowledge possible deficiencies in the education they were receiving.

As others have found (Linden, 2001; Orkin, 2013), some young people favour multi-shift schooling because it allows them to continue attending school while working. Alessandro and José Antonio described balancing work and school, with different perspectives on the ease of doing so:

[I went to school and worked at] the same time. I studied in the morning. I was in eighth year and [I attended the shift] in the afternoon. I arrived here [at home] about midday and I rushed off to work because I had to be there at 1:30pm. I studied and worked at the same time. It was very busy, but it was good, it was really cool. I really wanted to go. It was a matter of going, going. I loved it. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

[I] went to another high school that was on the half-time schedule. So it worked to go to work and school. Since two days per week were full time, there were three days that I could leave early, so I would leave at noon and go to the internship. The other two days, I had to go to school, and I would make up for it and work on Saturdays. It was quite difficult, I didn't have much time to study, to go over the materials when I would get home because I couldn't come directly home [from school]. I had to go straight to work. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Regardless of the desirability or necessity of such options for young people who either choose or need to work, the idea that multi-shift schooling allows for schooling around labour participation fundamentally contradicts the aim of CCTs for the cash benefit to compensate for the opportunity cost of young people's labour. It also suggests that, contrary to how CCTs are

often conceived in policy and in the literature, young people are not necessarily choosing between school and labour participation; rather, given the common use of shift schooling, many are both working and going to school.⁵⁸ And, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the pull of the labour market seems at times to win out, both in terms of balancing work and school (i.e., a long day at work means missing school) and in opting to leave school prior to completion to enter the labour market.

Overall, however, with the exception of those who needed to attend the night shift because they worked during the day, multi-shift schooling was seen as negative for learning in various ways by both young people and their caregivers:

Researcher: And if you could have changed something at your school, what would you have changed?

Anderson: The schedule – I would have made it full time. I think that the students would have learned a lot more.

(Anderson, age 18)

Researcher: And what was your school schedule like?

Adriana: It was in the afternoons. In high school, it was in the afternoon. And in primary, it was in the morning.

Ana (Adriana's mother): I never let her study at night. Because there is always so little time at night, isn't there? Sometimes the teachers are lazy. They work all day, so it's better to study either in the morning or in the afternoon.

(Adriana, age 19)

A number of the young people noted that they did not attend the night shift schedule by choice; rather, they simply had not been able to get a space in the morning or afternoon shifts despite a preference for attending school during the day.

I don't really like it. I'm at the school because there isn't any space in the afternoon, because when mum got there to re-enroll me there weren't any spaces in the afternoon. So I go at night. I don't like it. It's difficult. It's horrible going to school at night. *(Noemi, age 17)*

While there is no data available on the extent to which BFP beneficiaries are enrolled in full-day compared to multi-shift schooling, the overall high rate of multi-shift schooling in Brazil, combined with the fact that shift schooling tends to be most common among poorer students,

⁵⁸ See chapters 4 and 5 for elaboration.

suggest that it may be a significant factor in both the quantity and quality of young beneficiaries' educational experiences. It would put into question the extent to which educational conditionalities are having a substantial impact on the quantity of schooling that beneficiaries are receiving, given the shortened school day. Multi-shift schooling then also raises concerns about the quality of schooling received by young beneficiaries because the schedule (a) limits access to many school facilities and activities, particularly during the night session; (b) leaves little time for breaks between classes for students to absorb what they have just learned; and (c) leaves little time for areas of study beyond the core subjects. Thus, multi-shift schooling poses a significant challenge to meeting the human capital development goals in the BFP. If it is not clear that young beneficiaries are receiving either a quantity or quality of schooling that would be commensurate with the desired human capital formation, the use of educational conditionalities and the explicit long-term goal of poverty reduction through higher educational attainment would seem to be in doubt.

3.4.2 School Resources, Infrastructure and the Learning Environment.

One of the main reasons for the use of multi-shift schooling in Brazil has been insufficient and poor quality infrastructure and facilities. A 2012 World Bank study of education in Brazil notes that school infrastructure is generally poor, with a lack of libraries, science labs, and computer and language facilities (Bruns et al., 2012). This lack of basic infrastructure and facilities in Brazilian schools is supported by data collected in the *Censo Escolar* (School Census). Table 6 shows the proportion of public schools in Brazil and Pernambuco state that offer various types of resources and facilities.

Table 6: Public and Private School Facilities (2014)

	BRAZIL		PERNAMBUCO	
	Percentage of public schools	Percentage of private schools	Percentage of public schools	Percentage of private schools
Library	30%	59%	28%	63%
Computer laboratory	45%	45%	36%	37%
Internet access in school	53%	91%	36%	81%
Science laboratory	8%	22%	6%	14%
Sports court	30%	42%	15%	29%

Source: Compiled with data from QEdU (2015d), collected in 2014 Censo Escolar

Data collected through interviews with young beneficiaries paints quite a negative picture of the facilities and resources offered by their schools. As illustrated in the quotes below, young people highlighted various issues with school infrastructure and resources, including broken doors, windows and chairs; a lack of materials and resources for the number of students in a class; insufficient space to accommodate students; a lack of ventilation in classrooms, making it difficult to concentrate.

On poor infrastructure and lack of materials:

There are no fans, not enough chairs. The structure is in really bad shape, it needs to be re-painted, it needs fans as some rooms have them, others don't. The [chalk/white] boards also need improving. The kitchen needs improving, it's a total mess, really disgusting. There are animals in there that shouldn't be. There are cats, dogs. (*Gisele, age 19*)

[S]ince it was public school, sometimes there weren't enough chairs, or materials for us to use, no fans, but it's improving. (*Adriana, age 19*)

There were no [chalk/white] boards. (*Noemi, age 17*)

The majority [of the chairs and boards] were broken. (*Gabriel, age 17*)

On a lack of space in the classroom to accommodate students:

[L]ast year when the classroom was really full, there weren't enough chairs. The classrooms are too small. So not everyone fits...about 45, maximum. (*Gisele, age 19*)

I didn't like anything [at school], because even the classrooms were small. It was really small for so many people. (*Mayara, age 19*)

The school building isn't adequate to receive all those students. (*Luisza, age 18*)

This lack of materials is further substantiated in data from the questionnaire to school administrators included in the 2011 *Prova Brasil* national assessment, in which 64% of administrators nationally, and 66% of administrators in Pernambuco state reported a shortage of textbooks for students during that school year (QEdu, 2015e).

On classroom ventilation and the climate:

It's [my classroom is] comfortable, there is a fan. But there are only two working, and there should be 4. We don't have air conditioning. There are broken windows, the door is broken. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

[I]t's really hot. There are only two fans in each classroom for 45 or 50 students. (*Luíza, age 18*)

There is evidence to support the logical negative impact of such a lack of basic infrastructure on student learning. In a meta-analysis of studies analysing the impacts of school infrastructure on student learning, Glewwe et al. (2011) find that the availability of sufficient desks, tables and chairs has a consistently positive impact on student achievement. Similarly, a blackboard or whiteboard, or flipchart in the classroom are also important for student achievement, as are a higher quality roof, walls and floor, as well as access to a school library.

Among the young people interviewed, however, access to facilities seems to be as problematic as the existence of facilities themselves. While some young people reported that their schools did indeed have libraries, or computer or science laboratories, they also noted that these facilities were either not open for use or contained broken equipment and so therefore were not in use.

[T]here is no library. There is no computer class. There is one [science lab] but we've never been to the room. (*Noemi, age 17*) (School 2 in Table 7)

They have them [sports court, theatre, computer and science laboratories], but they're not used. (*Nívia, age 18*) (School 7 in Table 7)

There are some things, like the computer area, that are closed, there aren't teachers [for some subjects], the computers are broken. There is [a science laboratory] but it's closed. No one uses it. (*Gisele, age 19*) (School 10 in Table 7)

It's really difficult, but it needs to be discussed because I think that in the entire state of Pernambuco there are few public schools that have a functioning computer lab. There is a lack of computers, a lack of computing teachers, a lack of facilities in which to build a computer room, because you have to have an airconditioned room because of the heat. There is a lack of time in the [school] schedule. It doesn't work very well. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Even where these facilities were offered, many young people attending the night shift were unable to access them or to participate in certain activities (such as sports, fieldtrips, extracurricular activities) because these were not made available to those students.

At night there aren't these things [fieldtrips, activities]. But in the morning and afternoon schedules they do. (*Noemi, age 17*)

[Yes, there is a sports court] in front of the school. But at night, no, because there's no time in the evening schedule. We don't have access to physical education. But I know that it does exist for the morning and afternoon [schedules]. (*Lucas, age 19*)

There are these things [fieldtrips, a computer lab, library], it's just that the night schedule is mostly for people who work, who leave work and then go to school. So there's not often time for these things. But from time to time, fieldtrips occur, but really just for those who have time, who can go. But there is a library, if you [want] at any time, until the evening, which there didn't used to be. There's no [access to the] computer lab at night because there isn't a teacher there that can stay in the room, but there is a computer lab. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Government data on school facilities can mask much of the infrastructure problem, as illustrated by the contrast between government data and both the existence (or knowledge) of and access to such facilities reported by young people.⁵⁹ For instance, note that School 7 appears to have among the best facilities of the schools listed below, and yet, Nívia explained above that none of these facilities are used.

⁵⁹ This is a clear example of where qualitative research that engages directly with young beneficiaries is crucial to understanding quality of schooling.

Table 7: Facilities in Schools Attended by Young Participants (Censo Escolar 2013)

FACILITY						
	Library	Computer lab	Science lab	Sports court	Number of computers for student use	Washroom inside school building
School 1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	No
School 2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	Yes
School 3	Yes	Yes	No	No	3	Yes
School 4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	13	Yes
School 5	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	19	Yes
School 6	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	3	Yes
School 7	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	30	Yes
School 8	No	Yes	No	No	8	Yes
School 9	Yes	Yes	No	No	10	No
School 10	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	19	Yes
School 11	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	No
School 12	Yes	Yes	No	No	25	No
School 13	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	18	No
School 14	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	11	Yes
School 15	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	21	Yes

Source: Compiled with data from QEdU (2015c), collected in 2013 Censo Escolar

Despite limited infrastructure, young people were clearly interested in having access to such facilities as libraries, computer and science laboratories. Where these facilities were available, young people often felt very positively about using these facilities, and where they were not available, they often highlighted that they would like to have such infrastructure in their schools.

It [my school] has a library for studying, working, researching. If you need to research something, [go to] the library. You go there to have some freedom. You can go in, you can read, if you have some free time you can stay there reading books. We are free to read lots of books. The library is full of books. Anything you need, it's there. It's really cool. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

[What did I like] to do most? Man, I loved the computer class and the library. I loved them! (*Natália, age 19*)

The only thing that I liked there was the library. There were various books, which was good so that we could read as we wanted. (*João, age 19*)

Researcher: Is there anything that you would have liked to have learned at school that wasn't taught?

Juliana: Mostly this [science] laboratory kind of thing... I was quite interested to know these things, to do some chemistry. I was always curious to go into the lab, but there wasn't one there.

(Juliana, age 20)

The poor infrastructure and facilities described here are supported by recent empirical evidence that BFP beneficiaries are at a particular disadvantage with regard to school infrastructure and facilities relative to other public school students. Examining data from the School Census, Simões (2012) finds a significant difference in the school resources available on average to beneficiary versus non-beneficiary youth. The author finds that BFP beneficiaries tend to lack school libraries, reading rooms, computer rooms and science laboratories at higher rates than non-beneficiaries. This may be at least partially explained by the fact that BFP beneficiaries are more likely to attend smaller schools that may be less well-resourced (Simões, 2012). Furthermore, the author notes that “educational resources clearly deteriorate as the level of BF intake increases in schools” (Simões, 2012, p. 182), suggesting that poorer children attend more poorly resourced schools. Thus, rather than compensating for family background with an improved school environment, the Brazilian education system appears to reinforce inequalities between young BFP beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Simões, 2012). Table 8 illustrates the inequalities in school facilities available to non-beneficiary versus beneficiary students.

Table 8: Disparities in School Facilities Available to Bolsa Família Beneficiary and Non-Beneficiary

Facility	Non-Beneficiaries	Beneficiaries
Library/reading room	68.9%	63.6%
Computer lab	37.4%	28.5%
Science lab	12.9%	8.8%

Source: Simões (2012); calculated with data from the 2005 and 2007 Censo Escolar

One of the young interviewees, Anderson, articulated this disparity in resources:

[T]here wasn't a lot in the school. There are schools that get more things from the government, but here, since it's a dangerous neighbourhood, there are few things that arrive here. (*Anderson, age 18*)

Beyond school facilities and infrastructure, young people also described the environment at school and how they felt about and experienced being at school. Many young people

complained that commotion and disruptions made concentrating in class difficult. For example, broken doors and windows prevent classrooms from being closed off from other spaces to create a quiet workspace.

What I didn't like was the disruptions because there were so many students, and many students who would get together to be disruptive, to break things in the classroom. So it made it difficult for us because we would need things and they would be broken. (*Anderson, age 18*)

On a more abstract level, school as a place and space was perceived both positively and negatively by different young people. Some young people experienced school quite negatively, not liking much about school at all and never 'feeling good' about being at school, while for others, school represented a very positive space and where they felt most secure. In the case of the former, negative perceptions of school often correlated with young people not feeling comfortable with relationships at school – for example, that the staff and teachers cared about students and student learning, or that the staff and teachers were not engaged and strict enough – or not feeling comfortable at school due to poor infrastructure. The dialogue with Juliana illustrates this:

Juliana: I didn't like much about school, just mostly the teachers, but that's it.

Researcher: But you felt good at school or no?

Juliana: No, not good. There wasn't a good infrastructure for people to stay there all day. [T]here weren't the facilities. But was it a good school? Just the teachers, really.

Researcher: And would you have changed anything about your school?

Juliana: I would change the environment. Well, I would change everything. [It needs] renovations in general there. [I]t wasn't made to be full time. [There were not enough] places to sit, there was a bathroom, kitchen, library, but they were small. I don't know if it's changed now, but there was no computer room. There were broken computers – they were very old. There were a few that worked, and others did not. So when we had to do work on them, we either had to research in a book or go somewhere else to do it.

(*Juliana, age 20*)

While very few noted having experienced racial or gender discrimination at school, one young woman described being stigmatised at university for being from a favela.

[A]t university, when I arrived, they asked "where do you live?" "Morro da Boa Vista" [I said]. And people would sometimes say, "She lives in Morro da Boa Vista...Favelada" [person who lives in a favela]. She doesn't know anything. She's dumb." Because in many people's minds, we aren't able. (*Adriana, age 19*)

Thus, school can be a space in which prejudices are both reproduced and ruptured. Similarly, school can represent both a space of violence and an escape from violence. Alessandro described the risk of violence at school, while Rodrigo described a particular incident of violence:

There has been [violence in my school]. From time to time, we find the police doing a sweep through the community, inside the school. As there are always good sides of people and bad sides, there are people who have a more machista way, that like to fight. Sometimes they go to school with the aim of getting into a fight. You have to be careful because you know that a fight today is not just a punch, a slap. Tomorrow it will lead to death. Life in this world, living with good people, living with bad people, is really complicated. You have to get along with both kinds of people. But, thank God, I haven't had this problem. I have always got along with other students. But for other people, who come from other places, who come from other neighbourhoods, who get into fights, it's not very cool. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

This week actually they robbed the popular girl at school. There was a police officer there, but he was lazy. The guy robbed her here, and he [the police officer] was there. He got away. The police officer was not paying any attention. He only saw afterwards, but he didn't care. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

On the other hand, young people's positive views and experiences of school were often contrasted with negative views of home; for example, that their home and community were dangerous and violent. As José Antonio noted, however, protecting schools from violence in the community comes at a cost.

School was always good. I thought school was a good place, sometimes I preferred to be at school rather than at home. Since I wasn't able to go out in the street [because it was dangerous], I stayed at home. I felt more comfortable at school. (*Anderson, age 18*)

In Brazil, schools are very closed because of the violence. So you can't have schools that have open spaces, with trees, because, at night, outside of school time, vandals would come and destroy it. They would steal the equipment and everything in the school. Schools are very closed, grey, without colour, without life, exactly for this reason – to try to protect students from the outside world, which is very dangerous. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

School as an escape from the social problems in the community is supported by data from the 2011 *Prova Brasil* survey of school administrators in Pernambuco state, a large portion of whom reported drug trafficking and consumption as well as gang activity by external actors in the areas near their schools, but relatively low incidence of such activities within schools. For instance, 39% reported drug use and 34% reported drug trafficking near their schools, while 13% reported gang activity (QEdu, 2015e). In contrast, only 15% and 12% reported drug consumption and trafficking, respectively, by students (QEdu, 2015e).

Many young people who had left school looked back on it as the best time of their lives, emphasising that they missed it and would go back if they could. This often seems to be

provoked by a sense of loneliness that some youth experience after leaving secondary school, which is likely compounded by a feeling of being ‘lost’ in transitions to further education or employment.

[When I think of school, I feel] something good. Both good, and bad for having finished, because if it were up to me, I’d still be studying. I really liked it. [A]s I completed my studies, everyone went their own way, and you see them sometimes, in the street, you talk a bit, but that’s it. You don’t see them often like in school. (*Anderson, age 18*)

Overall, the resources and infrastructure in schools attended by BFP beneficiaries appear to be quite poor, with both a lack of facilities and resources, as well as a lack of access to facilities where they do exist. Moreover, poor and broken infrastructure is particularly problematic in creating difficult learning environments for students. Given such a challenging learning environment, several young people noted that it is very much up to the individual student to be motivated and persevere, as the difficulties stacked against their learning are extensive.

Right now, it is a really difficult environment that we study in. For people who don’t want to learn, it is difficult. So we must be motivated, we must sit up front, note every word that the teacher says because in addition to the courtyard being on that side, there are always students who go to school to cause disturbances, to joke, to cause a commotion, and since it [the classroom] is along a hallway, there are always various students making a mess. If you don’t pay attention to the teacher, you won’t learn anything. But, the environment doesn’t help either. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

[Y]ou can’t just depend on school. School will teach you, you will learn specific things, but if you want to learn more, you have to do it yourself. You have to search elsewhere. You have to buy books, you have to do courses, various things. I think that school should improve everything. (*Luizã, age 18*)

It is clear that the school environment inhibits learning and greater human capital formation among young beneficiaries. As the literature and the empirical evidence presented here show, BFP beneficiaries both face a very challenging learning environment and, on average, are at a disadvantage in terms of school facilities and resources relative to non-beneficiaries.

3.4.3 Teacher Quality.

One of the most critical factors to school quality and student learning is the teacher and their ability to create a motivated and effective learning environment (Leu, 2005). The 2004 Education for All Global Monitoring Report highlights the importance of the role of teacher:

What goes on in the classroom, and the impact of the teacher and teaching, has been identified in numerous studies as the crucial variable for improving learning outcomes. (EFA, 2005, p. 152)

As will be argued in the next chapter, what happens in classrooms and the impact of the teacher are also key to students' engagement with school and their trajectories through and out of school.

Despite near universal acceptance that teacher quality matters to student outcomes, there is very little agreement on what aspects of teacher quality matter most or how to define teacher quality. Several aspects of high quality teachers tend to be consistently mentioned across the literature, including appropriate qualifications; effective communication skills; creating an effective learning environment; setting high expectations, especially for 'at risk' students; and building relationships within the school and community. Though there are many ways to define teacher quality, and what constitutes 'quality' may be highly context specific, Goe (2007) offers an input-process-output type framework for understanding teacher quality that encompasses these diverse aspects of teacher quality. The framework groups inputs into two broad categories: *teacher qualifications* (e.g., education, credentials, teacher test scores, experience etc.) and *teacher characteristics* (e.g., attitudes, attributes, beliefs, and more or less immutable characteristics such as race, gender etc.). These inputs contribute to *teacher practices* (e.g., instructional delivery, teaching methods, classroom management, interactions with students etc.), which then shape outcomes in terms of *teacher effectiveness* (growth in student learning, typically measured by standardised test scores).

This section is organised around this framework, examining young beneficiaries' experiences and perspectives on teacher qualifications and teacher practices.⁶⁰ As Leu (2005) points out, much of the literature on teacher quality focuses on student learning and outcomes (particularly in the form of standardised test scores), but has very little to say about how students experience teacher quality or how this impacts their experiences at school. Rather, this section focuses largely on students' perceptions of teacher quality and the impacts on their schooling experience.

⁶⁰ This section will not discuss teacher characteristics, as these are difficult to change and have no clear impact on student achievement. It also does not discuss teacher effectiveness, as the goal of this study was not to assess the value-added by teachers to student learning.

Teacher Qualifications:

One of the most clearly problematic aspects of teacher quality highlighted by young beneficiaries is an inadequate supply of qualified teachers. Many young people described the challenges associated with having teachers trained in different subject areas than what they are asked to teach.

[It's happened that we have had] a teacher substituted. The [art] teacher was missing [class] a lot, and so the geography teacher ended up teaching art. I don't think geography has much to do with art. They are two very different things. And now he carries the whole load...because the teacher was absent so much. And often there is no one to substitute them. There are also some problems, I think, with the people assigning teachers to schools...where there is no art teacher, they assign anyone to teach it. They put a drawing on the board... What do we do? We draw it. Or they assign a drawing or painting, and then return it to me with a 10 [out of 10]. This is really easy...if this were really art. I believe that art has interesting things to teach us. And the knowledge that we have [in art class] is far from what we should be learning. [He] doesn't have the same knowledge of the subject, and so he, just as much as the students, who want to learn, can get lost. Because he'll start talking about one thing or another, talking about things that don't really have to do with art. I believe that this is a deficit [of the system]. It is really bad. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

In general, [I would change] the training of teachers because they are not sufficiently trained to teach. An example is my biology teacher who isn't a trained biology teacher, he's a mathematics teacher. But he's giving biology classes because the school needs a biology teacher and doesn't have one. So there's a lack of teachers and the teachers that are there are not sufficiently trained to give their classes. He didn't manage to teach the biology content well, but he was an excellent maths teacher. We spent a year and a half without a maths teacher. My experience was terrible. He didn't manage to teach the content so that the students could learn enough. It didn't work. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

If someone is trained to teach only one subject, they have to teach their own subject. It's not enough to take a book, read it and pass on what they don't really know, without explaining it to us. My Portuguese teacher teaches biology and sociology. As she says, "I don't know, I'm teaching this because they asked me to, so that you [the students] aren't without [all] the subjects..." (*Luiza, age 18*)

It's not very good, because they don't explain like the actual teacher...Well, they give the class. I think it's a bit unpleasant. (*Noemi, age 17*)

The problem of the lack of teachers is confirmed by data from the 2011 *Prova Brasil* survey of school administrators, of whom 48% nationally report a shortage of teachers for certain subjects or grades, and 40% in Pernambuco state (QEdu, 2015e).

Recent efforts for greater social inclusion through the expansion of education has brought more students into school, increasing the demand for teachers; yet, teacher education in Brazil remains quite weak (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). While teachers in the basic education cycle in Brazil are now required by law to have a university degree, there are still significant gaps in teacher qualifications, particularly in the Northeast (PREAL & Lemann Foundation, 2009; OECD, 2010; Gatti & Barretto, 2011; Bruns et al., 2012). In a 2011 review of teacher education

in Brazil, 14.5% of teachers at the lower secondary level, and 6.4% of teachers at the upper secondary level were found to not hold a university degree, with most of these teachers located in the Northeast (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). In addition to gaps in teacher credentials, the low pay, low status of teaching as an occupation, and the poor working conditions make it difficult to attract highly qualified teachers (OECD, 2010; Bruns et al., 2012). Teachers are generally recruited from the bottom third of students in secondary school, implying limited scope for training sufficiently qualified and high performing teachers.

Demand for teachers in the basic education cycle far has outstripped the number of teachers trained over the last 15 years (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). Consistent with the experiences described above by young beneficiaries, the data show a very low percentage of teachers with training in the subject areas they teach: of all subjects offered across the basic education cycle, only the subjects of Portuguese, Biology and Physical Education have a majority of teachers with a background in these subjects (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). At the other end of the spectrum, only 9% of Physics teachers and 13% of Chemistry teachers have training in their subject area (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). As José Antonio highlighted above, there is a substantial shortage of Mathematics teachers, despite being a core subject in the curriculum, with only 27% of Mathematics teachers trained in their subject area (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). Thus, teacher education in Brazil is clearly not meeting the demand for qualified teachers across most subject areas.

Teacher Practices:

According to Goe's (2007) framework, teacher qualifications interact with teacher characteristics to produce teacher practices in the classroom. Here, young people's experiences appear to vary considerably. Some young people described high levels of teacher absenteeism, a lack of dedication among teachers and engagement with their jobs and towards their students, and "chalk and talk" teaching methods, while others felt their teachers were highly engaged and dedicated to their profession and their students. Young people's notions of good quality teachers were often associated with teachers setting high expectations for their students; that is, rigorous, demanding teachers were teachers who were engaged and cared about their students' learning and future.

Regular teacher absenteeism was not uncommon across all shifts at school. Several young people noted that teachers regularly missed classes. Gisele described the impact of an absent Physics teacher for a month, while Luiza highlighted the instability that teacher absenteeism had caused in her schooling:

We were always leaving early because this teacher or that was absent. [T]here was a physics teacher who had an operation, on his knee. He was always absent. He didn't come [to class] for a month. And so we spent a month without classes. There wasn't another teacher to cover the class. The school is good, but what is missing most is structure, teachers, and help. (*Gisele, age 19*)

The teachers are good, but at the same time aren't. Sometimes, we have all our classes, but other times there are none. It's always like this. There isn't any stability. (*Luiza, age 18*)

There are various possible factors contributing to teacher absenteeism. First, within the shift system, teachers often teach multiple shifts within a school or across several schools, making preparation and commuting difficult. Second, difficult working conditions (such as working across multiple schools, large class sizes making classroom management more difficult etc.) in combination with the fact that the profession is undervalued in society, as well as low salaries, may contribute to a lack of teacher dedication (Gatti & Barretto, 2011). While a minimum monthly salary for teachers was set in law in 2008 at R\$950.00 (in 2009 USD, approximately US\$475.00),⁶¹ salaries vary considerably across the country and across school levels, with systematically lower salaries in the Northeast. For instance, 60% of teachers in the Northeast earned less than R\$530.00 (in 2009 USD, approximately US\$265.00) per month in 2009 (Gatti & Barretto, 2011), well below the minimum set in law. Moreover, Carson et al. (2014) note that teacher wages in Brazil are “among the lowest in World Education Indicators (WEI) program countries, both in absolute terms and relative to GDP per capita” (p. 44).

Luiza reflected on the problem of the lack of dedication of her teachers and possible links to poor salaries, but ultimately concluded that teachers have an obligation to teach well:

They [teachers] complain about the salary, because they want two minimum salaries. It's bad and all. But the interest has to come from them. If they are trained to be a teacher, they have an obligation to come to class. Not just an obligation to be in the school, an obligation to arrive, to put something on the board, as well as to explain, to ask us if we have questions, to answer our questions. This is their obligation, and we have an obligation to ask, to learn what they are teaching us. (*Luiza, age 18*)

⁶¹ The national minimum wage in Brazil in 2009 was R\$465.00 per month (approximately US\$232.50) (ILO, 2009a).

Young people consistently viewed their teachers as better where they perceived them to be more demanding, more rigorous, and as having higher expectations of students.

[T]he teachers are very demanding. [I]t's good because in your work, your studies, the teacher is very demanding, [they say], "no, study for your future," and so on and so forth. We work, it's good. (*Rebeca, age 16*)

In [my] previous school, the teaching wasn't very rigorous. The teaching is better at [my] current school. [They give] a lot [of work]. (*Noemi, age 17*)

Conversely, teachers who did not set high expectations and who did not push their students were viewed negatively and as not caring about students.

[My school] could have better teachers, harder working. The teaching isn't good. It's not bad, but it's not good, it's normal. [T]hey [the teachers] aren't there for us. (*Luíza, age 18*)

Some young people noted that teachers were "lazy" or "sloppy" because they simply assigned work on the board, checked that students had completed it, and then allowed students to go home.

[T]here are some teachers that enter the class, "hello", they write on the board, they sit down, they take attendance, and that's it. They don't teach, they don't say "guys, we're going to study this..." They don't explain, they don't debate. Nothing. They enter, write [on the board], and sit down. They think they are doing their job, we have to figure it out ourselves. If we have any doubts, if we have questions, we have to ask someone else to see if they know how to answer. Because they don't debate, they don't converse, they enter, write, assign, sit down, and do attendance, and that's it. (*Luíza, age 18*)

Here [in Recife] what's missing is the teachers [engaging] more with the students. Because here, we would sit down, the teacher would arrive, they would write out various texts on the blackboard, and they wouldn't explain. When we would ask for an explanation, they would say "figure it out yourself." (*João, age 19*)

Teachers' attitudes, expectations and behaviours appear to influence student achievement and trajectories out of school (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), students' own learning goals as well as their perceptions of their own academic ability (Montalvo et al., 2007). Positive social relationships at school are central to the development not only of academic skills but also crucial social skills for students' futures, such as how to get along with others, how to face conflict, how to solve problems (Davis & Dupper, 2004). The development of such non-cognitive skills is likely not possible in the context of negative social relationships at school. These findings have important implications for the BFP. Ensuring that young beneficiaries have good quality teachers – who are able to build strong relationships with their students and who

are perceived to support students' success – could increase academic achievement as well as help build the non-cognitive skills, such as self-efficacy, that could help both to enable a more timely progression through the cycle of basic education as well as to contribute to the development of the capacities and skills that the human capital model envisages as a mechanism for upward social mobility and poverty reduction.

Closely intertwined with teacher expectations and demands are teaching strategies and methods. Teachers who 'actively' teach, who engage with students, who encourage participation in the classroom were consistently viewed positively, as being 'good' teachers.

I think that the only teacher who really teaches is the maths teacher. She debates, she tells us what is right, what is wrong, she says what we can't be like, she converses, she gives advice. So she is a teacher. Now the rest enter the classroom, they write [on the board], and they sit down. Before they give the class, they leave and we are left there. (*Luiza, age 18*)

They [the teachers] are really cool too, in terms of wanting to know what we know, to hear our opinions, so the majority of the teachers do reading in class. We read, there are some that say "No, read out loud." And we read, sometimes they ask questions about what we understood from the reading. I believe that this also shows the dedication of the teachers. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

The teachers would engage with us. There are teachers who don't engage. They give the topic and stay seated at their desk. No. They would engage with us and such. Like, in the classroom, even when it wasn't their own class, they would come in and ask if we had any questions on their subject. It was good. They would ask when I wanted [to share my opinion]. (*João, age 19*)

These young people allude to a prolific problem with teaching practices in many developing countries: the lack of active teaching and learning practices in the classroom, as well as the loss of important instructional time to copying lessons and problems from the board (Abadzi, 2009). Comparing Brazilian, Chilean and Cuban students, Carnoy et al. (2004) find that Brazilian students spend significantly more time copying from the blackboard compared to their Chilean and Cuban counterparts, and their lower test scores reflect this difference. Active student engagement in learning activities, within the prescribed curriculum, is a crucial factor in student achievement. Yet, instruction based on principles of active student-centred learning is rare in much of Latin America and the developing world.

There is evidence that BFP beneficiary students consistently have less highly trained teachers, who are less rigorous in their teaching practices. Using data from the 2005 and 2007 School Census, Simões (2012) calculates that teachers of non-BFP beneficiaries are more likely

to be tertiary-educated (particularly at the secondary and tertiary levels) and to assign and correct homework more consistently, as shown in tables 9 and 10.

Table 9: Teacher Education among Beneficiary vs. Non-Beneficiary Students

Teacher Education level	Non-Beneficiaries	Beneficiaries
Primary	0.2%	0.4%
Secondary	40.1%	46.9%
Tertiary	59.6%	52.6%

Source: Reproduced from Simões (2012); calculated with data from the 2005 and 2007 Censo Escolar

Table 10: Teaching Practice among Beneficiaries vs. Non-Beneficiaries' Teachers

		Non-Beneficiaries	Beneficiaries
Teacher corrects Portuguese homework	Always/almost always	77.7%	74.6%
	Once in a while	16.7%	18%
	Rarely/never	1.8%	3.4%
	No homework given	3.8%	4.0%
Teacher corrects Maths homework	Always/almost always	80.2%	77.7%
	Once in a while	15.5%	16.7%
	Rarely/never	1.7%	2.8%
	No homework given	2.6%	2.8%

Source: Reproduced from Simões (2012); calculated with data from the 2005 and 2007 Censo Escolar

Though there is little research on students' perspectives on 'quality' teachers,⁶² there is evidence in the literature that students' perceptions of teachers, and how much they like or dislike a teacher, impacts learning and achievement, as well as their perceptions of their own abilities and of the importance of school for their future (Montalvo et al., 2007). There is also evidence that high teacher expectations are important for student performance (Kannapel & Clements, 2005).

Thus, not only are high teacher expectations and demands considered to be indicative of high quality teachers in both the teacher quality literature and by the young people

⁶² The literature on pupil voice (see, for instance, McIntyre et al., 2005; Flutter, 2007; Whitty & Wisby, 2007) does move towards accounting for students' views of teachers and schools; however, it is mostly limited to a developed country context.

interviewed, but young people's positive perceptions of more demanding teachers also suggest that student learning and self-esteem would benefit from such teachers. Given that any impacts on enrolment that the BFP has had will have been to bring the less proficient, more 'at risk' students into schools, motivation to engage with school, and confidence in their own abilities and the importance of school for their futures is likely even more important to facilitating these students' learning and to keeping them in school. As will be shown in the next chapter, young people's perceptions of teachers and their engagement with school and their students appears to be key to retention in school through the basic education cycle.

Despite the positive experiences of teaching methods among some young people, the substantial number who described unengaged teaching methods clearly reflects deficiencies within the education system and especially in teacher education. Indeed, such practices are consistent with the positivist principles on which most education systems have traditionally been based, with the teacher at the centre of the instructional process, conveying information to students through "chalk and talk" methods (Leu 2005, p. 26). Such instruction has been dominant in classrooms across much of the developing world (Colbert, 1999) and is oriented around memorisation of content, rather than active learning involving problem-solving that requires students to do something with the information they gain to develop the analytical and critical thinking skills that are increasingly being recognised as fundamental to a quality education and to adequate preparation for the labour market. In many resource-poor contexts, however, implementation of learner-centred approaches has simply taken the form of assigning group work and discussion (Leu, 2005). Indeed, when asked about the different activities and ways of learning that occur in their classrooms, young people commonly cited group work or projects and discussions and the primary, if not the only, alternative to teacher-centred instruction.

They make groups a lot. Teachers make groups, they talk a lot, you know? (*Rebeca, age 16*)

The difficulties in implementing student-centred instruction practices is unsurprising given that teachers, particularly in the developing world, have tended to be treated as semi-skilled workers unable to make judgements about, reflect on, or determine their practice (Leu, 2005). Moreover, efforts to reform curricula in favour of student-centred active learning principles have not been reflected in teacher education; rather, prescriptive training and professional development for teachers have persisted (Leu, 2005). Teacher education in Brazil does not tend

to engage much with such principles, and much of the curriculum is dedicated to the theory of teaching practice, with very little time allocated to the development of specific teaching abilities that would train teachers to function in a classroom setting (Gatti & Barretto, 2011; Bruns et al., 2012). Thus, it is unsurprising that the teaching methods employed by these young people's teachers are neither very participatory nor engaging. The reliance on teaching methods centred on memorisation and very little active learning in the classroom do not suggest that the schooling received by BFP beneficiaries is particularly conducive to developing the human capital or skills necessary to enter a labour market that increasingly emphasises the importance of analytical and critical thinking skills. It is thus unclear that these young people are indeed gaining the knowledge and skills necessary to secure better jobs upon leaving school that would enable them to secure better life outcomes for themselves and their families.

3.5 Schooling Outcomes: Learning and Skills Development.

In addition to quality, schooling outcomes in terms of learning and skills development are equally relevant to ensuring that CCT beneficiaries' schooling may be translated into better labour market outcomes and trajectories out of poverty. As highlighted in the theoretical framework, schooling is often considered key to the development of both cognitive and non-cognitive skills, and young people and their families "place considerable emphasis on education as a means of alleviating poverty, improving economic welfare and overcoming disadvantage" (Rolleston & James, 2011, p. 8). However, as Rolleston and James (2011) note, low quality education is associated with low levels of skills acquisition, which is in turn associated with higher rates of school leaving. Thus, educational access does not guarantee the development of the capacities and skills that young people will need to succeed in a competitive labour market. There is evidence that in many countries even the completion of primary education leaves students without basic literacy and numeracy skills (Rolleston & James, 2011). In Brazil, evidence from both international assessments, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), as well as national assessments, such as the *Prova Brasil*, of student achievement indicate that a very large portion of young people leave school without basic literacy and numeracy skills. This suggests that they will not have the necessary skills to support expanded opportunities and better outcomes in the labour market or improved life trajectories.

Since 2000, Brazil has participated in the PISA exam, which assesses the performance of 15-year olds in literacy, mathematics and science. Brazil's average PISA scores improved considerably between 2000 and 2012, from 396 to 410 in reading, 356 to 391 in mathematics, and 390 to 405 in science (OECD, 2012). These gains represent the third largest improvement on record in PISA (Bruns et al., 2012).

Table 11: Brazil: Average PISA Scores (2000-2012)

	2000	2003	2006	2009	2012
Reading	396	403	393	412	410
Mathematics	n/a	356	370	386	391
Science	n/a	n/a	390	405	405

Source: OECD (2012)

Nonetheless, in 2012, nearly half (49.2%) of Brazilian students performed below the baseline level of proficiency (level 2) in reading, meaning these students could, at best, recognise the main theme of a text and make simple links to everyday knowledge, while only 0.5% of students performed at or above the highest level of proficiency, level 5 (OECD, 2012). In mathematics, 67.1% of students were low performers, meaning that at best they could “extract relevant information from a single source and [...] use basic algorithms, formulae, procedures or conventions to solve problems involving whole numbers” (OECD, 2012, p. 2), while a mere 1.1% scored at the top end of the scale. In science, 61% of students scored in the low performance range, meaning at best they could “present scientific explanations that are obvious and follow explicitly from given evidence” (OECD, 2012, p. 3), while only 0.3% scored at the top level.

The OECD (2012) notes that roughly half the improvement in Brazil's mathematics and science scores over time, and all of the improvement in reading scores, can be attributed to improvements in the socioeconomic status of the student population (OECD, 2012). While this reflects positively on social programmes such as the Bolsa Família in improving the socioeconomic position of many students in Brazil, it also suggests that (a) the quality of schooling and teaching has played much less of a role in improving learning and outcomes, and (b) there may be a ceiling on further progress in the absence of improved education quality.

Positively, learning among the poor has increased, with the improvement in PISA scores concentrated among the bottom two income quintiles (Bruns et al., 2012). Nonetheless, the gaps in learning outcomes between higher and lower income quintiles remain large (Bruns et al., 2012). The core equity issue in education in Brazil therefore seems to have shifted from one of access to one of quality of education and learning and skills development. Moreover, while Brazil aims to reach average OECD performance levels by 2021, Carson et al. (2014) note that even maintaining the current pace of improvement (which seems unlikely given the attribution of recent increases in PISA scores to improved socioeconomic wellbeing), it would take 25 years to reach the OECD average score in mathematics, almost 42 years in science, and nearly 72 years in reading. The authors note the need for significant reforms to the public education system to accelerate the rate of improvement.

Ultimately, the fact that by the end of secondary school, most students in Brazil do not meet the expected learning outcomes and performance levels (PREAL & Lemann Foundation, 2009) calls into question the extent to which schooling is facilitating the development of basic life skills, such as literacy and numeracy. If most students leaving school have not acquired these skills (i.e., the desired human capital), it is unclear how increasing schooling among BFP beneficiaries will translate into improved long-term trajectories and poverty outcomes.

Brazil's own national educational assessments (such as the *Prova Brasil* results) also indicate poor learning and educational outcomes in the public education system, as shown in tables 12 and 13. By the end of the 9th year of the basic education cycle, when students move to secondary school, most lack sufficient skills (i.e., they are rated at 'basic' and 'insufficient' levels) in both Portuguese and Mathematics. Moreover, there was no improvement in learning outcomes between 2009 and 2013. A mere 23% of students have sufficient literacy skills by the time they enter secondary school, while only 11% have sufficient numeracy skills.

Table 12: Proficiency in Portuguese in 9th year, Brazil (Prova Brasil)

LEVEL	2009	2011	2013
Advanced	3%	3%	3%
Proficient	20%	19%	20%
Basic	55%	56%	52%
Insufficient	22%	22%	25%

Source: Data from QEdU (2015a)

Table 13: Proficiency in Mathematics in 9th year, Brazil (Prova Brasil)

LEVEL	2009	2011	2013
Advanced	1%	1%	1%
Proficient	9%	11%	10%
Basic	51%	53%	52%
Insufficient	39%	35%	37%

Source: Data from QEdU (2015a)

It would seem highly unlikely then that young BFP beneficiaries are building the knowledge, skills and capacities through schooling assumed by the human capital-based CCT model.

Looking at learning outcomes specifically for BFP beneficiaries on the 2007 *Prova Brasil* exam among 4th grade students, Simões (2012) finds they lag behind non-beneficiaries by two-thirds of one cognitive level in mathematics and by three-quarters of a cognitive level in Portuguese, equivalent to five and seven months of schooling, respectively (Simões, 2012). Cireno et al. (2013) note that part of the achievement discrepancy can be attributed to beneficiary students' socioeconomic conditions and the characteristics of the schools they attend. The latter suggests there is substantial scope, then, for improvements in quality of schools and teaching to improve learning among young BFP beneficiaries.

Simões (2012) finds that three factors stand out in explaining the achievement gap: (a) access to early childhood education; (b) the experience of repeating a grade; and (c) the experience of feeling neglected in the classroom. As shown earlier in this chapter, age-grade gaps are nearly universal among the young beneficiaries interviewed, due to high rates of grade repetition. The repetition of a grade not only appears to hold no learning gains but also appears to have a deleterious effect on students' self-esteem (Simões, 2012). In addition, feeling ignored or neglected in the classroom and students' subjective perceptions of teachers' attitudes towards

them appear to have a negative impact on students' self-esteem and contribute to their feeling of isolation and loss of interest in school (Simões, 2012). Troublingly, comparing beneficiary and non-beneficiary 4th grade students, the author finds that beneficiaries perceived themselves to be neglected in the classroom at a much higher rate (22%) than non-beneficiaries (14%). This, in combination with the fact that beneficiaries were also more likely to be held back in school, as well as attend less well-resourced schools, both in terms of infrastructure and teacher quality (Simões, 2012), paints a clear picture of marginalisation in the classroom and within the education system. Such marginalisation and the negative impact on students' self-esteem and interest in school are problematic for both cognitive and non-cognitive skills development as well as school retention among beneficiary youth.

Young interviewees' responses about learning and skills development seemed to confirm relatively limited cognitive and non-cognitive skills development at school suggested in the secondary data. In terms of cognitive skills, young people often simply described 'learning a lot' at school, but were unable to elaborate or identify either specific knowledge or skills that they learned.

I learned many things that I didn't know before, I learned there [at school]. (*Anderson, age 18*)

There's a lot to learn, and school teaches you. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

It's just the basics [that we learn at school]. (*Luíza, age 18*)

Young people consistently emphasised Portuguese and Mathematics as the key subjects in school, both in terms of life skills and labour market preparation. Beyond these subjects, few young people saw much relevance in the content they learned at school for their lives.

[on the relevance of content taught in school] It doesn't apply so much in my day to day life, no. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

A few identified basic cognitive skills such as literacy and numeracy as important to their lives:

Related to my dreams, I think that Mathematics and Portuguese are important. These are the principal ones for my dreams, for my objectives. Portuguese and Maths I always pay close attention. So that's it. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Well, writing [is important]. I like to write a lot. I was reading but I've lost the book. Portuguese for reading and writing. Maths, I pulled away from because I didn't like the numbers, it was very confusing. Just Portuguese, really. (*Anderson, age 18*)

[What did you learn that has helped you in life?] A lot... Reading, Maths... (*Natália, age 19*)

No, school didn't help me develop the skills necessary for work, but in my point of view, the important thing is having gone to school. Because if I hadn't learned what I have, if I didn't know how to read, how to count, to do maths, how could I be a mechanic today? (*João, age 19*)

This vague understanding of the benefits of schooling, framed in very general and idealistic terms, with little reference to attaining desired skills or competencies, is confirmed by Boyden (2013) in research with young people living in poverty elsewhere.

Only a few young people described schooling as contributing to shaping their social values or broader world views, although these often remain vague with only two young women able to identify specific aspects of their views shaped by their schooling.

Yes, school has taught me about ways of thinking about the world. [These subjects] bring details into how we think about the world, our way of thinking, so that we have a more open way of thinking as a result of our studies. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

They would tell me things and it would open my mind. So, today I am who I am because of them. They helped me a lot, they talked with me a lot. I started to know different places. Places that I had never been. [W]hat I learned with them was to appreciate people the way they are, independently of their sex/gender, their colour, because in school we touch on this subject a lot – racism. It was there [school] that opened my eyes to not be racist with anyone, to appreciate everyone. (*Mayara, age 19*)

I study with deaf students. Only my class has deaf students. So sometimes we see them speaking in sign language. And there's an interpreter there, so we ask how to do it, and we learn. With this difference, we learn a lot. I like the other students a lot. You learn to respect them. (*Nívia, age 18*)

Government data on achievement in the specific schools attended by these young people confirm their perceptions of limited cognitive skills development and suggest an even more problematic picture in terms of learning and skills development than at the national level. In nearly all schools attended by the young people interviewed, over 90% of students (and in some cases, 100% of students) in the 9th grade of basic education (the final year before upper secondary school) are considered to have insufficient maths skills for national performance standards, while the literacy skills of between 58 and 94% of students are considered insufficient. Given that many young people leave school during upper secondary school, and the substantial obstacles many face in returning to complete the basic education cycle, this suggests that most young

people never acquire basic literacy and numeracy skills. This fundamentally challenges the notion that human capital formation is occurring as a result of schooling required by the BFP.

Table 14: Proficiency in Portuguese and Mathematics in 5th or 9th year (Prova Brasil) in Young Participants' Schools

	5 th year Portuguese		5 th year Mathematics		9 th year Portuguese		9 th year Mathematics	
	Advanced/ Proficient	Basic/ Insufficient	Advanced/ Proficient	Basic/ Insufficient	Advanced/ Proficient	Basic/ Insufficient	Advanced/ Proficient	Basic/ Insufficient
School 1	--	--	--	--	34%	66%	10%	90%
School 2	--	--	--	-	13%	77%	5%	95%
School 3	--	--	--	-	8%	92%	2%	98%
School 4	--	--	--	-	6%	94%	1%	99%
School 5	--	--	--	-	9%	91%	3%	97%
School 6	--	--	--	-	12%	88%	8%	92%
School 7	--	--	--	-	28%	72%	7%	93%
School 8	8%	92%	22%	78%	--	--	--	-
School 9	--	--	--	--	42%	58%	22%	78%
School 10	--	--	--	--	12%	88%	2%	98%
School 11	--	--	--	--	17%	83%	5%	95%
School 12	22%*	78%*	22%*	78%*	25%	75%	6%	94%
School 13	11%	89%	11%	89%	13%*	87%*	8%*	92%*
School 14	--	--	--	--	10%	90%	0%	100%
School 15	--	--	--	--	20%	80%	7%	93%

Source: QEdu (2015b)

*data from 2011 Censo Escolar (most recent available data)

With regard to non-cognitive skills, young people explained that school had helped them with such life skills as ‘how to behave’:

It has taught me a lot, like, how to behave. Like in a business, to always be on top of things. (*Anderson, age 18*)

Yes, because, school demands a lot of students. Mainly the way you should sit in a chair not on top of the desk... (*Lucas, age 19*)

They also note the communications skills they develop at school:

It helped because the teachers would always tell me not to stay in the corner, to try to get together with others, to be more outgoing. So, when it comes to work, to talk more, to communicate more with other people, it taught me a lot. (*Anderson, age 18*)

I think the most important would be how to communicate. I was really timid and in doing projects, presentations, I was always really shy. With time in school, I overcame my shyness and it helped me in my work, in doing interviews for jobs. Even now in university, in my seminars it helps me. (*Adriana, age 19*)

The two quotes above allude to the positive impacts on other non-cognitive skills development, such as self-esteem, confidence and self-efficacy. Others also explained the importance of such skills in terms of their ability to take on leadership roles in a group setting.

To be able to be more responsible in doing work. I was always a leader in groups. I have always been conscientious, I always told [others] what to do. In projects, it was me who took the lead, and I think school helped me a lot with this, for today in work or at university, in whatever it may be. (*Adriana, age 19*)

At school, they say “you will be the leader, you will be responsible for your group.” In most cases, it’s me. And so you learn [to lead]: “No, you will do this, you will do that.” I think this is also important. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

While measuring non-cognitive skills development is difficult and problematic,⁶³ young people identified a greater variety of non-cognitive learning as a result of school than cognitive learning. At the same time, as with cognitive skills, these include only some of the most basic non-cognitive skills and are typically described in very general terms.

⁶³ See Camfield (2015).

3.6 Conclusion.

The implicit logic of poverty reduction of CCTs, based on the human capital model is premised on the idea that higher educational attainment will lead to greater human capital formation among young beneficiaries, which in turn will help to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Yet, as this chapter shows, it is not at all clear that schooling is making much contribution to human capital formation or that young people are developing the knowledge, capacity, and skills needed to pull themselves and their families out of poverty, as implied in the CCT model.

Slow and interrupted progression through school, as well as relatively high numbers of young people leaving school prior to the completion of the basic education cycle, suggest that the BFP may not be serving to increase educational attainment as it intends. At the same time, the quality of schooling accessed by young beneficiaries challenges the notion that higher educational attainment may be facilitating much human capital formation. The use of shift schooling schedules, as well as a lack of access to many school resources and facilities, and generally poor infrastructure pose significant challenges to human capital formation in school. Teacher quality also appears both problematic, especially in terms of subject-specific training and teaching methods, and yet crucial to young people's perceptions of and engagement with schooling.

Such challenges to human capital formation among young beneficiaries are borne out in the findings on learning and skills development in this chapter. From the macro, national level, to the school and individual levels, the picture of learning is dismal. Most students in the public education system in Brazil leave school without basic literacy and numeracy skills. Indeed, young people's expectations of the skills and learning that school will impart are largely limited to basic literacy and numeracy.

The next chapter considers some of the obstacles to progression and completion of the basic education cycle from the perspective of young beneficiaries. It examines young people's trajectories through and out of school and the push and pull factors that shape these trajectories.

CHAPTER 4

Young People's Schooling Trajectories and Social Transitions

4.1 Introduction.

Schooling has come to be a defining feature of modern childhood, shaping young people's lives, their responsibilities, trajectories and aspirations (Boyden et al., 2015a). Global and national policies frame 'successful' childhoods and 'transitions to adulthood' on the assumption of the successful completion of compulsory education. This is evidenced in the human capital model that has dominated the policy literature and that underpins the rationale and design of many policies and interventions aimed at reducing poverty through increased schooling. This model assumes that the expansion of compulsory education (that is, access to schooling) will increase young people's qualifications and that they will in turn be able to "move seamlessly to work in the labour market" (Morrow, 2013, p. 86).

This is precisely the model that underpins the logic of poverty reduction in conditional cash transfers, such as Brazil's Bolsa Família programme (BFP). The CCT model is premised on a direct and linear link between young people's schooling, human capital and the labour market. Yet, this chapter shows that this link is not borne out in young beneficiaries' schooling trajectories. As Morrow (2013) notes, the model can easily overlook key factors, such as class, gender, and socioeconomic status, that lie at the heart of unequal political, economic and social structures that shape young people's lives, their opportunities and trajectories.

Drawing on young people's own perceptions and experiences of schooling, this chapter explores their trajectories through and out of school and the factors – rooted in class, gender and socioeconomic status as Morrow (2013) suggests – that shape these. It argues that young beneficiaries' schooling trajectories are largely non-linear, and that their trajectories out of school are particularly influenced by gendered roles, identities and responsibilities, as well as perceptions of school quality. Young beneficiaries' trajectories do not fit within CCTs' linear model, which moves from schooling to employment; rather, in the context of difficult household economic circumstances, social norms and values, and poor quality education, young people's schooling trajectories are far more nuanced and volatile.⁶⁴ In contrast to much of the literature on CCTs, which focuses almost exclusively on quantitative measures of schooling, this chapter demonstrates that young people's perceptions and experiences are critical to understanding their schooling and longer term trajectories, and thus to CCTs' capacity to facilitate intergenerational poverty reduction.

4.2 Non-Linear Schooling Trajectories.

As the theoretical framework argued, much of the academic and policy literature on young people is based on a rigid 'life stages' model, whereby young people are assumed to move through distinct stages of the life-course in a linear manner, from childhood, to youth, to adulthood (Wyn & Dwyer, 2000; Camfield, 2011). Yet, young people's trajectories and social transitions towards adulthood, particularly in situations of poverty, rarely reflect a linear developmental path (Camfield, 2011). The CCT model is based on this linear 'life stages' model, whereby young beneficiaries are assumed to progress through school and into the labour market – a process that is key to the assumed impact on long-term poverty reduction. That is, young beneficiaries are required to enrol and attend school regularly on the assumption that formal schooling leads to human capital formation (Duryea & Pagés, 2002), and that this human capital then shapes labour market mobility and outcomes (Becker, 1962; Becker & Chiswick, 1966) and by association reduces poverty. Within the CCT model, young beneficiaries move in a linear

⁶⁴ Hence the use of the term 'trajectory' rather than 'transition,' where the latter suggests unidirectional movement through school and towards the labour market

direction through schooling,⁶⁵ after which they enter the labour market.⁶⁶ Yet, the experiences of the young people stand in stark contrast to this model, which fundamentally question the logic of poverty reduction inherent to the CCT model.

4.2.1 Gendered Trajectories and Transitions.

Within the CCT research, discussion of gender has been limited to the impacts of targeting female heads of households as the designated recipient for the cash transfer, as well as the impacts on differential school enrolment rates between young boys and girls in families receiving the transfer. In examining young people's schooling trajectories, however, there appears to be a clear gender dimension to early school leaving.

On the one hand, early parenthood is a relatively common experience. This figures prominently in young women's trajectories out of school prior to completion of the basic education cycle, either because of the difficulty attending school when pregnant or because of the social stigma associated with early pregnancy. Once they have left school, these young women tend to stay out of school to care for their children, despite aspirations to return to complete their schooling.

On the other hand, young men's gendered identities, roles and responsibilities, both at school and at home, constitute another influential factor shaping their trajectories through and out of school and their social transitions towards adulthood. At school, young men's gendered identities and roles influence their perceptions of academic ability and success. At the same time, notions of masculine roles and responsibilities at home, the need to take on the role of economic 'provider' within the household, and the urgency they feel in making the 'transition to

⁶⁵ This is further evidenced by the age requirements for young people to receive the benefit, which are limited to the age at which children and young people should enter and complete the basic education cycle, based on a linear, uninterrupted progression.

⁶⁶ This linear movement from schooling and towards the labour market, and the notion that young people should enter the labour market only *after* the completion of the basic education cycle is at the heart of CCTs and the BFP. The cash benefit is conceived as compensation for the opportunity cost of young people's labour (which they are assumed to give up in favour of attending formal schooling). Moreover, the *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (Programme for the Eradication of Child Work), a predecessor to the BFP, had a specific mandate of removing children from the labour market, thus establishing a clear dichotomy between work and school in children's lives, in line with a 'life stages' model of development.

adulthood,' through markers such as leaving school and starting to work, are also important factors shaping young men's schooling trajectories.

Early Pregnancy:

For young women, early pregnancy has invariably led to trajectories out of school prior to completion of basic education. For some young women, their responsibilities at home, combined with work and school were too difficult to manage and thus precipitated trajectories out of school. Mayara's story illustrates this.

Mayara (age 20) lives with her older sister who raised her after their mother and father's deaths when Mayara was 5 and 8 years old, respectively, along with her sister's husband, and their two children. Mayara's sister left school during the first year of secondary school when she became pregnant, as did Mayara herself. Mayara's sister is sometimes able to get casual work at a sweets factory, but the household depends nearly entirely on her husband's income as a carpenter. When Mayara became pregnant, she found the combination of attending school, working at a restaurant most days of the week, and attending to household work to be too much. Given the household's economic circumstances, Mayara was unable to cut back on her other responsibilities and instead chose to leave school:

Students must have time for everything, but we students are also made to study. Because if we get home and right away, us, women, have to do everything around the house. We get to school and we have to study. Because when I arrived at school, it was 'arrive, sit down, do work until the end of class.' It didn't end, there was no break.

The disproportionate burden on girls of domestic work is widely acknowledged, and recent evidence from Brazil supports this. Drawing on 2006 national household survey data, Artes and Carvalho (2010) find that 78% of girls, compared to 56% of boys, carried out domestic work, and 32% of girls compared to just 8% of boys dedicated more than 11 hours per week to these activities. Moreover, a recent qualitative study of low-income families' socialisation of boys and girls in Brazil confirms greater responsibilities for domestic work among girls (Carvalho, 2015).

In addition to juggling responsibilities, the physical strain of attending school while pregnant was often too difficult and contributed to decisions to leave school. In the context of poor quality of school facilities, particularly the high temperatures in classrooms described in the

previous chapter, along with what are often difficult commutes to school,⁶⁷ the challenges of attending school while pregnant are not insignificant, as illustrated by Juliana's story.

Juliana (age 20) was attending full day schooling when she became pregnant. Finding it too difficult to attend school while pregnant, particularly due to her nausea, Juliana's mother tried to enrol her in a school with a shift schedule but was unable to find her a place. Ultimately, Juliana ended up leaving school, and now lives with her partner, parents and siblings. While she aspires to be a teacher one day, she has no immediate plans to complete the basic education cycle, nor does she have any concrete sense of how she might do this in her current situation. Juliana's mother worries a lot about her daughter's future and if and how she will complete her schooling and find a job.

[I said to myself], "I will drop out because it's not working to go to school all day." There were times when I would go, I would start to feel nauseous, and I would say "No, I won't stay here, I'm going to stop [going to school]." And then when I had him, I said "I'll wait until he is older." So I'm thinking more of working, but my mum says "No, [go to] night school, go to finish."

While many of the young women who became pregnant while in school felt their ability to continue in school was constrained by either familial responsibilities or their physical wellbeing in school, Gisele felt compelled to leave school as a result of peer and especially teacher pressure.

Gisele lives with her parents, younger sister and newborn son. Her father is the sole income earner in the household, doing odd jobs in masonry. The family was receiving the BFP benefit until March 2014, but the benefit had been cut off by the time of the interview because Gisele missed school on occasion due to her pregnancy. Gisele was a good student; she enjoyed school and was very active in school life, organising the annual 'knowledge fair' at which she presented an exhibit on early pregnancy, the only reproductive health education provided at her school.

The final project, the knowledge fair – I arranged an exhibit on adolescent pregnancy. I arranged a lot of contraception, many things. It was awesome! There were a lot of women, so I arranged to have lots of condoms, because the father of my son arranged for some, and people from around here [the community] arranged for some. I made a chocolate cake, I made a ton of things. It was really good!

Though Gisele taught others at her school about reproductive and sexual health, and she herself was taking oral contraceptives, she became pregnant in the second year of secondary school. Her experience of being pregnant at school was largely negative. She explains that she felt ridiculed and bullied by one teacher in particular, and by her peers.

⁶⁷ These can involve long distances to travel on the bus to school, and possibly long distances to walk to the bus, as local buses do not or are unable to serve many areas of the favelas accessible only by narrow alleyways.

She [the Chemistry teacher] always treated me like I was stupid. When I got pregnant, she started telling jokes, I can't remember what they were. So I stopped caring. I'm not going to discuss that with my teacher, right? But that's how it was...

She would jokingly say "Ah dear, you got pregnant so young, you haven't even finished your studies, you haven't even finished your second year [of secondary school]. Will you *really* be able to have this baby, to raise it? Will you be able to return to your studies?" And I would say, "I will. Why not? My son won't prevent me from doing anything."

It was a provocation. And I'd sit there in silence. As a student, I must listen to those who are older than me, so I would sit quietly, I would listen graciously. The only one who supported me was the Sociology teacher. He was the only one, the rest all criticised [me], even the students. They would say, "Wow, Gisele" – because last year, I did that piece of work [the knowledge fair] on early pregnancy. It was just that I didn't know that I was pregnant with him then. I got pregnant taking the pill. And then, my friend called from class saying "they're making fun of you here." And, I said "what are they doing?" – It was because I had done the work on early pregnancy and I ended up getting pregnant as a teenager myself.

The unsupportive and stigmatising nature of the school environment led Gisele to feel increasingly isolated at school. Ultimately, the combination of social isolation and feeling physically unwell took a toll on her ability to cope with classes and to achieve good grades. When a teacher told her she should stop attending school, she decided to leave.

I was fainting often, and I wasn't coping. I only managed a good grade in Portuguese. My stomach was really large, it hurt a lot; I felt like I had a fever, I had headaches, I started fainting, so the teacher told me to stop attending school.

Gisele's sense of social isolation and the pain of the harsh judgement she has felt by many people at school as well as within her family and community were palpable throughout her interview. She cried as she described feeling 'alone' in her life, 'sad' in her experience of being a single mother and in her isolation from her friends and from school. While she has felt harshly judged by many peers at school, the profound changes in her life precipitated by her pregnancy have left her feeling isolated from a social life that largely revolved around school and being out in the community – two aspects of her life that she has had to abandon to her responsibilities as a mother. The rapid process of maturation, and the transition to motherhood and adulthood have been difficult and isolating.

Gisele insists she will return to complete her schooling and misses school a lot – perhaps again a reflection of the social isolation she feels –, a sentiment expressed by all young people who had left school, both prior to completion and having completed the basic education cycle. At the same time, she has no concrete plans as to how or when she might be able to return to school.

I won't abandon [my studies], because I have a son now. People [say] "Ah, I've had a child, so I won't be able to work, to study, to go to university." No. If I were like that, it would be over. It wasn't what I planned, but well... What I took away from there [school], what I learned, I don't think I'll forget half of it. I liked school. I learned a lot there, I miss it. If I stop, if I don't study, I will forget all of it. I miss studying, it's really awful to stay at home, it's horrible.

Overall, while she expresses a determination to pursue her aspirations, to have value, to 'be someone in life',⁶⁸ her expectations for the future seem uncertain and vague and steeped in anxiety about her new responsibilities as a mother. She notes that while her parents have been supportive of her, life as a single mother is very difficult and "it hasn't all worked out."

It's difficult being a single mother. You suffer a lot of judgment. But this isn't my shame. I'm still the same Gisele. I will raise my son, finish my studies. I will be someone in life.

It's not easy. I'm not with the father of my child. Even if he does take responsibility, he's not living with me. I'm a single mother. When you get pregnant as a teenager, it's not the same in your mum and dad's house. Everything changes. But well, my dad helped me a lot. My son's father helped me, even though we weren't together, but he likes the child, he comes here. But I suffer in a way, for being a single mother. He took responsibility, but I still live with my mum. It hasn't all worked out.

This quote alludes to Gisele's sense of incompleteness of the transition to social adulthood in the context of early pregnancy. Her comment that "when you get pregnant as a teenager, it's not the same in your mum and dad's house" illustrates both her internalisation of a socially accepted linear 'life stages' model of growth and transition towards adulthood – specifically of the circumstances under which motherhood should occur – and the shame she feels for having contravened this model.

Gisele's story also illuminates very clearly the challenges associated with being pregnant at school, and the factors contributing to trajectories out of school in the context of pregnancy. Her story is particularly illustrative of the social stigma attached to early pregnancy, despite this being a relatively common occurrence in many communities. Heilborn et al. (2007) explain the contradictory social interpretations of young people's sexuality:

There is [...] an important paradox in contemporary Brazilian culture. On one hand, there is a certain social tolerance towards teenagers' sexuality. On the other, when the proof of this sexuality is evident in pregnant bellies and child births, teenagers are said to display 'sexual permissiveness' and teenage pregnancy is seen to signal the end of a teenager's life. (Heilborn et al., 2007, p. 412)

This social rejection of 'proof of sexuality' is particularly problematic for young women, as gendered notions of sexuality mediate the social stigma attached to early pregnancy:

Young women who experience early pregnancy are not infrequently targeted by attempts to control and to label their conduct as undesirable and injurious both to their proper development and to the collective well-being. This process is connected to the persistence of a double standard for male and female sexuality in Brazilian society,

⁶⁸ See chapter 6 for elaboration.

according to which men are expected to exercise their sexuality while women must restrain it. (Heilborn et al., 2007, p. 405)

Young women's trajectories out of school precipitated by early pregnancy, and the associated experiences of social stigma and isolation, may also reflect society's gendered interpretations of sexuality and social roles.⁶⁹ Some research in Brazil links early pregnancy to women's strategies for managing and acquiring social status and mobility through the cultural meanings attached to pregnancy and motherhood (see, for example, Pantoja, 2003; Gonçalves et al., 2011). Yet, the social value attached to pregnancy and motherhood these authors note does not seem to hold true for the young women here. Their experiences of stigmatisation and early school leaving, the sense of incomplete and unclear social transition to adulthood, and the perceptions of the constraints and obstacles to their future trajectories and social mobility clearly illustrate that the social interpretation of early pregnancy in this context does not offer social value and status to these young women.

While early pregnancy was consistently perceived as problematic among the young people interviewed, the normality of it, at least in the communities in which these young people live, is reflected in a relatively high proportion (approximately one-third) of those interviewed having had a child themselves. This was more common among young women, although several young men also reported having pregnant girlfriends. Several more mentioned instances of other students at school becoming pregnant.

They go off, they go do it, they get pregnant, they hurt themselves [and their futures]. Just in my class last year, there was a girl who missed the whole year because at the beginning of the year she got pregnant and had a child. 13 years old and a mother... She lost her adolescence. To become a mother at 13 years old, without any goals at all, without any maturity... Not having finished school hurts you. I saw her and said, "Ah, are you still going to school?" and she said, "No, I stopped going to school, I'll start again next year." So she'll be a year behind. It's not very good. It's quite complicated. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

I think that these days there is a lot of discussion of sexuality in schools. But I think that it's not enough, because even with these conversations, there are a lot of cases across all of Brazil of young women getting pregnant, of getting sexually transmitted diseases, even with all the information there [at school]. So I think that it's something that needs to be touched on more. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

It [early pregnancy] is normal. It's a problem because it interferes with everything. (*Gabriel, age 17*)

⁶⁹ There appears to be a clear gendered dimension to experiences of early parenthood. Parenthood was perceived as a much clearer marker of transition to social adulthood for young men, and this transition is generally viewed as both more positive and complete. Moreover, young men perceived little impact of early parenthood on their schooling and labour market trajectories.

The experiences of early parenthood among the young people in this study are reflected in high rates of early pregnancy in both Brazil and Latin America as a whole. As a region, Latin America has the highest rate of births to young people (aged 15-19), accounting for 18% of all births, and Brazil is among seven countries globally that account for half of all births to young people (along with Bangladesh, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria and the U.S.) (WHO, 2009). While Brazil traditionally had a relatively high overall fertility rate, with women having children at a young age, greater access to education and higher labour market participation since the 1970s have led to declining fertility rates (Almeida & Aquino, 2009). Despite the overall decline, however, fertility rates among young people have remained relatively high and constant (Santos, 2012). For instance, World Bank data shows very little decline in the adolescent fertility rate (that is, births per 1,000 women aged 15-19 years old), from 69 in the period of 1995-1999, to 67 in the period of 2010-2014, compared to a decline in the overall birth rate (per 1,000 women) of 22 in 1995 to 15 in 2013 (World Bank, 2015). Drawing on data from the GRAVAD study, one of the largest studies of early pregnancy in Brazil, Almeida and Aquino (2011) find that nearly 30% of girls reported that they had been pregnant before the age of 20, and 21.4% of boys reported that they had made a girl pregnant before the age of 20.

The discourse around early pregnancy in Brazil was initially mobilised by physicians, who framed the issue as a biomedical one, drawing attention to the medical risks associated with pregnancy and labour at an early age (Heilborn et al., 2007). Psychologists subsequently emphasised the psychosocial risks associated with young people's immaturity,⁷⁰ while others have since focused on poverty as a risk factor for early pregnancy, particularly with regard to the lack of education and information about health services and contraception. Various authors have offered critiques of these public health and risk-based understandings of early pregnancy,⁷¹ arguing that pregnancy among young people in Brazil occurs in a much more complex setting and can involve considerations of social status, class, gender roles, household economic

⁷⁰ See Koffman (2015) for a critique of the neuroscientific and psychological claims on young people's emotional and neurological maturation and the concomitant 'risks' associated with early pregnancy.

⁷¹ See Tolman & McClelland (2011) for an overview of the literature conceptualising young people's sexuality as "a normative aspect of adolescent development" (p. 242); that is, understanding young people's sexuality not only in terms of risk but also in terms of the development of healthy sexuality in adulthood.

situations, and educational options (see Pantoja, 2003; Berquó & Cavenaghi, 2005; Gonçalves et al., 2011).

Though not a new phenomenon, early pregnancy has come to be seen as problematic as social expectations for young people, particularly around increasing educational attainment and the length of the schooling period, have shifted (Heilborn et al., 2007). This was clearly reflected in the experiences and social interpretations of early pregnancy in the young women's stories above. In Brazil, the association between early pregnancy and poverty is widely accepted, as is the association between early pregnancy and school leaving, lower educational attainment, and poor job opportunities (Almeida & Aquino, 2009). This association is accentuated by the fact that abortion is illegal in Brazil, resulting in both higher fertility rates among poor young women who do not have access to illegal abortion clinics, as well as a higher death rate due to failed abortions among low-income young women (Almeida & Aquino, 2011). With early pregnancy seen as a key mechanism for the intergenerational transmission of poverty, public policy has adopted a medicalised approach that focuses on the provision of contraceptives and the assumed lack of knowledge about their availability among young people (Gonçalves et al., 2011).

Despite policy efforts to increase access to contraceptives, several studies have shown that the medicalised approach to provision has not served young people well in their reproductive health needs. For instance, Juarez and LeGrand (2005) find a low rate of condom use among young men in several shantytowns in the city of Recife, particularly in early sexual relations, despite efforts by the government and NGOs to promote their use. The authors argue that the medicalised approach to the provision of condoms has proved to be an enormous barrier to access for young people (Juarez & LeGrand, 2005). Condoms are available free of charge, but only at registered health clinics, and only after receiving a medical examination, which may discourage young people. Clinics hours are often not accessible to young people who are either working or in school, and who are less likely to plan ahead. Equally, pharmacies that sell condoms are often either closed at night or not located in favelas, and, though inexpensive, the cost of family planning products may be beyond the reach of poor young people.

Similarly, in a qualitative study of a favela in the city of Belo Horizonte, Santos (2012) notes that the lack of privacy and anonymity at local health centres can be a major obstacle to

young women in accessing reproductive health treatment and information. Barriers to access included the fact that staff were from the local community and thus often knew the young women and their families; that under-age girls were required to be accompanied by their parents in order to gain access to contraceptives; and, that all patients had to be screened by a social worker where they were required to explain their reason for visiting prior to accessing treatment. Unsurprisingly then, the author finds that most early pregnancies are unplanned and sometimes occur despite knowledge and use of contraceptives.

Thus, the medicalised approach and the barriers to accessing family planning services and products have been inadequate in reaching young people in Brazil and in influencing sexual behaviour. This, combined with the fact that young people's sexuality and reproductive health remains largely taboo in Brazilian society (Heilborn et al., 2007; Santos, 2012), presents serious barriers to young people's access to family planning services and their ability to make informed reproductive health choices.

Based on the experiences of young people interviewed here, reproductive health education does not appear to be widely implemented in schools. Any mention of reproductive health and sexual education at school appeared to be anecdotal and left to individual teachers to cover at their discretion; for instance, some reported that a teacher of a particular subject, such as sociology, would sometimes 'go off topic' or 'on a tangent' about issues of reproductive and sexual education. Others reported that sexual and reproductive health is typically only dealt with once a year at a science fair (such as Gisele's case above). And still others reported not having received any teaching on reproductive and sexual health at school, although many noted the need for it.

Thus, the combination of a medicalised approach to reproductive health information and care, along with the lack of framework for reproductive health education, has left young people with little support and highly stigmatising experiences of reproductive health. Young women seem to feel the impact most acutely, particularly in terms of stigmatisation and shame as well as constraints on opportunities and future trajectories. Their resulting trajectories out of school, and the obstacles they face in returning, suggest that gender plays a key role in shaping long-term trajectories and outcomes for young female BFP beneficiaries. As the next section

shows, however, gender plays a different but also crucial role in shaping young men's schooling trajectories.

Gendered Identities, Roles and Responsibilities:

Gendered roles and responsibilities, which precipitate trajectories out of school for young women in the context of early pregnancy, impact young men's trajectories out of school in the context of (a) understandings of masculinity at school, and (b) familial relations and responsibilities.

Gendered identities and roles at school seem to shape young men's understandings of who is 'good at school,' who is smart, what roles boys and girls should play at school, as well as expectations of achievement and learning. Many young men view school as girls' domain. When asked about what activities they do at school and how they engage in these, some explained that they do not actively participate much or engage with activities in the classroom because that is 'for the girls.' Girls are perceived to be 'good at school,' implying that boys are not, and girls are seen as not only participating more in class, but also as being more suited to taking on leadership roles.

Researcher: At school, when the teachers give activities in groups, activities that require students to take initiative, to take a leadership role, who does this?

Rodrigo: That's usually the girls. They tell us what to do and we do it.

Researcher: The girls take more of a leadership role?

Rodrigo: Yes, they're more intelligent.

(Rodrigo, age 18)

Concern for boys' educational achievement, as well as the hypothesis that girls are more academically inclined and may thrive more in the typically highly structured environment at school have been noted in an extensive literature examining boys' underachievement, particularly in the context of the UK and Australia (Longlands, 2008) but also in parts of the developing world (see UNICEF's 2004 State of the World's Children (2003) for an overview; Jha & Kelleher, 2006 on selected Commonwealth countries; Plummer et al., 2008 on the Caribbean) and recently in Brazil (Carvalho, 2015).

There is indeed a gender gap in educational attainment and achievement in Brazil. Despite comparable enrolment rates among boys and girls at the beginning of the basic education cycle, by secondary school, boys show higher rates of grade repetition and leaving, such that nearly 60% of secondary school graduates are female (Carvalho, 2015). In addition, boys tend to have lower levels of academic achievement (UNICEF, 2003). This could reflect broader issues of boys' notions of masculinity at school. The most common explanation for boys' underperformance at school is their conformity to gendered identities that clash with 'feminised' education (Jha & Kelleher, 2006). Notions of femininity and masculinity and their respective qualities are socially defined, as are the behavioural patterns, roles and responsibilities that go along with these identities. Schools are social institutions organised around social values and notions of masculine and feminine (Teixeira et al., 2008), shaping boys' perceptions, behaviours and performance at school (Jha & Kelleher, 2006). Thus, traits such as enjoying academic pursuits, doing well in class, liking certain subjects (for instance, reading), or being the 'teachers' favourite' tend to be associated with femininity and are often sanctioned by boys' peer groups (Jha & Kelleher, 2006). This 'hegemonic masculinity' views school and education as feminised, implying that boys should not be academically inclined, as this would betray their masculinity (Jha & Kelleher, 2006).

In the Brazilian context, Teixeira et al. (2008) demonstrate the importance of notions of masculinities in boys' roles and behaviours at school by examining young people's academic performance in a classroom setting in Belo Horizonte. The authors argue that the ways in which boys understand and express notions of masculinity, embedded in their socialisation within broader society, lead them to behaviours that affirm these masculine identities, even at the cost of academic failure. Thus, boys tend to be more concerned with obtaining the answers than the process of learning, for instance, or expressing their dominance through disruptive behaviour. At the same time, schools may validate these notions of masculinity as simply 'boys' nature,' reinforcing gendered identities among young people regarding who is 'good at school.' Gendered socialisation may contribute to boys doing less well in school and valuing school less relative to girls, often leading them to leave school prior to completion in favour of labour market entry (Carvalho, 2015).

Young men's earlier labour market inclusion echoes some of the global research on boys' underachievement and lower educational attainment, which is at least partly attributable to the need to access employment opportunities at an earlier age than girls (Dunne & Leach, 2005). This has been confirmed in Brazil (Artes & Carvalho, 2010) and is reflected in the experiences of the young men in this study. Young men's schooling trajectories are often interrupted by the need or choice to seek employment, driven by their notions of gendered familial roles and responsibilities. Young men often described a combination of (a) feeling a need to help contribute to the household income, whether as a mutual decision undertaken in consultation with the family, or as a result of their own perceptions of household needs; and (b) feeling a need to be self-sufficient, to be responsible, seemingly both as a result of a desire to take part of the financial burden off the family and to accelerate transitions to social adulthood, to 'become an adult.' The quote from José Antonio, below, shows how these various factors contributing to decisions to leave school may coincide. He frames his decision to pursue work and ultimately leave school in terms of his sense of gendered familial roles and responsibilities to be a 'provider,' his need to explore the 'transition to adulthood,' as well as his family's economic situation.

Because my family was poor, I had to help with the monthly income, and look for my own personal independence a bit. I gave up a few things – of doing full time secondary school, of studying full time, to go work. And I gave up my leisure time because of work. So it was difficult. And this was one of the reasons that I ended up leaving school. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Gabriel also evoked both the sense of his responsibility to work and to provide for himself and therefore not burden his mother, as well as the desire for independence, suggesting the appeal of transitioning towards a marker of adulthood (i.e., labour participation).

It was me who decided to leave school. My mother tried to discourage me, but I did it and left in order to work. I wanted to provide an income for myself. I didn't want to depend on her. (*Gabriel, age 17*)

Similarly, João drew on notions of gendered familial roles and responsibilities to explain why he felt his life was improving. His role as provider was important to him and he noted the importance of providing for his mother and his wife and unborn child multiple times throughout his interview.

I'm in a better situation now [than two years ago] because I'm able to help my mum, and my mum is in a better situation now. My family is being established.

...

I don't want my child and wife to be in a bad situation. I have to plan for three people now. It's quite a responsibility. I won't abandon my wife. (*João, age 19*)

As the quotes above express, young men appear to face particular pressures, whether as a result of parental expectations or their own sense of gendered familial responsibility, to provide at least for themselves (and in turn remove the burden from their parents), if not for their entire families, from an early age. Young men often linked taking on a provider role for themselves and their families with transitions towards social adulthood, being “responsible,” “contributing to the family income.” This sense of a need to provide for the family also reflects a clear sense of interdependence between young men and their families that appears to increase with age. This interdependence stands in contrast to dominant models of growth and development based on the ‘life stages’ model, whereby young people are seen to move towards autonomous productive adulthood.

Global social change is precipitating a reconfiguration of the relationship between age and inequality in many regions, wherein children and youth are increasingly being held responsible for reproducing class status or ensuring household survival. (Jeffrey, 2010, p. 501)

Thus, poverty, combined with young men’s notions of masculinity and their gendered roles and responsibilities as providers, shapes trajectories out of school prior to completion of the basic education cycle. Almeida and Aquino (2011) confirm this in the Brazilian context, showing that boys from lower income families tend to be motivated to seek work to help support their families, and they often report difficulties balancing work and school, leading them to leave school prior to completion. In the context of the strain of balancing work and school, driven by gendered notions of identity, roles and responsibilities, the BFP may thus be insufficient to outweigh the pull of the labour market.

While the discussion of non-linear schooling trajectories and transitions has focused primarily on trajectories simply out of school prior to completion, a substantial number of the young people interviewed retain aspirations of returning to school one day, and several young men who had left school to work had already returned to complete their schooling.

4.2.2 *Perceptions of School Quality and Schooling Trajectories.*

In addition to gender, young people's perceptions and experiences of school quality, particularly teacher quality, play an important role in shaping trajectories out of school. Most of the research on early school leaving has been done in the U.S., Europe and the UK and has focused on individuals' social and academic risk factors (such as socioeconomic status, low achievement, etc.). There is emerging evidence from the developing world on school leaving,⁷² and increasing support for the role of institutional, organisational and social factors at school on student disengagement and leaving (Lee & Burkam, 2003). Specifically, there is evidence that the quality of schooling and teaching can have a strong influence on young people's decisions to leave school. For instance, in a study of school dropout in Egypt, Hanushek et al. (2006) find that students recognise the differences in quality between schools and that they make decisions to stay or leave school accordingly.

Similarly, in a study of secondary school students in the U.S., Phelan et al. (1992) finds support for the significance of teacher quality in student engagement and learning. The students in the study highlight the importance of a teacher who is caring, approachable, who provides written feedback, one-on-one assistance, and who shows interest in students' lives outside of school, in their engagement with school, and their perseverance in obtaining help. Montalvo and Roedel (1995) also find that students' level of effort and quality of work improves when students like their teacher, and their level of effort and quality of work diminishes when they dislike their teacher.

These studies show the importance students place on teachers who are encouraging and supportive of their learning by providing confidence-building feedback (Montalvo et al., 2007). Davis and Dupper (2004) argue that positive social relationships can be a key incentive for students to attend school. Such positive social relationships are built by teachers expressing confidence in students and praising them when they do well, enhancing students' motivation and laying the foundation for positive student-teacher relationships and positive learning experiences (Davis & Dupper, 2004). When students feel respected and trust their teachers, they

⁷² The term 'school leaving' (along with 'trajectories out of school') is used here, in place of 'dropout,' in acknowledgement of the fact that many young people's schooling trajectories are often non-linear.

are most likely to succeed (Davis & Dupper, 2004). Conversely, students cannot learn from teachers they do not trust; thus, poor student-teacher relationships – specifically where students feel their teachers do not care about them, are not interested in helping them to succeed or to solve problems – have been found to be the most frequently cited reason for students leaving school prior to completion (Davis & Dupper, 2004).

Lee and Burkam (2003) note that both qualitative and quantitative studies suggest that a lack of social support in school is commonly associated with students leaving secondary school prior to completion. Many other studies also note that students who are not engaged and who leave school prior to completion feel that their teachers do not care about them, that the teachers are not interested in how well they are doing at school and are not willing to help them with problems (Fine, 1987; Valenzuela, 1999). In this vein, there is evidence that positive social relationships at school constitute an important incentive for students to continue attending school, even where they are struggling academically (LeCompte & Dworkin, 1991; Lee et al., 2000).

As argued in the previous chapter, teachers who are perceived to engage with students are deemed to be ‘good teachers.’ Below, the comments from Alessandro allude to the importance of teacher engagement and positive social relationships in their schooling trajectories. Alessandro was one of the few young people interviewed who had thus far proceeded through school in a relatively linear manner, with no age-grade gap.

I work hard in my Portuguese class because I like my teacher. As I said, it’s important that someone inspire you. My Portuguese teacher speaks really well and I want to get to where he is, to be able to speak so well. I search for each word he says, each different word that he uses, I go look it up in the dictionary, to learn the meaning and then I am able to speak with more [fluency]. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Conversely, where students feel school quality is poor, especially that the teachers are not willing to help and do not create social relationships with the students, students are more likely to feel disillusioned with school and to have had non-linear trajectories through school, typically involving either long periods outside of school or leaving school prior to completion. The quotes below from young people who had left school or who had experienced significantly delayed progression through school illustrate this.

[T]here was a Chemistry teacher, she would put the topic on the board and wouldn't explain. The teacher would just throw information out [without explaining]. And if you asked for an explanation, she would explain it rudely, aggressively, and that was it. She would write the topic, she wouldn't explain anything at all. The next day she would give us a test. It made it really difficult for us. She would put the problem on the board, and [say] "solve it yourselves." (*Gisele, age 19 – out of school*)

They [the teachers] weren't interested, really. I think that they just wanted to earn their money. (*Gabriel, age 17 – out of school*)

Researcher: Do you think that your teachers are available to help you if you need it? To give help, an extra class?

Noemi: No.

(*Noemi, age 17 – 2-3 year age-grade gap*)

In the U.S., Klem and Connell (2004) find that higher levels of engagement are linked to higher test scores and attendance, which in turn are strong predictors of school completion as well as pursuit of post-secondary education and achieving economic self-sufficiency. For instance, Nívia felt very positively about her experience at school, largely due to her teachers, whom she perceived to set high expectations but also to offer the support required by students in order to succeed.

I like the teachers, they're demanding, they give good classes. I always attend. One year I was held back. I like the teaching a lot. The school is big, and the director is always there at the top. The teachers demand a lot from us. They arrive, discuss, "oh, you're like this...oh, your grade, pay attention." They are [there] for us...like "pay attention," so that we will study more, you know? (*Nívia, age 18*)

In research on student-teacher relationships and school engagement in the U.S., Davis and Dupper (2004) note that the need to feel a sense of belonging and attachment to school and teachers is particularly important for poor and minority children. This has notable implications for young BFP beneficiaries, who are likely to be from the most disadvantaged backgrounds, may be more likely to suffer from low teacher expectations, and are most likely to be ill-prepared for school upon entry (Simões, 2012). Moreover, as the previous chapter showed, the young people interviewed attend school almost exclusively on a shift basis, implying less time to allow for the development of strong student-teacher relationships.

All this evidence suggests that student-teacher relationships, and particularly students' perceptions of the quality of their teachers, are crucial to students' trajectories through and out of school, especially retention in school. Young beneficiaries interviewed generally had quite

positive views of teachers, even where their perceptions of other aspects of school quality were quite poor. At the same time, a number of young people cited a lack of teacher engagement and encouragement as a major reason why they felt students were not more motivated to do well at school, to stay in school and to go onto university. Trajectories out of school prior to completion, then, often coincided with negative perceptions of teachers, particularly where young people felt teachers were not engaged, well-trained, committed to their jobs, and cared about student learning and attendance. Moreover, poor quality school facilities further aggravated the difficulties young people faced in learning at school, and were ultimately very discouraging to continuing their schooling.

Gabriel's story illustrates the connection between negative perceptions and experiences of school and teacher quality and young beneficiaries' trajectories out of school.

Gabriel, a 17 year old young man, living in a favela in the city of Jaboatão dos Guararapes with his mother and younger brother, decided to leave school in grade 7 of the primary cycle. He says he left school to work, despite his mother trying to convince him to stay in school. He explains that he "didn't want to depend on her," he wanted to be able to support himself. Despite this, he maintains that he rarely missed classes when he was attending school and he worked hard at school.

He says he never thought about finishing school and going onto university because his teachers never talked about it. "The teachers didn't encourage us." Illustrating the problem of teacher quality discussed in the previous chapter, he describes the lack of teachers and the frequency with which classes were cancelled:

In the school where I was, there was a real lack of teachers, more than anything else. There would be two classes and then we would come home. The teachers weren't interested, really. I think that they just wanted to earn their money. They were lazy. They didn't take attendance or give homework. They just put the work on the board and that's it. If we finished the assignment, we could go home.

He goes on to describe the poor infrastructure and how that impacted his learning:

The majority of the chairs in the classroom were broken. Our classroom didn't have a door. All the disruptive students would be in the hallway, being noisy in front of the door. We couldn't pay attention to the lesson properly. They made noise, they broke things.

When asked about the facilities and opportunities that his school offered, he describes no library, computer lab or science lab, no extra tutorials to access additional help. He concludes by noting that "the teachers didn't even want to go to school..." and suggesting that if they did not want to go to school, why would he have wanted to. When

asked what he would have changed about his school and experience at school, he responds simply “everything.”

Discussing how important school had been for his life and will be for his future, he says that it is not important at all because he did not finish secondary school, but he also makes a point to note that school has not helped him in life because “the teachers didn’t give enough,” they did not teach well enough for him “to be well educated today.” He says that he would have liked to have finished school and feels “ashamed” that he has not.

Gabriel’s story illustrates perhaps one of the most important factors influencing young people’s schooling trajectories; that is, looking across individual young people’s perceptions of the quality of their schooling experiences and trajectories, there appears to be a clear link between negative perceptions of the quality of schooling, particularly of teachers’ commitment to and engagement with students, and young people’s ‘active decisions’ to leave school prior to completion (as opposed to decisions by circumstance, such as due to pregnancy or the need to work).

Gabriel’s assessment of his schooling as not having helped him in life also alludes to another aspect of quality of schooling and learning that may be critical to young people’s engagement with and trajectories through school; namely, the importance of the relevance of school to young people’s lives in retaining them in school. If young people see little application of school to their lives and their futures, whether in terms of preparation for the labour market or for life more generally, they may be less engaged in school and place less importance on remaining in school through completion of the basic education cycle.

Along with the relatively vague sense of the cognitive and non-cognitive skills young people acquire at school and the relevance of those to their lives discussed in the previous chapter, young people perceive a lack of labour market-specific preparation at school, which often leaves them feeling lost as to how to navigate their trajectories out of school and into further schooling and the labour market.

When asked about labour market preparation through schooling, young people typically highlighted basic literacy and numeracy skills as being the main preparation for their future in

the labour market. At the same time, when asked about other training or skills that would be helpful, many cited preparatory courses such as foreign language training, instruction on 'how businesses work,' as well as interview preparation.

It [school] should prepare students for interviews, to enter a company, and facilitate opportunities to enter the labour market. This is what various teachers say: that the labour market is full of vacancies, but there is a shortage of qualified people. So, school should encourage this qualification. Not everyone who studies in school has the money to do a preparatory course. But school should give opportunities, not just in the basics [core subjects] but encourage us to have more ideas, to have more of a clear objective towards the labour market. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

On the other hand, it is not clear that actual and perceived demand for some of these skills, such as foreign language training, in the labour market are well aligned. Even where young people had access to preparatory professional training courses (typically offered through government initiatives not linked to schools, such as the PRONATEC programme, or through non-profit professional entities), their relevance to future career paths was not always clear. For instance, one young man had taken a course in English during an employment internship in sales in a shoe store, explaining that it was crucial to speak English because "most tourists from different places speak English," but he then noted that he had never actually seen any English-speaking tourists.

Where young people felt that school did prepare them for their future and the labour market, they were unable to explain how, apart from noting the acquisition of basic literacy and numeracy skills. Young people's understandings of the relationship between schooling and the labour market, then, appeared to be very vague.

What I've learned in school will help me a lot in the future, in my next job. Everything that you learn, you put into practice in the future. And you look to the future and you put your knowledge into practice. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Several young people spoke of feeling lost, or perceiving their friends to feel lost, as to how to navigate the transition out of school and either towards further schooling or the labour market. They felt they either did not know how to inform themselves about career options and to determine the necessary steps to follow to achieve their goals, or they felt they did not have the skills training required to obtain a 'good job' after leaving school. In reference to either themselves or friends and colleagues, several young people lamented 'not having a goal' and 'losing their way' or 'feeling lost' in their trajectories out of school.

No, school did not prepare me for leaving. I think this is a problem. I think that in school we should have help from the teachers in figuring out which profession to follow. Because when we finish secondary school, we are really lost. “Wow, what am I going to do, where am I going? What path will I follow?” And I had this problem. So much so that when I left school, I went to do a pre-Vestibular [university entrance exam] course to get into the federal university, but I didn’t get in and then I was lost. I got a job, but I didn’t know what to do. (*Adriana, age 19*)

School should be concerned – many students are losing their way because they are not being encouraged. They don’t have a goal. But, if they were motivated, I believe that few people would lose their way in this world and there would be more qualified people in the labour market. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Overall, young people did not express a clear sense that they felt prepared by their schooling to either enter or move through the labour market in a way that would allow them access to the ‘good job’ or the ‘better life’ they seek. Indeed, as chapter 6 will show, there appears to be a substantial mismatch between young people aspirations (as well as their families’ aspirations for them) and their schooling and employment experiences and trajectories.

4.3 Conclusion.

This chapter has shown that the human capital model on which CCTs and the BFP are based simply does not hold for young beneficiaries. The notion that young beneficiaries progress through schooling and into the labour market in a linear way, that schooling will lead to human capital formation, and that the human capital assumed to be acquired through schooling can be translated into changed labour market and life trajectories appears fundamentally flawed.

Young beneficiaries rarely have linear trajectories through schooling, with several key factors shaping their movement out of school, sometimes in parallel. Gender plays a prominent role in shaping trajectories out of school. For young women, early pregnancy/parenthood is not only common, but consistently leads to leaving school due to the difficulties experienced in school during pregnancy and the demands of caring for a child. For young men, gendered identities, roles and responsibilities both at school and at home precipitate trajectories out of school prior to completion. Perceptions of masculinities at school, of who is and can be ‘good at school,’ as well as perceptions of masculinities in the home, in the need to adopt a ‘provider’ role for themselves and their families, shape young men’s schooling trajectories.

Perceptions of school quality are also a key factor shaping trajectories out of school. Poor experiences and perceptions of school quality often coincide with early school leaving. Social relationships with teachers are tremendously important to young people's views of school and their schooling trajectories. Where young people feel their teachers are not engaged and do not care about student learning and success, they are more likely to leave school prior to completion. While not all young people reporting poor experiences and perceptions of school quality attribute their decision to leave school to this fact, there is a clear link between trajectories out of school and poor school quality.

These findings have significant implications for CCTs and the BFP in that they fundamentally put in question several key aspects of schooling in the context of a CCT. On the one hand, non-linear schooling trajectories and early school leaving suggest that CCTs may not be functioning to increase the quantity of schooling received by all young beneficiaries. Rather, the cash benefit, which is meant to compensate for the opportunity cost of young people's work, may not be significant enough to outweigh the push and pull factors – such as early pregnancy, gendered identities and responsibilities, and poor experiences of schooling – at work in shaping young people's schooling trajectories to retain them in school through the basic education cycle. On the other hand, young beneficiaries' schooling trajectories also suggest that they may not be acquiring the human capital that CCTs presume they will need to pull themselves and their families out of poverty. This fundamentally questions: (a) the capacity of CCTs and the BFP to facilitate long-term poverty reduction via increased schooling; and (b) the value of educational conditionalities in ensuring the uptake of schooling.

CHAPTER 5

Young People's Labour Market Trajectories and Experiences

5.1 Introduction.

The previous two chapters have explored the link in the CCT model between schooling and human capital. The CCT model makes an equally crucial link between schooling/human capital formation and improved labour market trajectories and outcomes for young beneficiaries as the basis for long-term poverty reduction. Given the centrality of young beneficiaries' labour market outcomes to the logic of long-term poverty reduction in the CCT model, as well as the paucity of research on young beneficiaries' labour participation, this chapter helps fill this gap in our understanding of the BFP's potential to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. It examines young beneficiaries' labour market experiences and trajectories to understand the extent to which these are consistent with the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction. The empirical evidence presented here, based on qualitative data collected through interviews with young beneficiaries, shows that, as with schooling trajectories, the linear progression from school to the labour market implied in the CCT model does not hold true. Rather, young people often balance school and work in parallel or move in and out of school based on the need (or *perceived* need) to work. In addition, the ways in which young people appear to move into and within the labour market do not appear to be consistent with the improved labour market trajectories and outcomes that the CCT model foresees. Young people appear to be either unable to enter the labour market at all, or unable to enter the *formal* labour market; rather, most remain either without employment, or in casual, informal and often highly precarious employment. Rarely do young people consider their jobs to be 'good' jobs, and rarely do these jobs provide sufficient income for young people to support themselves and their families. The findings therefore

challenge the linearity of the CCT model, as well as the notion that young beneficiaries are securing the labour market trajectories and outcomes that are consistent with the goal of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

As this chapter shows, there are a variety of broader structural factors shaping young people's labour market trajectories and outcomes for which the CCT model fails to account. Specifically, the CCT model does not account for the labour market and social dynamics that shape access to employment, the availability of employment, and returns to employment. These are critical factors shaping young people's labour market trajectories and outcomes; yet, in the individualised CCT model, which sees young beneficiaries' employment outcomes as determined primarily at the individual level – that is, by individual human capital stocks – such broader structural conditions are not considered.

This chapter is organised as follows: the next section examines young people's employment trajectories and experiences, providing some of the first empirical evidence with regard to young Bolsa Família beneficiaries' labour participation, and demonstrating that it is generally not consistent with the long-term aims or structure of the BFP. Given that poverty reduction strategies must consider not only objective outcomes but also the subjective expectations and aspirations that they create, the chapter also considers young people's perceptions and expectations of employment, examining what young people consider to be 'good' and 'bad' jobs and how these ideas map onto their own experiences and aspirations. The third section then considers the broader labour market conditions that appear to shape young people's labour market trajectories and outcomes – specifically, the factors shaping access to and availability of employment, along with earnings and returns to education. Finally, the fourth section concludes with the implications of the chapter's findings for the BFP and its potential to facilitate long-term poverty reduction through changed labour market trajectories.

5.2 Young People in the Labour Market.

5.2.1 Young People's Labour Market Trajectories.

This section examines young people's trajectories in the labour market and shows that, in contrast to the linearity of the CCT model – where young people are assumed to move into the labour market *after* completion of the basic education cycle –, young people's trajectories are mostly non-linear. Many young people balance work and schooling in parallel and many ultimately leave schooling early in favour of labour participation. Table 15 shows the patterns of young people's labour market trajectories, illustrating the degree to which concurrent schooling and employment is common.

Table 15: Young BFP Participants' Labour Market Trajectories

Name	Gender	Age	School Enrolment	School Shift	Concurrent Schooling and Employment	Trajectories out of School for Employment	Trajectories out of Employment for School
Adriana	F	19	Yes (tertiary)	Morning; Afternoon	Yes	No	Yes
Alessandro	M	16	Yes	Morning; Afternoon	Yes	No	No
Anderson	M	18	No	Mix	No	No	No
Camila	F	17	Yes	--	Yes	No	No
Claúdia	F	16	Yes	Full time (3 days per week) and afternoon (2 days per week)	No	No	No
Davi	M	17	Yes	Night	No	No	No
Gabriel	M	17	No	--	No	Yes	No
Gisele	F	19	No	Afternoon	Yes	No	No
Iara	F	18	Yes	Afternoon	Yes	No	No
João	M	19	No	Night	Yes	Yes	Yes
José Antonio	M	20	No	Full time; Morning	Yes	Yes	Yes
Juliana	F	20	No	Afternoon; Full time	No	No	No
Leandro	M	17	Yes	Mix	No	No	No
Lídia	F	22	No	Night	Yes	No	No
Lucas	M	19	Yes	Night	Yes	Yes	No
Luíza	F	18	Yes	Morning	Yes	No	No
Mayara	F	19	No	Afternoon; Night	Yes	No	No
Natália	F	19	No	Night	Yes	No	No

Nívia	F	18	Yes	Afternoon	Yes	No	No
Noemi	F	17	Yes	Night	No	No	No
Rebeca	F	16	Yes	Night	Yes	No	No
Rodrigo	M	18	Yes	Night	Yes	No	No
Sofia	F	17	Yes	Night	Yes	No	No
Vanessa	F	20	No	Afternoon; Full time	No	No	No
Total: 24	Male: 9 Female: 15	Average Age: 18	Enrol.: 14 Not enrol.: 10	Full time: -- Morning: 1 Afternoon: 3 Night: 9 Mix: 9	Yes: 16 No: 8	Yes: 4 No: 20	Yes: 3 No: 21

Concurrent Schooling and Employment:

On the one hand, most young people balance(d) both school and work concurrently, and move in and out of both school and the labour market based on their families' or their own needs, or perceived needs. Concurrent schooling and labour participation is both facilitated and complicated by the multi-shift schooling schedule. On the one hand, the multi-shift system means a large portion of young people's time is not occupied by the instructional day at school; on the other hand, balancing what is often a full (or close to full) work day with school can be difficult for young people. Luiza, who worked at an events hall, explained these challenges:

For example, when I started working, I told the woman that I went to school in the morning, and I could only [work] in the afternoon and at night. She accommodated it, for example [I would go to school] in the morning, so I would come in the afternoon to arrange things and stay for the event. I would leave around midnight, get home and have to do homework, take a bath, sleep, because the next day I had to go to school. It wasn't bad, but it was tiring leaving school to go home, take a bath, eat some food, and go to work. (*Luiza, age 18*)

Most of the young people interviewed balanced school and work based on need. Indeed, the link between socioeconomic background and young people's labour participation in Brazil is well established:

Among young people that work, the youngest are the poorest. That means that the poorer the family, the earlier the young person needs to enter the workforce. These young people become a source of extra income for their families, contributing to their collective survival. (Campos, 2013, p. 3)

Similarly, an ILO (2009b) study on young people in the labour market in Brazil finds that the earlier young people enter the labour market, the more precarious their work tends to be, and the more it negatively affects their schooling and contributes to continued poverty. Moreover, Spósito (2005) finds that the proportion of young people in Brazil who combine work and school increased between 1981 and 2001, arguing that the expansion of access to education did not bring a concomitant decline in labour market participation among young people. While there is evidence that young people's labour participation either instead of or in addition to school attendance has declined (modestly) since then, it is not clear that this has been facilitated by the BFP or other CCTs (e.g., the PETI); rather, socio-demographic shifts (e.g., increased urbanisation), higher educational attainment among parents, and poverty reduction more

generally appear have played a much more significant role in the reduction of young people's labour participation (UCW Project, 2011).

Trajectories out of School for the Labour Market:

As shown in chapter 4, a substantial portion of young beneficiaries leave the cycle of basic education early, and the reasons for these trajectories out of schooling have a clear gender dimension, which is mirrored in young people's labour market trajectories. Young men's early trajectories out of school tend to be closely linked with labour participation. 'Active' decisions to leave school tend to be driven by a combination of factors related to gender, household financial needs, and often poor schooling quality and lack of engagement.

Given the relatively recent implementation of the BFP and that the young people interviewed here are in the early stages of the transition to the labour market in the CCT model, it is very early to attempt to answer the question of how the completion of secondary school shapes young people's long-term labour market trajectories. At this point, however, there appears to be relatively little difference in the patterns of labour market insertion between young people who have completed the basic education cycle and those who have not. Only one young person stood out in terms of a markedly different trajectory in school and the labour market – Adriana (age 19) completed the basic education cycle with no age-grade gap, and is now enrolled in tertiary education and is studying to become a physical trainer. The few others who had completed secondary school, had not yet secured markedly different labour market trajectories than their peers who had not completed the basic education cycle. Compare, for instance, the cases of Anderson, Gabriel, and João:

Gabriel left school at age 13, in the 9th year of the basic education cycle, to work full time with a family friend as a street vendor selling candied apples and soft drinks. Four years on, while he does not view his work as 'ideal,' he says he has worked at this for a long time and so would only leave it if something better came up.

At age 19, João is not currently enrolled in school but has plans to return. He completed up to the second year of secondary school, with an age-grade gap of one year. He previously had what he considered to be a ‘good’ job as a mechanic at a repair shop at a dock when he was living in São Paulo. Since returning to Recife, however, he has only been able to secure odd jobs as an assistant mason. The work is informal, precarious, and casual to the point that he does not consider himself to be ‘employed.’

At age 18, Anderson is one of the few young people interviewed who has completed secondary school, and without any age-grade gap. Despite this, he has not been able to find any steady employment since finishing school and has only found casual work helping his cousin do repairs to the latter’s house.

Despite the lack of differences in labour market insertion thus far, it is very possible that divergence, between young people who complete the basic education cycle and those who do not, may become apparent over time, and that those who complete secondary school will have a greater degree of labour mobility such that they are able to move into better quality jobs in the future compared to those with incomplete basic schooling. While these disparities in labour market outcomes may materialise in the future, they do not yet appear to exist among young beneficiaries.

5.2.2 Young People’s Employment.

While the CCT model tends to frame labour market entry primarily as something that occurs after completing the cycle of basic education, for most young people, it occurs much earlier in life, typically by the early years of adolescence. As chapter 4 discussed, young people tend to be motivated to enter the labour market by the circumstances of poverty and gendered notions of roles and responsibilities in the household. They tend to feel a responsibility to help address household financial hardship, either by contributing to or providing the household income or by easing the financial burden on the household by providing for themselves. The examples from Iara, who worked as a babysitter, and Luiza, who worked in at an events hall, capture the sense of interdependency within families and young people’s commitment to helping the family.

I always wanted to get a job to help my mother. I always helped when I lived there and also once I came to live here [away from her mother]. (*Lara, age 18*)

No, [I worked a lot] because my mum always needed help. My mum is married now, we suffered a lot of difficulties, so I decided to work to help my mum. (*Luiza, age 18*)

Young men's entry into the labour market is also often motivated by the sense of needing to help their families, although this is also framed by broader social understandings of gender roles in the household – that is, men as the 'providers' for the family, as those 'responsible' for the household – as well as their desire to accelerate the transition to social adulthood. These factors shaping young people's labour participation have been confirmed in the broader literature. For instance, in their study of young people in Brazil, Abramo et al. (2009) find that approximately 27% of young people aged 18-22 work because they need to for financial reasons, nearly 25% work for the independence, and about 23% work because they consider it a "personal achievement."

In addition to these factors, however, in a report on youth in Brazil, the OECD (2014) notes that the unattractiveness of the education system and shortened school days can also have an impact on why young people opt to work. The multi-shift schooling system implies that a large portion of young people's days are not dedicated to attending school. Many young people noted that with limited time spent at school, they felt that working was an important way to fill their days, while also contributing to their families. Along with (and possibly due to) early entry into the labour market, as will be shown later in this chapter, young people's labour participation tends to be marked by highly precarious, often temporary or casual employment.

Table 16 shows the patterns of employment and unemployment among young beneficiaries, as well as the types of jobs they hold and/or have held in the past. Half of young people interviewed (12) were employed at the time of the interviews, although one-quarter of them were working in temporary or casual work, implying a high degree of unpredictability and instability in the availability of work and income. Just under a third of young people were looking for work at the time of the interviews, categorised as 'unemployed' in the table below. Approximately one-fifth had never worked, categorised as 'not employed' in table 16. It is worth noting that those who had never worked were nearly all below the average age of all interviewees (18 years), with the exception of one young mother who stayed at home to care for her child.

Young people hold primarily low-skilled service sector jobs, such as a salesperson in a store or service staff in a restaurant. Many other young people's jobs are linked to family; for instance, paid babysitting for extended family members, or working in the family shop, or selling food as an ambulant street vendor. While the ways in which young people obtain employment will be discussed later in the chapter, as will the high degree of informality of their employment, the data in table 16 show that young people's patterns of labour market insertion do not fit the CCT model or its long-term aims, either in their trajectories or in the type of employment (i.e., skill level, stability) they hold.

Table 16: Young BFP Participants' Employment

Name	Gender	Age	BFP Recipient (Current/ Former/ Never)	School Enrolment (Yes/ No)	School Shift	Currently Employed/ Unemployed/ Temporary or Casual/ Not Employed ⁷³	Ever Employed	Type of Job
Adriana	F	19	Former	Yes (tertiary)	Morning; Afternoon	Unemployed	Yes	Staff in a shoe store
Alessandro	M	16	Current	Yes	Morning; Afternoon	Unemployed	Yes	Staff in a shoe store (Jovem Aprendiz – internship)
Anderson	M	18	Current	No	Mix	Temporary/Casual	Yes	Odd jobs in construction
Camila	F	17	Former	Yes	--	Temporary/Casual	Yes	Styles hair and provides decorations for local parties
Claúdia	F	16	Current	Yes	Full time (3 days per week) and afternoon (2 days per week)	Not Employed	No	--
Davi	M	17	Current	Yes	Night	Not Employed	No	--
Gabriel	M	17	Former	No	--	Employed	Yes	Street vendor – sells candied apples
Gisele	F	19	Former	No	Afternoon	Unemployed	Yes	Babysitter
Iara	F	18	Current	Yes	Afternoon	Unemployed	Yes	Babysitter

⁷³ Note that 'unemployed' refers to those who are seeking work, while 'not employed' refers to those who are not currently seeking work (typically those who have never worked).

João	M	19	Former	No	Night	Temporary/Casual	Yes	Odd jobs as an assistant mason; previously worked in mechanics repair at a dock
José Antonio	M	20	Former	No	Full time; Morning	Unemployed	Yes	Military
Juliana	F	20	Former	No	Afternoon; Full time	Not Employed	No	--
Leandro	M	17	Current	Yes	Mix	Not Employed	No	--
Lídia	F	22	Never	No	Night	Employed	Yes	Self-employed as an aesthetician (eyebrows) and re-sells beauty products from a catalogue
Lucas	M	19	Former	Yes	Night	Employed	Yes	Staff at a supermarket
Luiza	F	18	Former	Yes	Morning	Unemployed	Yes	Staff at an events hall
Mayara	F	19	Former	No	Afternoon; Night	Unemployed	Yes	Staff in a buffet restaurant
Natália	F	19	Former	No	Night	Employed	Yes	Distributes pamphlets on the street
Nívia	F	18	Former	Yes	Afternoon	Employed	Yes	Customer service staff at a utilities company (electricity provider) (Jovem Aprendiz – internship)
Noemi	F	17	Current	Yes	Night	Not Employed	No	--
Rebeca	F	16	Current	Yes	Night	Employed	Yes	Assistant in the secretary's office at school
Rodrigo	M	18	Former	Yes	Night	Employed	Yes	Painting and tire repair in an auto repair shop
Sofia	F	17	Current	Yes	Night	Employed	Yes	Babysitter

Vanesa	F	20	Former	No	Afternoon; Full time	Employed	Yes	Cleaner at a cinema; previously worked at two clothing stores, a telephone company and a Laundromat
Total: 24	Male: 9 Female: 15	Average Age: 18	Current ben.: 9 Former ben.: 14 Non-ben.: 1	Enrol.: 14 Not enrol.: 10	Full time: - - Morning: 1 Afternoon: 3 Night: 9 Mix: 9	Employed: 9 Unemployed: 7 Temporary/Casual: 3 Not Employed: 5	Ever employed: 19 Never employed: 5	

5.2.3 Young People's Perceptions and Expectations of Employment: 'Good' and 'Bad' Jobs.

In addition to the lack of attention in the CCT literature to young beneficiaries' employment trajectories and outcomes, there has been equally little consideration of their perceptions and expectations of the labour market. While poverty reduction programmes such as CCTs tend to focus primarily, or even exclusively, on the objective programme outcomes (even if in highly limited ways, as shown throughout this study), the subjective dimension of such programmes, the expectations and aspirations they may create and may or may not help beneficiaries meet are equally relevant to their 'success' and their long-term outcomes.⁷⁴ This section examines young people's perceptions and expectations of their employment, with particular attention to what they consider to be 'good' and 'bad' jobs. This provides important insight into the conditions of their current employment, and the extent to which these may or may not be consistent with the aim of improved labour market outcomes in the CCT model. In addition, young people's perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' jobs are highly relevant to shaping their expectations and aspirations of future employment and pathways out of poverty.⁷⁵

There is an extensive literature on quality of employment, ranging from early studies of job satisfaction to the more recent concept of Decent Work put forward by the ILO; yet, the matter of how to define what constitutes a 'good' job and how to measure quality in employment in evaluating labour market outcomes remains unresolved (Burchell et al., 2014). The perceptions and expectations of young people interviewed here of what constitutes 'good' employment, unsurprisingly, fits with many of the concepts associated with the Decent Work agenda (ILO, 2013b), such as adequate income, stability and security of work (and formality), dignity, respect, and lack of discrimination, and access to labour protections and social security and/or labour benefits.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, Jeffrey's (2010) research with young men in Northern India, illustrating the importance of expectations of employment and what constitutes a 'good' job in shaping young people's trajectories and pathways out of poverty.

⁷⁵ See the next chapter for elaboration.

Young people's perceptions of their jobs tend to be neither overwhelmingly positive nor overwhelmingly negative. Rather, they generally perceive their current or most recent jobs to have some positive as well as negative aspects, but overall, the positive aspects of these jobs are insufficient for most young people to view them as viable long-term employment options. Their positive perceptions of their current or most recent employment are largely based on (a) formality and the benefits, protections and working conditions that come with an employment card (*carteira assinada*); and (b) the social aspects of their jobs, namely interacting with and meeting new people and learning about the world and the labour market. The example from Lucas, who explained that his job working in a supermarket is a 'good' job because he has an employment card (meaning his job was formal) and transport and meal stipends, illustrates the importance of the labour protections and benefits in young people's perceptions and expectations of employment.

The conditions are quite excellent because you can express your opinions, you can arrive and talk. It's not one of these old kinds of businesses where you were exploited a lot. Everything according to the [labour] law. There is nothing that forces you to work, nothing at all, you're free. If you're sick, you can ask to be let off, and you're let off. If you miss work because you're sick, if you have to go to the doctor, you bring a doctor's note and your wages aren't docked. If you arrive early, if you work extra hours, you are paid. Everything is according to the rules. Uniforms, everything. (*Lucas, age 17*)

The examples below illustrate the importance of employment as an opportunity to meet new people and to learn new things:

I liked [my job], I still like it. Because staying at home and doing nothing is terrible. So I like going there, because I see people in the street, I get to talk to people, to have fun. I communicate, I meet new people, I learn more. I think that work is like a school. You enter, you start working and over time you learn new things. (*Anderson, age 18*)

The only good thing [about my job] was that I got out of the house a bit, I had a bit of fun with my friends, met new people, it was a good life experience. (*Adriana, age 19*)

And yes, I did like it. It was good there, I learned a lot there. I'm thankful to my friend who got me [a job] in that company because I didn't know how to do anything at all. And now I have work experience. I have that vision of what work is. (*João, age 19*)

The examples above from Anderson (who does odd jobs in construction) and Adriana (who previously worked in a shoe store) not only suggest that employment is seen as a way of exploring a new sphere of life but also allude to the importance of mobility and freedom of movement in 'getting out of the house.' Many young people noted that they did not leave home often (apart from attending school and going to work) and that going to work was a way to "get out of the

house a bit,” since “staying at home and doing nothing is terrible.” The limited mobility these young people have in their daily lives in their communities is likely a result of a combination of insecurity (both from crime and police violence), such that being outside the home is sometimes seen to be too dangerous, as well as the lack of public spaces in which young people might gather in their communities. Indeed, many young people alluded to feeling quite isolated and disconnected from their peers, particularly once they had left school and were not employed, or not regularly employed.

In contrast, young people’s negative perceptions of their jobs are primarily related to (a) poor working conditions, such as precarity in income or job security, or (b) not feeling respected by their boss/employer, or not feeling the job is respectable or dignified. With regard to the former, when asked what constitutes a ‘good’ job in their view, young people consistently highlighted that good jobs have a regular income. Many young people characterised their current or recent jobs as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ on the basis of a steady, regular income, and predictable working conditions. The contrast between the example above from Lucas (who works in a supermarket) on the one hand, and those below from Vanesa (who works as a cleaner in a cinema) and José Antonio (who is currently unemployed), on the other, illustrates precisely this:

A good job is a steady job, with a regular salary. It’s when you don’t worry about the possibility of being short of money. I think that would be a good job. My job isn’t a good one, no. (*Vanesa, age 20*)

I don’t think it was a good job. I don’t think it was a bad job. It was average. Because, while it had its problems, that it wasn’t well managed, it was a unique experience in life. You acquire skills, a way of thinking that is completely different. You learn a bit about politics, what your country is like, because you have to go all over [with the military]. You end up with many opinions, having learned a bit from each [region]. So it was an OK experience. Good in that you learn a lot, bad in that there is a lack of structure in everything, both in human resources and in the infrastructure. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

With regard to feeling respected by others at work, Lída (who is self-employed as an aesthetician) explained that a ‘good’ job requires mutual respect between employer and employee, while Adriana (who worked in a shoe store) noted that she did not feel respected in her former job.

When you have an employer and the relationship between the employer/employee is one that brings benefits within the company, and when the relationship is steady. This is a good job. (*Lída, age 22*)

It was stressful, everyday people called me names. (*Adriana, age 19*)

More generally, several themes emerged from discussions with the young people on what they perceive to be ‘good’ (and by association, ‘bad’) jobs. First, ‘good’ jobs are understood as ‘professional’ jobs. Below, Rodrigo (who works in the family auto repair shop) made this link between ‘good’ jobs and ‘having a profession.’

[Having] a profession is better – on a salary, with a *carteira assinada* [formal employment card]. Everything is better. (Rodrigo, age 18)

Even where young people could not identify a specific job that would be considered a ‘professional’ job, there appeared to be several key aspects to such jobs that made them both ‘good’ and ‘professional.’ As Rodrigo noted above, a ‘good’ job is in the formal sector – i.e., with a *carteira assinada*, an employment card that all formal sector workers have in order to record their employment and to give them access to employment benefits. In describing what would be a ‘good’ job, José Antonio (who was previously doing military service) expands on the importance of having a *carteira assinada* for the employment benefits it carries:

I think that a good job should [have benefits] – a dental plan, full health plan. Because you really don’t have [benefits] available [in the informal sector] if you get sick. So to return to work, you have to be in perfect health. And the public health system doesn’t have the capacity to treat everyone. If there isn’t capacity to treat you, then you won’t be cured of your illness so quickly. So I think a health plan would help a lot. It would be good for the company and for the employee. (José Antonio, age 20)

Second, beyond a formal sector job and the associated employment benefits it guarantees, ‘good’ jobs are not exploitative, offer stability of income, and are based on relationships of respect between employers and employees. As Lucas alluded to in the example above, respect is seen by many young people as a key component of a ‘good’ job, both in the employer/employee relationship as well as in the status and respect a job garners from wider society. The value of ‘having a profession,’ discussed above, may be related not only to a degree of job security and access to employment protections and benefits, but also to the perceived dignity and social respectability of a job. Indeed, the topic of dignity in the kind of job one holds was repeatedly mentioned in interviews with young people, particularly in relation to the lack of dignity associated with some jobs – namely, ones that involve cleaning. The notion of a ‘respectable’ job, and specifically the association between cleaning for other people and a lack of

respectability or dignity, may be linked to the long tradition of domestic work⁷⁶ in Brazil, particularly among low-income women.⁷⁷ These tended to be informal,⁷⁸ precarious, demanding and poorly remunerated jobs, but poor women often had few other options for entry into the formal labour market. With recent economic growth, many women have been able to move out of domestic work and into what are seen to be better quality jobs in industry and the service sector (Gallas, 2016). Many young women's expectations of their labour market opportunities appeared to have also shifted. There is a clear contrast between, on the one hand, the jobs that the young women aspired to and expected in their near and long-term futures, and on the other hand, the jobs to which their mothers and grandmothers had access. The perception among many young women was that domestic work, or indeed work that involves cleaning more generally, is demeaning work and does not constitute a 'respectable' or 'dignified' job.

Working in the supermarket, you work all day long, it's animal's work. My sister tried to work in the supermarket... She was in training, but she couldn't stand it because the woman would send her to stand at the cash register for only half an hour, then she would send her to clean the floor. It was over there in [a wealthier nearby community]. My sister had to clean the whole store, from the entrance all the way to the back of the store, even though the woman was a believer [of the same religion] – she pretended to be a believer, but she wasn't. She humiliated my sister. She sent her to clean, wash, and while she was cleaning, she didn't even eat lunch that day. She left the store crying. There was no structure. The woman treated the employees like dogs. And my sister couldn't stand it. She left there crying at 11pm at night. She arrived here at midnight, crying, anguished. And she still had to finish her studies. (*Gisele, age 19*)

It is clear from Gisele's comments, as well as from other interviews, that young women feel their lives will be different and they will have access to better jobs than their mothers and grandmothers did; that is, a job that is seen as more 'respectable' and 'dignified' than a job that involves cleaning for other people. Similarly, the example below from Iara, who works as a babysitter, echoes the 'shame' associated with the idea of having to clean the floor:

I would [take] any job. For example, I was talking to the mother of a friend. She said that their [financial] situation is really difficult and if it was up to her, she would get jobs for all her daughters. So I said if anything comes up there, any opportunities for me, I would take it. Then when I was talking to my friend, she said "I wouldn't take this job. I would be ashamed, because you have to clean the floor." I told her "Any job is worthwhile, and if a job comes up there, I would take it." (*Iara, age 18*)

⁷⁶ The term 'domestic work' is used here within the ILO's definition of 'domestic workers' (see ILO, 2013a). Domestic work in Brazil often includes a range of duties, from house-cleaning, to childcare, laundry, cooking etc.

⁷⁷ In absolute terms, Brazil has the largest number of domestic workers in Latin America and the sector has grown steadily in recent decades, with the number of domestic workers increasing from 5.1 million to 7.2 million between 1995 and 2009 (ILO, 2013a). The majority of domestic workers are women (93%) and more likely to be classified as black in the National Household Survey (ILO, 2013a).

⁷⁸ Many of these domestic jobs have been formalised in the last decade, however.

Finally, a ‘good’ job is generally understood to be one that requires completion of the basic cycle of education.

Good jobs require you to have studied, to have finished school. (*Mayara, age 19*)

It’s hard to say [if there are good jobs available], but I think there are, I think so...But you have to be trained for these jobs because if you arrive [at a job] without knowing what you’re doing, you won’t succeed. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

This association between ‘good’ jobs and the completion of the basic cycle of education fits well with the linearity of the CCT model – that is, that school completion will ensure better labour market outcomes and that young people’s trajectories proceed from schooling towards the labour market. This linearity and the idea that completing the basic education cycle will ensure access to a ‘good’ job – a job that will lift young people out of poverty – has clearly been internalised by young beneficiaries. Yet, young people’s early trajectories out of school and the broader structural social and economic conditions shaping their labour market trajectories do not suggest that they are likely to secure these ‘good’ jobs that will lift them and their families out of poverty.

5.3 The Political Economy of Young People’s Labour Market Experiences and Trajectories.

CCTs not only make explicit links between young people’s employment and poverty reduction, but in doing so, fail to account for the structural conditions that shape their labour market trajectories and outcomes. There are a variety of factors that would seem critical in shaping young people’s employment and the extent to which this may or may not be consistent with long-term poverty reduction; namely, the labour market conditions shaping young people’s access to employment, the availability of employment in the labour market (and *to* young beneficiaries), and returns to employment. Drawing on empirical data from interviews with young beneficiaries and well as broader macro-level data available for Brazil, this section examines these structural conditions shaping young people’s employment.

5.3.1 Access to the Labour Market.

As this chapter and others have argued, the theory of change in the CCT model is based in human capital theory, which links human capital with labour market outcomes. This positive association between human capital and employment has been widely studied (see, for instance, Davis & Moore, 1945; Mincer, 1958; Becker, 1962; Becker & Chiswick, 1966; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004), and there is evidence linking higher levels of education and higher rates of labour participation, employment and compensation.⁷⁹ Based on this evidence, the CCT model sees labour market outcomes as directly linked to young people's human capital stocks; thus, conditionality ensures the uptake of schooling and the formation of human capital, which in turn shapes labour market trajectories and outcomes. As such, this model takes account of only one of a variety of factors that may contribute to shaping young people's labour market trajectories and outcomes. The following sub-sections explore other factors and conditions that appear to contribute to shaping young people's labour market outcomes.

Human Capital versus Social Capital:

In line with this logic in the CCT model, as well as broader discourses at the international level⁸⁰ around the importance of schooling for social mobility, there is a strong belief among young BFP beneficiaries in the importance of human capital and schooling, and specifically of the completion of secondary and/or tertiary education, in determining labour market trajectories and outcomes and access to 'good' jobs. The dialogue below with Leandro illustrates a near universal sentiment among the young people interviewed – that, if 'you have not gone to school, you are nothing,' and that schooling is key to accessing jobs in the labour market.

Researcher: Do you think that school is important to getting a good job?

Leandro: It's fundamental. Because if you don't go to school, you're nothing. Here in Brazil, where we live, it's a precarious situation. But, well, if you haven't gone to school, you won't get a job. You will see, even a street-sweeper these days needs to at least have completed secondary school.

(Leandro, age 17)

⁷⁹ This is true at least of developed countries. Bassi et al. (2012) note that the association between human capital and employment has not been as clearly established in the literature on Latin America.

⁸⁰ For instance, the MDGs and SDGs, the Education for All agenda, etc.

Yet, there is very little evidence that (a) young people and their families see the value of schooling in the skills or human capital it should (at least, *in theory*) impart, but rather, in the credentials acquired upon completion of a cycle of education; and (b) human capital, or even educational attainment, is particularly relevant in shaping young people's access to jobs in the labour market.

As discussed in chapter 3, young beneficiaries often do not see much relevance in the schooling they receive to their future or to the labour market. Young beneficiaries' understandings of the relationship between schooling, human capital acquisition, and the labour market appear to be very vague, and generally limited to 'school is important for the future' and 'we learn a lot at school,' as shown in the examples from various young people below.

We learn a lot of things [at school]. And school is also a space that leads us into the future, including towards our dreams. I think that studying is one of the main steps towards the future, a good future, an excellent future. And your studies lead to the labour market. You have to get a good job and for this you need qualifications. And where do qualifications come from? From studying. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

School is important, isn't it? It's top priority. I learned a lot too. There are a lot of good benefits, they taught a lot too. (*Natália, age 19*)

They [the teachers] are preparing me to grow in life, to be someone in life, in the future. Everyone wants to be a different professional. I think it [school] helps because there are a lot of things at school. Then there are a lot of occupations that a person can be. (*Claudia, age 16*)

More commonly, young people perceive the importance of school to lie in the credential acquired – that is, the completion of a course or cycle of education – and therefore the access to labour market opportunities that it secures, rather than in the acquisition of skills (alternatively, human capital) that would expand access to the labour market and 'good' jobs.

The important thing is that I finish [school]. [Otherwise], it's difficult to get a good job. (*Gabriel, age 17*)

I think that if I had finished school that that would be the biggest factor. It would help in getting a job. Good jobs require you to have finished school. (*Mayara, age 19*)

You have to do some kind of qualification course because every job these days requires it. (*Gisele, age 19*)

I think it is a question of opportunities. I think it is indeed a question of qualification, if you are qualified to make the best of the opportunities. I think it does not guarantee a good job, but at least you can have the opportunity to have an experience. [Finishing secondary school] is more about entering the job market. You have to have a level of schooling to get a job. So I think that normally someone who has completed secondary school has more opportunities. And they are more likely to be selected [for a job]. (*Lidia, age 22*)

[School helped to get a job], more or less. Now, at work, I don't use a lot of things that I learned in school. But it helped me get in. (*Vanesa, age 20*)

This may be at least partly explained by the lack of relevance that young people see in school curriculum for their everyday lives and their futures, as well as the poor quality of schooling and learning, but it may also be that few young people have experience with accessing labour market opportunities based on *human* rather than *social* capital. Despite the strong belief in the notion that schooling (and by implication, human capital) is key to greater access to employment, especially to ‘good’ jobs, social capital and social networks appear to be much more influential in shaping young people’s access to the labour market.

As table 17 shows, most young people have gained access to labour market opportunities through social, rather than human, capital. Moreover, even in the few cases where social networks did not factor into young people’s access to their jobs, it is also not clear that human capital played a particularly important role either. For instance, access to the labour market in the cases of internships and mandatory military service is arguably more a matter of established work placement programmes rather than evidence of young people’s human capital expanding their access to labour market opportunities.⁸¹ And indeed, in all three cases where young beneficiaries have held internships, they report having been referred by a friend or family member.

⁸¹ For instance, the internships held by young people here were accessed through social networks, and military service is mandatory for young men based on age.

Table 17: Young Participants' Access to the Labour Market

Name	Gender	Age	Currently Employed/ Unemployed/ Temporary or Casual/ Not Employed	Type of Job (Current or Most Recent)	Access to Labour Market	
					Social Capital	Human Capital
Adriana	F	19	Unemployed	Staff in a shoe store	Referred by a friend	
Alessandro	M	16	Unemployed	Staff in a shoe store (Jovem Aprendiz – internship)		Jovem Aprendiz (internship programme)
Anderson	M	18	Temporary/Casual	Odd jobs in construction	Works for a cousin	
Camila	F	17	Temporary/Casual	Styles hair and provides decorations for parties (local)	Works for an aunt	
Claúdia	F	16	Not Employed	--	--	--
Davi	M	17	Not Employed	--	--	--
Gabriel	M	17	Employed	Street vendor – sells candied apples	Works for an ‘uncle’ (i.e., close family friend)	
Gisele	F	19	Unemployed	Babysitter	Worked for sister-in-law	
Iara	F	18	Unemployed	Babysitter	Worked for a neighbour	
João	M	19	Temporary/Casual	Odd jobs as an assistant mason; previously worked in mechanics repair at a dock	Works for an uncle; previously, referred by a friend for mechanics job	
José Antonio	M	20	Unemployed	Military		n/a (mandatory military service; previously, internship)
Juliana	F	20	Not Employed	--	--	--

Leandro	M	17	Not Employed	--	--	--
Lídia	F	22	Employed	Self-employed as an aesthetician (eyebrows) and re-sells beauty products from a catalogue	n/a	n/a
Lucas	M	19	Employed	Staff at a supermarket	Referred by an uncle	
Luiza	F	18	Unemployed	Staff at an events hall		Saw an advert for a job in the shop window, went in to speak with employer
Mayara	F	19	Unemployed	Staff in a buffet restaurant	n/d	n/d
Natália	F	19	Employed	Distributes pamphlets on the street		Hired while passing by on the street
Nívia	F	18	Employed	Customer service staff at an utilities company (electricity provider) (Jovem Aprendiz – internship)		Jovem Aprendiz (internship programme)
Noemi	F	17	Not Employed	--	--	--
Rebeca	F	16	Employed	Assistant in the secretary's office at school	Referred through a friend who also works in the office	
Rodrigo	M	18	Employed	Paining and tire repair in an auto repair shop	Family-owned business	
Sofia	F	17	Employed	Babysitter	Works for sister	
Vanesa	F	20	Employed	Cleaner at a cinema; previously worked at two clothing stores, a telephone company and a Laundromat	Referred by a friend to current job	

As discussed in chapter 1, there is an extensive literature that critiques the individualistic approach in human capital theory, arguing that it ignores the social context that shapes labour market opportunities (Loury, 1981; Portes, 1998) and sees access to the labour market as mediated by social connections and networks. Of particular relevance for the young people interviewed here is the critical importance of relationships with family and friends to life in poor urban communities, as has been shown elsewhere (e.g., Stack, 1974). This was evident in the interviews with young people, as described by Iara and others below:

I think that one finds a job with the help of a friend, a relative. You have to know someone to get a job these days because it is very difficult. I have already left my CV in a lot of places, but I don't have a job yet. Someone has to refer you. You have to have a lot of contacts, you know someone and they say "hey, someone needs that person," and then they refer you. But I stay at home mostly, so I think that makes it difficult [to have a social network]. (*Iara, age 18*)

[Getting a job] depends on others. It's connections. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

[Social connections are important] in every sense. Because my mum was working, then she left her job, so then my grandmother talked to my uncle to get her a job where my uncle works. [I]t was the same with my brother. (*João, age 19*)

Social networks are very important. Around here we have a habit of saying "he who has connections, has everything." For example, I did a short internship with the municipality. Why? Because I have a colleague at secondary school who works there. So I managed to get it through her. She recommended me. I managed to get it because I knew her. And I'm trying to do this again. I'm talking to everyone I know, even trying to expand my contacts to be able to get a good job for my level of schooling. I have already distributed my CV, phoned various companies without knowing anyone, which is even harder. I've done everything I can do, but it's still really difficult. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Social networks can be limited to a relatively small geographical area of the city and therefore limit young people's knowledge of opportunities beyond a particular area and of the ways in which to access them, as Stack (1974) has shown. As the quotes below illustrate, the social networks on which young people draw are quite limited, both in terms of social connections (which are largely limited to family and close friends) and geographically (e.g., neighbours, members of church – who all live nearby).

My friend told me about it and I went there to do the interview and got the job. (*Adriana, age 19; worked in a shoe store*)

[M]y classmate was working there, my friend was working there, and I asked her, and she told me "they are in need of people to work there, go there." So I went, I took my work card, I took it to places to get it signed, took my contract, and I started to work. It's been four months. (*Rebeca, age 16; works as an assistant in the secretary's office at school*)

Family, friends, colleagues can [help], they are the [people who] influence work as well. Along with friends who live nearby and who find work, and then you always look for the opportunity "Look, when an opportunity comes up there, let me know." And then they say "No, write your CV and we'll take it there."

Right, and that's how you get a job. Always, when I need a job, my family says "No, I know of one, your cousin works over there, talk to him and he will get you a job there." (*Alessandro, age 16*; currently unemployed, previously worked in a shoe store)

It [I found my job] was through another member of the church, who works in the administrative division. He said that they were looking, I went and gave my CV, and then the company called. (*Nívia, age 18*; works at an electrical company)

I never thought it would be very difficult [to get a job] because the company where my cousin works is always looking for people, and the manager is a good friend of his. So [I would say to my cousin] "talk to him," and he would tell me when to bring my documents, I would take them to him, and I'd start work at the company. (*Anderson, age 18*; does odd jobs in construction)

[My friend] had worked there for a while, he saw that I was unemployed and asked "do you want to work with me?" And I said "work in what?" And he explained to me what he did there. And I said "yes, I'll go." And so I went there one day, it interested me because I like these kinds of things, messing around with mechanics. [A]nd I became engaged in the field. (*João, age 19*; does odd jobs as an assistant mason)

Portes (1998) notes that the importance of social capital in the form of familial networks for immigrant families as a way of compensating for limited social networks is well established. This may also be the case in other contexts of marginalisation, such as for the young BFP beneficiaries and their families interviewed here, where the social capital offered by family is clearly much more important than broader networks of friends, neighbours etc. This can be seen in the 'social capital' column in table 17, but was also evident in interviews, where young people tended to cite family as much more important than friends or other acquaintances when asked who they would turn to (or have turned to) for help in finding a job.

As Morrow (2001) highlights, Bourdieu's emphasis on the family as a site of social reproduction suggests that young people's reliance on family for information about and access to jobs may contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities. In the context of relative social and geographical marginalisation, the importance of social networks in shaping young BFP beneficiaries' knowledge of and access to labour market opportunities may represent a challenge to the changed labour market trajectories inherent to the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction. If young beneficiaries' access to the labour market is mediated primarily by social networks within the same marginalised contexts in which they have always lived, it is difficult to imagine that many will gain access to opportunities outside of this context. At this point in young people's labour market experiences, there appears to be very little link between human capital and labour market access. Thus, given the near complete reliance of young beneficiaries on social networks for access to the labour market, increasing human capital may be unlikely, or insufficient, to have much influence on labour market trajectories and outcomes.

Other Barriers to Access:

In addition to the role of social networks, the CCT model also fails to account for other broader structural factors that shape young people's labour market access. For instance, as discussed in the theoretical framework in chapter 1, the role of discrimination in mediating labour market access is well established in both the wider literature on labour markets as well as in Brazilian labour markets.

Among the young people interviewed, there was generally a recognition that racial discrimination in hiring exists; yet, very few young people seemed to feel they had experienced or even witnessed it themselves. The dialogues and comments below illustrate this acknowledgement of the existence and pervasiveness of racial discrimination as a barrier to accessing both education and the labour market, but equally the common perception that this is something that happens to someone else.

Lucas: [Racial discrimination] happens a lot. There is nowhere where it does not happen.

Researcher: Have you ever experienced any kind of discrimination?

Lucas: No, no.

(Lucas, age 19)

Researcher: Do you think that racial discrimination impedes people from getting a job?

Sofia: Sometimes, yes.

Researcher: Has this ever happened to you?

Sofia: No.

(Sofia, age 17)

Researcher: Have you ever suffered any discrimination?

Claudia: No, thank God, no.

Researcher: Do you think that race plays a role in who is selected for a job?

Claudia: I think so. For example, there are universities where the majority is white. And if there is a black person, people look at each other, they give weird looks.

Researcher: Do you think that you are going to suffer that when you get into university?

Claudia: I don't know. I hope not, because colour, race, sex don't matter. All these things do not matter. If you want to study there, so try to help others. That's what I think.

(Claudia, age 16)

Leandro: Look, if I have suffered discrimination, I didn't know about it.

Researcher: Will you face any discrimination in university?

Leandro: For sure. Of this I am sure. There is no question that I will go there, I will enter university, but I will suffer from prejudice. No, it's not being negative, it's reality. Because these days, we see these things more. People who are well educated suffer from prejudice.

(Leandro, age 17)

Researcher: Do you think that racial discrimination is also a problem that prevents people from getting jobs?

Luzia: It depends. I think that it is.

Researcher: Have you ever experienced this?

Luzia: Never, thank God. I think it doesn't make any sense. Because, if I am white, for example, and he is black, there shouldn't be discrimination. We are all made of flesh. We are born of the same thing. It's something illogical. You can be the colour of coal, and you can be the colour of milk. But we are all humans. We are here to work, not so that "you are black, you can't work," and "you are very white, you can work."

(Luzia, age 18)

I have never suffered [discrimination], but it is there, mainly against black people. I have one friend that has suffered a lot of prejudice in his job. I have never witnessed discrimination, but he always told me that he was excluded. I don't understand why they do that. It prevents him [from getting a good job]. He always tries, but there was always this issue. *(Vanesa, age 20)*

I see that in society there is a lot of discrimination towards people with darker skin. There is discrimination but I have never been discriminated against. *(Anderson, age 18)*

The association of physical beauty with white skin and light hair and the perception that this is seen as more desirable by employers in public-facing, customer service-oriented jobs was evident in several young people's descriptions of how they perceived racial discrimination to manifest in the labour market.

The issue of race, of discrimination, I think it's a problem, principally in jobs with the public, because the first thing that employers say is that appearance is everything, that the client is always right etc... Obviously they [employers] will prefer a blond receptionist over a dark one like me. I think this has happened [to me] various times. Because the manager of the hotel thinks "here, it's about appearances." When a tourist arrives, they want to be welcomed, they want to be understood. [B]ut they also want to feel comfortable there, they want to find it pretty, attractive. And [the manager] thinks that tourists, that clients find someone with lighter skin more attractive than someone with darker skin and more unruly [i.e., *black*] hair.

In most cases, there is [a preference for white people]. Not just for getting along with colleagues, because I think that people, even in Brazilian culture, they want to be with people with a nicer appearance, or with lighter skin, of a better socioeconomic status. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

[Discrimination] prevents a lot. Particularly in Brazil, since, as we are seeing, there is a lot of news about racism. There are companies that, because of someone's manner, their body...that don't accept women. Or [they want] a nice body. So if you are an ugly person, they send you away. So I think this is a real problem. (*Anderson, age 18*)

The disconnect between the perception of the existence of racial discrimination, on the one hand, and the perception of not having experienced or witnessed it oneself, on the other, is perhaps rooted in the so-called myth of racial democracy.

Although Brazilians recognize racism's existence, many of them believe that it has little consequence for people's life, and that individual merit prevails over skin colour. They believe that study, hard work and initiative are the main factors that lead to a person's advancement in society, regardless of race and even of social origins. This mix of beliefs mirrors well the so-called ideal of 'racial democracy' – the self-representation of Brazil as a country without racism and a racial divide. Many Brazilians have a sincere commitment to this ideal, even those who might practice racial prejudice. There are others, however, who regard the ideal of racial democracy as a myth, divorced from the everyday experience of Black Brazilians. (Osório, 2008, p. 2)

This, along with the complicated nature of race and colour in Brazil, illustrates the difficulties associated with establishing the exact role that racial discrimination may play in shaping access to and/or perceptions of the labour market at the micro-level. While racial discrimination may indeed be a relevant factor shaping young people's access to the labour market – either in the form of prejudice on the part of employers in hiring decisions or on the perceptions and aspirations of young people entering the labour market – it is difficult to untangle the nuances of perceptions of colour and how these manifest in expanding or limiting labour market access at the micro-level. Moreover, as the discussion in chapter 1 suggests, racial disadvantage is rooted in a complex legacy of a range of persistent social inequalities that shape education and labour market experiences. Nonetheless, Osório's (2008) findings that racial discrimination is most relevant for groups for whom a particular outcome is on the verge of becoming commonplace suggest that young BFP beneficiaries – who are among the the first generations in their families to gain a basic level of literacy – may face more obstacles in terms of racial discrimination over the course of their labour market trajectories than they currently perceive.

Beyond racial discrimination, young beneficiaries perceive discrimination based on the neighbourhoods in which they live to be not only a wider problem in society, but one that some have experienced personally and that they perceived to limit their access to education and the labour market.

I think that your neighbourhood [can prevent you from getting a job]. I think that it will always have [influence]. Just because someone lives here, others worry. It would be better [if there were more jobs in this community] because it's complicated for those of us who live here. It's complicated when others know that this is your neighbourhood, that you live in Vila Santa Maria. (*Vanesa, age 20*)

People from communities [favelas] are discriminated against a lot because they live in a favela. (*João, age 19*)

Just because someone lives in a favela doesn't make them a "favelado" [favela/slum-dweller, with negative connotation meaning uneducated, impolite, dishonest]. Everyone has their own way of being, their own way of dressing. Everyone dresses the way they are able to. There are people who are rich, who have money to waste, while the poor are counting their pennies. (*Luíza, age 18*)

Adriana: I think that this [where one lives] can really prejudice [getting a job] because if a person is looking for a job, for example a nutritionist, and they go to a hospital, and there's a candidate from Boa Viagem [a wealthy neighbourhood in Recife] and a candidate from Morro da Boa Vista, of course they will choose the candidate from Boa Viagem. That's what I think. Because in many people's minds, we don't have the ability [to do the job]. I think this is an obstacle, yes.

Ana (Adriana's Mother): Very much. I have a brother who has post-secondary education and he always put his girlfriend's address who didn't live in Morro da Boa Vista. Because he said this was a major factor. He would arrive and say that he lived somewhere else...

Adriana: That's the prejudice that exists. People think that we aren't capable.

Ana (Adriana's Mother): He never gave his address here. He always put her address. [So that they would] at least look at his employment, his training, these things. He was able to [have the conversation] as opposed to saying "I live in Morro da Boa Vista" and then they would take someone from another neighbourhood.

Adriana: I think it's just that that would impede getting a job, if I said I lived in Morro da Boa Vista.

(*Adriana, age 19*)

Few young people saw gender as a barrier to accessing the labour market in terms of discrimination. Nonetheless, gender plays a clear role in shaping labour market access for young beneficiaries; namely, through early parenthood and the lack of affordable childcare options that would allow young mothers to enter the labour market. Indeed, many women are neither in education, employment or training (NEET) and this is largely due to childcare and domestic responsibilities. There is clearly a need for childcare options in both the schooling system and the labour market in order to facilitate greater female participation (and completion, in the case of schooling). Beyond the issue of access, there is clear evidence of gender gaps in employment

and wages in the Brazilian labour market, which may also serve to discourage labour participation, where, even if childcare options were available, labour earnings may be of insignificant value after the cost of childcare.

Thus, in contrast to the CCT model, there are clearly a host of other factors beyond human capital shaping young beneficiaries' access to the labour market. Most significantly, social networks are critically important to young people's labour market access, but discrimination based on locality and race may also be relevant. There is evidence of a gender gap in employment and wages in the Brazilian labour market, although it is not clear that explicit gender discrimination plays a significant role in limiting access to the labour market for young beneficiary women. Rather, their access to the labour market does appear to be mediated along a gender dimension, but one rooted in early parenthood and traditionally gendered domestic roles within the household.

5.3.2 Availability of Employment.

In addition to access to the labour market, the CCT model assumes not only the availability of jobs, but more importantly, of jobs that are of sufficient quality to lift young people out of poverty and to sustain this over the long-term. There are several dimensions of the availability of employment that are worth examining here: both the availability of jobs and the quality of those jobs. As this section shows, labour market conditions are not favourable to the availability of quality jobs for young beneficiaries. With high levels of segmentation in the labour market, young beneficiaries appear to face labour market conditions that are not particularly conducive to facilitating the improved employment outcomes that would be consistent with the BFP's aim of long-term poverty reduction. Rather, the jobs available to young people are, in large part, informal, precarious, casual jobs that offer little stability in income or pathways to jobs that would indeed lift them out of poverty.

Employment and Unemployment:

From the mid-2000s, labour market conditions improved, with falling unemployment rates and increasing formalisation and wages. The unemployment rate in the six metropolitan regions included in the *Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego* (PME – or, Monthly Employment Survey)

declined from 11.5% in 2004 to 5.2% in 2011 (Cazes & Verik, 2013). The decline in the unemployment rate was driven by robust job creation, notably in the formal sector: between 2003 and 2010, 15.3 million formal jobs were created in Brazil (Cazes & Verik, 2013). Increased formalisation was a result of a positive macroeconomic environment, better incentives in the taxation and social security systems, improved labour inspection, reduced demographic pressures, and increased educational attainment (Cazes & Verik, 2013).

The overall gains since the mid-2000s mask challenges for certain groups, however, namely young people and those with low levels of educational attainment. While employment rates for young people (age 15-24 years old) are relatively high in Brazil compared to the OECD average, at 50.4% compared to 37.8% in 2012, this is largely a reflection of the fact that young Brazilians are less likely to be in school than their OECD counterparts (OECD, 2014). Similarly, unemployment rates for young Brazilians are relatively low, and in fact were lower than the OECD average at 14.6% compared to 20.3% in 2012. At the same time, young people have substantially higher rates of unemployment compared to adults. For instance, according to national household survey data (*Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios* – PNAD), the unemployment rate for 15 to 24 year olds was 16.3% in 2011, compared to 5.7% for 25 to 49 year olds and 2.8% for those over the age of 50 (Corseuil et al., 2013a). The OECD (2014) similarly notes that while young people (age 15-24) represented just under one-quarter of the working-age population in Brazil in 2012, nearly half (46.3%) of the unemployed were young. In addition, the proportion of young neither in employment, education nor training (NEET) is considerably higher than the OECD average (OECD, 2014), estimated at 16% of 19-year old young men and 30% of young women in 2008 (Cazes & Verik, 2013).

Table 18 shows the unemployment rate for different age groups in both Recife and Brazil; note the higher rates of unemployment among the young (those aged 15-17 and 18-24 years old), the higher rates of unemployment among the young in Recife as compared to the rest of Brazil, as well as the increases to youth unemployment since 2010.

Table 18: Unemployment Rate by Age (2010-2016)

Region	Age	Jan. 2010	Jan. 2011	Jan. 2012	Jan. 2013	Jan. 2014	Jan. 2015	Jan. 2016	Change (2010- 2016)
Recife	15 to 17 years	31.9%	22.5%	14.7%	20.2%	41.2%	33.1%	45.9%	+14.0%
	18 to 24 years	20.2%	18.4%	15.0%	13.0%	15.5%	17.3%	22.9%	+2.7%
	25 to 49 years	7.4%	5.8%	4.7%	6.1%	6.3%	5.5%	10.1%	+2.7%
	50+ years	1.9%	1.7%	1.0%	1.2%	2.5%	2.1%	4.0%	+2.1%
Brazil (average for 6 metropolitan regions in PME)	15 to 17 years	29.4%	24.3%	23.8%	22.9%	29.6%	29.2%	38.3%	+8.9%
	18 to 24 years	15.6%	14.1%	11.9%	12.5%	11.4%	12.9%	18.9%	+3.3%
	25 to 49 years	5.9%	4.8%	4.6%	4.5%	3.7%	4.3%	6.5%	+0.6%
	50+ years	2.7%	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%	1.8%	2.2%	3.2%	+0.5%

Source: Compiled by author with data from IBGE (PME, 2016)

Thus, young people in Brazil face substantial difficulties finding a job. The OECD (2014) report mentioned above notes that young Brazilians on average tend to have more difficulty and take longer to find their first jobs than their counterparts in other OECD countries, and these jobs tend to be more precarious, often in the informal sector, with high turnover and low wages. In addition, young people's employment tends to be more sensitive to changes in economic conditions. Corseuil et al. (2014) estimate that a 1% decline in GDP in Brazil is associated with a 0.9% increase in young people's unemployment, compared with only a 0.45% increase in adult unemployment. Young people looking to enter the labour market for the first time are especially vulnerable to fluctuations in the economic cycle (Garcia et al., 2012). The recent deterioration

of economic conditions in Brazil would therefore appear to be problematic for many young people in/entering the labour market. This is likely the case for young BFP beneficiaries, who face another layer of disadvantage in the labour market: lower levels of educational attainment.

As table 19 shows, unemployment rates are higher amongst those with some or complete secondary education, and, as table 20 shows, those with some or complete secondary education make up the largest proportion of the unemployed population.

Table 19: Unemployment Rates for Different Education Levels (2010-2016)

Region	Education Level	Jan. 2010	Jan. 2011	Jan. 2012	Jan. 2013	Jan. 2014	Jan. 2015	Jan. 2016	Change (2010-2016)
Recife	No schooling to less than 8 years	6.5%	5.4%	4.2%	5.7%	6.6%	5.5%	8.9%	+2.4%
	8 to 10 years	10.1%	7.8%	5.5%	6.9%	7.5%	8.2%	12.2%	+2.1%
	11+ years	9.0%	7.7%	6.3%	6.4%	7.6%	6.7%	10.6%	+1.6%
Brazil (average for 6 metropolitan regions in PME)	No schooling to less than 8 years	5.6%	4.6%	4.2%	4.4%	3.9%	4.2%	6.0%	+0.4%
	8 to 10 years	9.0%	8.0%	7.4%	7.6%	6.7%	7.1%	10.3%	+1.3%
	11+ years	7.3%	6.0%	5.4%	5.2%	4.5%	5.1%	7.3%	0%

Source: Compiled by author with data from IBGE (PME, 2016)

Table 20: Unemployed Population by Education Level (as a percentage of total unemployed) (2011-2013)

Education Level	2011	2012	2013
Unemployed with primary education	34.1%	27.4%	25.4%
Unemployed with secondary education	47.2%	39.8%	41.6%
Unemployed with tertiary education	12.0%	6.5%	6.6%

Source: Compiled by author with data from World Bank (2016)

Note the substantial increase in unemployment rates for those with 8 to 10 years of schooling, as well as the higher rates of unemployment in Recife compared to the rest of Brazil. The increasing and higher rate of unemployment for those with 8 to 10 years of schooling, and even for those with complete secondary school, is of particular relevance to the availability of jobs for young BFP beneficiaries, since most would fall into those categories (particularly the former).

The problem for young beneficiaries, however, may be more one of the type and quality of the jobs they do get rather than of a complete lack of available jobs. As table 21 shows, most young people have worked at some point in their lives (nearly 80%).⁸² The minority of young people who are currently employed (37.5%), along with those with casual or temporary employment (22.2%) however, would suggest a good deal of movement in and out of the labour market. The substantial proportion of young people who are NEET (25%)⁸³ and of young women who are not employed and not seeking work primarily reflects young women's trajectories out of schooling and the labour market due to early parenthood. In contrast, the higher proportion of young men involved in temporary or casual work (typically providing manual labour for extended family members) may reflect more options for young men to fill gaps in employment.

⁸² The higher percentage of young people who have never worked who are current beneficiaries as opposed to former beneficiaries may be at least partly explained by a lower average age among current vs. former beneficiaries (16.9 years vs. 18.7 years).

⁸³ Two of the three young men interviewed who would be considered NEET do pick up odd jobs on occasion to help support themselves, even if they do not consider themselves to be employed. If these odd jobs were to be counted as employment, the percentage of young men considered to be NEET would be 25.0%, and young women 75.0%.

Table 21: Employment Status of Young Participants

		All Interviewees	Male	Female	Current Beneficiaries	Former Beneficiaries
Total	Number	24	9	15	9	14
	Percentage	100%	37.5%	62.5%	37.5%	58.3%
Employed	Number	9	3	6	2	6
	Percentage	37.5%	33.3%	40.0%	22.2%	42.9%
Unemployed (seeking work)	Number	7	2	2	2	2
	Percentage	29.2%	22.2%	13.3%	22.2%	14.3%
Not Employed (not seeking work)	Number	5	2	6	4	4
	Percentage	20.8%	22.2%	40.0%	44.4%	28.6%
Temporary/ Casual Work	Number	3	2	1	1	2
	Percentage	12.5%	22.2%	6.7%	11.1%	14.3%
NEET	Number	6	3	3	1	5
	Percentage	25.0%	50.0	50.0%	16.7%	83.3%
Ever Employed	Number	19	7	12	5	13
	Percentage	79.2%	77.8%	80.0%	55.6%	92.9%
Never Employed	Number	5	2	3	4	1
	Percentage	20.8%	22.2%	20.0%	44.4%	7.1%

Precarity and Informality:

The Brazilian labour market is characterised by high rates of turnover, especially for young people (Cunningham & Salvagno, 2011; Corseuil et al., 2013b; OECD, 2014; UNDP, 2014). Corseuil et al. (2013b) find that the turnover rate for young people is double the rate for adults and is increasing, resulting in high job insecurity for young people, especially poor young people. Roughly 7 of every 10 young workers leave their jobs (because they quit or are fired) on average over the course of a year (Corseuil et al., 2013b). This indicates a very turbulent labour market for young workers, who experience multiple movements in and out of the labour market over the course of a year. This high rate of turnover is mainly attributed to structural changes in the economy, notably the movement away from manufacturing and towards services, which tend to both have a higher turnover rate and employ a large number of young people (see, for

instance, Ulysea, 2006; Eichhorst et al., 2011; Corseuil & Ribeiro, 2012). The labour market insertion of many young people in Brazil, then, is often precarious. Indeed, table 21 above illustrates such precarious labour insertion and high turnover rates in my sample in the contrast between the rate of young people who are currently working compared to those who have ever worked.⁸⁴ The quote below from João also highlights the precarious nature and high turnover in employment, as he explained that his last job was temporary and that he is always seeking out jobs:

I was always looking for something. I was working with my uncle as an assistant mason. But the job ended there, and so I'm [without work]. But [I am always] looking, I can't stay doing nothing. (*João, age 19*)

Corseuil et al. (2013a) highlight that educational attainment is highly correlated with turnover rates. The authors suggest that this should lead to lower turnover rates as young people increase their educational attainment. Yet a substantial portion of young beneficiaries leave school prior to the completion of the basic education cycle. Their early trajectories out of school could be problematic in terms of benefiting from lower turnover rates in the labour market correlated with higher educational attainment, which would be a prerequisite for the types of employment outcomes assumed in the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction.

The precarity of young people's employment is also evident in their lack of access to employment benefits. The OECD (2014) estimates, based on 2012 national household survey (PNAD) data, that only 42% of young people (under 25 years), aged 15-24 years old, in Brazil would be eligible to claim unemployment benefits, compared to 56% of adults aged 25-64 years old. And, while young people represented 46% of the unemployed, only 27% received unemployment benefits in 2009 (DIEESE, 2011). Thus, young people are much less likely to be eligible for and to have access to unemployment benefits. These disparities in access to both employment and unemployment benefits were stark among the young beneficiaries interviewed,

⁸⁴ While turnover rates are high among young people in the Brazilian labour market, so too are long-term unemployment rates (at 50%); that is, those who have been out of a job for a year or longer (OECD, 2014). This would indicate substantial barriers to entry into the labour market, along with relative instability within the labour market.

with less than a handful ever having received any employment benefits (e.g., transport subsidy; sick days) and none having ever received unemployment benefits.

Hand in hand with precarity in employment goes informality. There has been a notable process of formalisation of labour markets in Latin America, and particularly in Brazil, since the 2000s, and although this process has benefitted all categories of workers, disproportionate gains have been made by older, male, higher skilled workers, which has in turn contributed to a widening of existing gaps between formal and informal workers (Maurizio, 2015). The process of labour formalisation has largely been a result of strong economic growth (Baltar et al., 2006; Bosch et al., 2007; Corseuil & Foguel, 2012), along with increasing educational attainment within the labour force (Barbosa Filho & de Moura, 2012), as well as a number of policies to encourage formality (Keifman & Maurizio, 2012). This declining informality can be seen in table 22.

Table 22: Formality and Informality in Brazilian Labour Markets (2010-2016)

Region	Occupational Status	Jan. 2010	Jan. 2011	Jan. 2012	Jan. 2013	Jan. 2014	Jan. 2015	Jan. 2016
Recife	Employees with <i>carteira assinada</i> (formal)	44.5%	47.0%	48.5%	49.9%	50.7%	50.7%	48.9%
	Employees without <i>carteira assinada</i> (informal)	17.6%	18.3%	17.1%	16.9%	14.7%	14.1%	13.1%
	Self-employed (formal or informal)	23.2%	19.9%	20.4%	19.3%	20.8%	21.1%	21.7%
	Employer	3.1%	3.3%	3.4%	4.4%	3.9%	3.8%	3.2%
	Other (Military; Public Servants; Non-remunerated domestic work)	10.7%	10.6%	9.9%	9.0%	9.5%	9.9%	12.0%
	Non-remunerated domestic work	0.9%	0.7%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.5%	0.6%
Brazil (average for 6 metropolitan regions in PME)	Employees with <i>carteira assinada</i> (formal)	50.3%	52.1%	53.8%	54.6%	55.4%	54.6%	54.5%
	Employees without <i>carteira assinada</i> (informal)	18.4%	17.3%	15.8%	15.1%	13.4%	13.5%	12.8%
	Self-employed (formal or informal)	18.9%	18.2%	18.1%	17.9%	18.5%	19.4%	20.1%
	Employer	4.4%	4.2%	4.2%	4.5%	4.4%	4.4%	4.2%
	Other (Military; Public Servants; Non-remunerated domestic work)	7.4%	7.7%	7.7%	7.6%	8.0%	7.8%	8.2%
	Non-remunerated domestic work	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%

Source: Compiled by author with data from IBGE (PME, 2016)

The high rates of incompleteness of the basic education cycle among young beneficiaries, highlighted in chapters 3 and 4, suggest that these young people are unlikely to benefit from increasing formalisation. The fact that educational attainment is a strong predictor of sector of employment (formal or informal) (Mello & Santos, 2009) implies that the slow progression or incompleteness of compulsory education among young BFP beneficiaries puts them at a distinct disadvantage in the labour market and makes them most likely to get caught in an ‘informality trap.’ This would in turn make it unlikely that they will be able to secure the types of jobs that the CCT model foresees. Moreover, despite the progress made on formalisation of the labour market in recent decades, informality remains high (OECD, 2014; Maurizio, 2015) and young people remain more likely to work in the informal sector (OECD, 2014), with an estimated 60% of young workers (up to age 24) in precarious employment (Campos, 2013). The pattern is reflected in the experiences of young people interviewed in this study, shown in table 23.

Table 23: Informality among Young Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Currently Employed/ Unemployed/ Temporary or Casual/ Not Employed	Ever Employed	Informal/ Formal Sector	Type of Job
Adriana	F	19	Unemployed	Yes	Informal	Staff in a shoe store
Alessandro	M	16	Unemployed	Yes	-- (internship)	Staff in a shoe store (Jovem Aprendiz – internship)
Anderson	M	18	Temporary/ Casual	Yes	Informal	Odd jobs in construction
Camila	F	17	Temporary/ Casual	Yes	Informal	Styles hair and provides decorations for parties (local)
Claúdia	F	16	Not Employed	No	--	--
Davi	M	17	Not Employed	No	--	--
Gabriel	M	17	Employed	Yes	Informal	Street vendor – sells candied apples
Gisele	F	19	Unemployed	Yes	Informal	Babysitter
Iara	F	18	Unemployed	Yes	Informal	Babysitter
João	M	19	Temporary/ Casual	Yes	Informal	Odd jobs as an assistant mason; previously worked in mechanics repair at a dock
José Antonio	M	20	Unemployed	Yes	Formal	Military; apprenticeship
Juliana	F	20	Not Employed	No	--	--
Leandro	M	17	Not Employed	No	--	--
Lídia	F	22	Employed	Yes	Self-employed	Self-employed as an aesthetician (eyebrows) and re-sells beauty products from a catalogue
Lucas	M	19	Employed	Yes	Formal	Staff at a supermarket
Luiza	F	18	Unemployed	Yes	Informal	Staff at an events hall

Mayara	F	19	Unemployed	Yes	Informal	Staff in a buffet restaurant
Natália	F	19	Employed	Yes	Informal	Distributes pamphlets on the street
Nívia	F	18	Employed	Yes	-- (internship)	Customer service staff at an utilities company (electricity provider) (Jovem Aprendiz – internship)
Noemi	F	17	Not Employed	No	--	--
Rebeca	F	16	Employed	Yes	Informal	Assistant in the secretary's office at school
Rodrigo	M	18	Employed	Yes	Informal	Paining and tire repair in an auto repair shop
Sofia	F	17	Employed	Yes	Informal	Babysitter
Vanesa	F	20	Employed	Yes	Informal	Cleaner at a cinema; previously worked at two clothing stores, a telephone company and a laundromat
				Total ever employed: 19	Formal sector: 2 Informal sector: 14 Self-employed: 1 Internship: 2	

Most young beneficiaries (approximately three-quarters) have only ever been employed in the informal sector. Moreover, labour mobility and movement from informal to formal employment appears to be difficult for many young beneficiaries, as illustrated in the examples from Vanesa (who works as a cleaner in a cinema) and Mayara (who worked in a buffet restaurant).

I'm the one who cleans the movie theatre when sessions end. [It's] not yet [a formal job]. If, after three months, they want to keep me on, then maybe. (*Vanesa, age 20*)

[My job] was without a *carteira assinada*. I started working when I was 16 years old. So I worked for two years, and then when I was of majority age, [my employer] said, "I will sign your *carteira assinada*," but she never signed it. She didn't treat me well, nor did the manager. (*Mayara, age 19*)

The requirement of completion of secondary school for many formal jobs seems to contribute to higher rates of informality among young people. It is, nonetheless, possible that higher rates of informality are temporary, that the informal sector may be serving to enable young people to enter the labour market in order to gain the experience necessary to move to the formal sector. That is, the informal sector may represent a temporary stage through which young people pass and which provides the training that is then used to move into a formal sector job (see, for instance, Cunningham & Salvagno, 2011). Cazes and Verik (2013) note that informality tends to drop after the age of 25. This would seem to suggest that high rates of informality and precarity in employment among young BFP beneficiaries may not necessarily be as problematic over the long run as it appears to currently be. Nonetheless, given that many of the young people interviewed here have not yet completed secondary school and, in many cases, are not on track to do so, moving from the informal to the formal sector may be difficult and unlikely. Moreover, as Bosch and Maloney (2010) point out, if additional training and education are needed to avoid informal employment, this reflects deficiencies in the education system that, if solved, should allow young people to enter directly into the formal sector.

On the other hand, while there are relatively few studies of labour mobility in Brazil, several (see, for instance, Pastore, 1979; Pastore & Valle Silva, 2000) have shown very limited mobility; that is, the position upon entry into the labour market is generally very similar to the position held for the rest of a person's productive life. This implies that entering the labour market in precarious and informal employment conditions may limit mobility towards more stable, formal, better paid employment. Based on the labour market experiences and trajectories of the young people in this study, this would imply that many young BFP beneficiaries may not

only enter the labour market in situations of precarious and informal employment, but they may also face substantial difficulty in moving out of these jobs, calling into question the notion that they will be able to secure the types of jobs and labour market trajectories that are conducive to facilitating long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

Thus, it is not clear whether high rates of informality in employment among young beneficiaries are likely to be temporary or not. This highlights the need for longitudinal data that follows young BFP (and CCT) beneficiaries both through and after participation in the programme to properly understand long-term impacts and outcomes.

5.3.3 Earnings and Returns to Education.

When the CCT model links young people's labour market outcomes to long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction, an inherent assumption is made that young people's earnings will be sufficient to lift them out of poverty. This section examines the extent to which young people's earnings and the returns to education are consistent with the changed labour market outcomes that are key to long-term poverty reduction in the CCT model.

Young People's Earnings:

Similarly to the trends in employment availability, wage trends were largely positive in Brazil from the mid-2000s, with a rising real minimum wage (up 130% between 2004 and 2008 alone) and improved wage distribution (Cazes & Verik, 2013). While young people's earnings are on average about half those of adults in Brazil, they have also improved in parallel to increases in the minimum wage, such that, by 2012, young people's earnings represented on average 42% of the earnings of adults aged 30 to 34 years old, up from 32% in 2001 (OECD, 2014).

Despite broader gains in young people's average earnings in Brazil, the earnings of the young BFP beneficiaries interviewed here did not indicate the potential to facilitate much social mobility, and certainly not movement out of poverty in accordance with the CCT model. Young beneficiaries most often reported that their earnings were insufficient to support themselves, as Vanesa, who worked as a cleaner in a cinema, and Adriana, who previously worked in a shoe store, explained.

I earn less than minimum wage. Sometimes it isn't enough [to cover my bills], but I manage to scrape it together. (*Vanesa, age 20*)

I earned very little. It was less than the minimum wage. (*Adriana, age 19*)

Even where young beneficiaries do consider their earnings to be sufficient to support themselves, they are not sufficient to provide much support to the household in addition to their own expenses. Thus, while many young beneficiaries are either the sole or an important income earner for their families, their earnings do not allow them to contribute sufficiently to the maintenance of the household, despite expectations and perceptions of their responsibility to do so. Clearly, young beneficiaries' earnings do not provide the possibility to help themselves or their families move out of poverty.

[My earnings cover] my own expenses, yes, but since I needed to help at home and supplement my family's income. It was difficult. It wasn't enough, no. (*José Antonio, age 20*; currently unemployed, previously doing military service and prior to that an internship)

Despite young people's responsibilities to contribute financially to their families, their employment is often precarious because employers perceive their familial responsibilities to be less than those of older workers, and as a result, their pay is both relatively low and unstable (Campos, 2013), compromising their ability to meet these responsibilities and contribute to household social mobility.

Returns to Education:

In addition to increases in the minimum wage, the overall positive trend in wages since the mid-2000s has been attributed at least in part to the increase in average educational attainment in the labour force, which Zepeda (2009) argues underscores the importance of closing educational gaps among workers and improving the quality of education received by the poor. This positive relationship between higher educational attainment and higher rates of employment and higher earnings is well established both globally and in Brazil. Educational returns (that is, the wage premium secured by more highly educated, skilled workers) are particularly high in Brazil: in a study of 34 countries by the OECD, Brazil had the highest earnings penalty for not having completed secondary school (OECD, 2014). Earnings for those without completed secondary school are almost half the earnings of those who have completed secondary school. Similarly, those with tertiary education earn more than 2.5 times what those

with completed secondary school earn. These trends partly reflect high levels of inequality in the distribution of income, as well as the relatively low average educational attainment levels, contributing to a high premium on the earnings of workers with higher levels of (particularly tertiary) education (OECD, 2014).

Despite high average educational returns in global perspective, the evolution of these returns has not been uniform over the last several decades. Over the course of the 1990s, the wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers increased, whereas this gap decreased in the 2000s (Manacorda et al., 2010; Gasparini et al., 2011; OECD, 2014; Wang, 2015). During the 1990s, the growing skills premium largely reflected increasing relative demand for skilled workers in the context of market-oriented reforms and a shift towards the service sector and away from agriculture and manufacturing. By the 2000s (and particularly by 2004), however, the trend in the skills premium was reversed, with a convergence of average wages, as a result of the decline in the wages of workers with secondary and tertiary education and an increase in workers with lower educational attainment. For instance, between 1995 and 2013, workers with incomplete primary education saw an increase in average wages of 52%, those with complete primary education saw an increase of 13%, those with incomplete secondary education experienced an increase of 5%, and those with complete secondary and tertiary education experienced a decline of 20% (Wang, 2015). Similarly, the OECD (2014) finds that returns to secondary educated workers declined by 29% between 2003 and 2012.

The literature exploring the causes of the reversal of the rising skills premium from the 1990s in the 2000s, however, is not unanimous in the explanations offered, particularly for the trends in wages for the top and bottom of the skills range. For example, Gasparini et al. (2011) find that most of the decline in the skills premium can be attributed to an increase in the relative demand for unskilled workers with the shift towards primary commodity exports, particularly as a result of the high demand for natural resources from China. Wang (2015), on the other hand, finds that during the 2000s, the expansion of the supply of tertiary educated workers exceeded demand and the quality of tertiary educated workers decreased, both of which contributed to driving down the wage premium for this group. These explanations may not be contradictory, but rather represent two sides of the same coin.

While there has been limited analysis of the effects of the skills premium on secondary educated workers, there is somewhat more consensus in the literature. The decline in the skills premium in the 2000s coincided with educational expansion. As the OECD (2014) notes, the proportion of the working-age population with completed secondary school increased by 32% between 2003 and 2012. Consistent with this, Wang (2015) notes an increase in the average years of education among male workers aged 16 to 65 years old from 5.53 years in 1995 to 8.34 years in 2013. Among this same group, the proportion of workers with primary or less education decreased from 52% to 24% between 1995 and 2013, whereas the proportion with tertiary education increased from 12% to 30% over this same period (Wang, 2015). Over the course of both the 1990s and 2000s, returns to secondary educated, semi-skilled workers declined relative to both primary and tertiary educated workers as the supply of secondary educated workers increased with the expansion of access to basic education (Crespo & Reix, 2009; Manacorda et al., 2010; Gasparini et al., 2011), notably through programmes such as the BFP. Moreover, those with some but incomplete secondary education experienced only a very small increase in their average wages during the 2000s (Wang, 2015).

These trends are potentially problematic for young BFP beneficiaries and challenge the CCT model. On the one hand, there appears to be little evidence to support the notion that young BFP beneficiaries are, for the most part, completing secondary school (or at least, in a timely manner). If this is reflective of a more generalised trend, then young BFP beneficiaries may not be subject to the declining skills premium experienced by secondary educated workers. The question, then, is whether there is much if any skills premium secured with some but incomplete secondary schooling that would be consistent with the CCT model of increasing educational investments based on an assumed future wage premium that will be key to lifting young beneficiaries out of poverty. Based on Wang's (2015) findings above, those with incomplete secondary education have seen very little increase in average wages and skills premia, suggesting the gains offered by the BFP and educational investments may be both limited and insufficient from the perspective of long-term poverty reduction.

On the other hand, if we assume that the CCT model holds true for young BFP beneficiaries (or that it could hold true with some reforms), then they are facing adverse labour market conditions (in terms of the wage gains promised by increased investments in schooling)

that are not consistent with the earnings gains that would be needed to move out of poverty. Specifically, the CCT model is premised on expanding the uptake and completion of the basic education cycle, which implies an increase in the relative supply of semi-skilled, secondary educated workers entering the labour market. In the context of falling returns to such workers, at least partly driven by the expansion of their supply, it is unclear how the educational gains achieved through CCTs will translate into higher educational returns and earnings in the labour market for young beneficiaries. Put differently, if the BFP is contributing to increasing the proportion of the labour force with secondary school education, such that the expansion in the supply of these workers is helping to drive down their skills premium, higher educational attainment among young beneficiaries as a result of the conditionalities attached to the benefit is unlikely to bring the expected wage gains upon entry into the labour market. In turn, it is unclear what benefits these additional years of schooling will secure for young beneficiaries, if not a wage premium upon entry into the labour market, and it is unlikely that such educational and labour market trajectories for young beneficiaries will lead to the outcomes necessary to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty.

5.4 Conclusion.

The CCT model for long-term poverty reduction makes crucial links between young people's schooling and human capital accumulation and their labour market outcomes. The model implies that through higher levels of educational attainment, young beneficiaries will secure better labour market trajectories and outcomes (i.e., jobs) that will in turn lift them and their families out of poverty over the long-term. Despite the inherent assumptions around labour market outcomes for young CCT beneficiaries, there has been very little consideration of their labour participation in the CCT research. This chapter provides some of the first insights into young beneficiaries' labour market experiences and the implications of these for the CCT model for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

The chapter finds that the notion that the cash benefit in CCTs should compensate for the opportunity cost of young people's labour with the schooling requirements (i.e., conditionality) imposed in the programme does not hold true. Rather, many young beneficiaries both work and go to school, or leave school early in favour of labour market participation,

despite the conditionality attached to schooling and the cash meant to compensate for their lost labour participation. The cash benefit appears to be insufficient to counter the various structural, social and individual factors that shape young people's trajectories into the labour market (and often out of school). Despite early productive inclusion, for the most part, young beneficiaries' patterns of labour market insertion are not consistent with the improved labour market trajectories and in turn long-term poverty reduction that the CCT model foresees. Young people move in and out of the labour market often but primarily in casual, informal and highly precarious employment. Moreover, rarely do young people's jobs meet their expectations and aspirations of 'good' jobs, a concept largely associated with formal sector employment, with the related labour protections and benefits, respect and dignity, and a salary sufficient to support themselves and their families. Rarely do their jobs provide sufficient incomes that would be consistent with the aim of poverty reduction. Further, in contrast to the CCT model, young people's entry into the labour market appears to be shaped primarily by social networks rather than human capital, suggesting higher educational attainment is not increasing access to the labour market in the ways assumed by the CCT model.

The empirical evidence presented here challenges both the linearity of the CCT model in terms of educational and labour market trajectories, and the notion that young beneficiaries' labour market outcomes will facilitate long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. Rather, various structural factors, for which the CCT model does not account, create substantial barriers to the labour market outcomes for young beneficiaries that would be necessary for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. This also then challenges the individualised conceptualisation of poverty inherent in the CCT model, which sees young beneficiaries' labour market outcomes as determined largely at the individual level (i.e., by their human capital stocks), rather than by structural conditions.

CHAPTER 6

Poverty, Wellbeing and Intergenerational Change

6.1 Introduction.

CCTs explicitly aim to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty through the human capital-related conditionalities attached to the cash transfer, which are meant to ensure changed educational and labour market trajectories for young beneficiaries such that they are able to move out of poverty over the long-term. Previous chapters have shown that young beneficiaries' trajectories and outcomes in schooling and in the labour market do not hold much promise of facilitating long-term pathways out of poverty. Given CCTs' goal of intergenerational poverty reduction, however, it is important to consider the extent and ways in which the Bolsa Família programme may be facilitating intergenerational change through a comparative analysis of young beneficiaries' and their parents/caregivers' educational and employment trajectories. As a result of the relatively recent adoption of CCTs, as well as the limited longitudinal data collected on CCTs and their beneficiaries, there is a paucity of research on the intergenerational dimensions of these programmes, despite their explicit aim to address the intergenerational transmission of poverty. This chapter contributes to addressing this gap in the research by exploring aspects of continuity and change in the lives of Bolsa Família beneficiary youth and their families in intergenerational perspective. It challenges the underlying assumptions in much of the CCT literature that the focus on education as the key to social mobility and that the intervention at the individual level are always accurate and empowering for beneficiaries. Rather, as this chapter shows, the discourses that underpin CCTs and the BFP with regard to the key role for education in facilitating pathways out of poverty as well as the individualised conceptualisation of poverty

implicit in these programmes create fundamental tensions in CCTs that must be resolved in addressing long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

Drawing on empirical evidence from questionnaires conducted in 2008 and 2014/15⁸⁵ with heads of households of beneficiary families, as well as biographical narratives in interviews with young beneficiaries, the next section of this chapter compares experiences of poverty, wellbeing, education, and employment over time. It argues that the BFP has played an important role in changing experiences of poverty across generations in terms of shifts in access to social protection, education, and in the ability of recipients to meet basic needs. At the same time, there is a great deal of continuity across generations in beneficiaries' labour market insertion and experiences of poverty and wellbeing to the extent that they continue to be shaped by high levels of inequality, marginalisation and lack of opportunity.

Given the BFP's explicit goal of facilitating intergenerational change, it is important to consider the ways in which the programme has contributed not only to material dimensions of intergenerational change for beneficiaries, but also to the aspirational dimensions of intergenerational change. The third section of this chapter thus explores young people's aspirations and expectations of social mobility and intergenerational poverty reduction, arguing that the BFP and the associated national and international discourses linking schooling and poverty reduction have contributed to raising both young people's and their families' aspirations and expectations of social mobility. Yet, as the empirical evidence in previous chapters shows, it is not at all clear that young beneficiaries are realising, or are being sufficiently equipped to realise, these aspirations. This chapter thus demonstrates a tension in the BFP between, on the one hand, the goal of intergenerational change and poverty reduction and the ways in which it has contributed to raising beneficiaries' expectations and aspirations of intergenerational change, and on the other, considerable continuity observed in the lives of young beneficiaries relative to their caregivers.

⁸⁵ See chapter 2 for details of the two questionnaires.

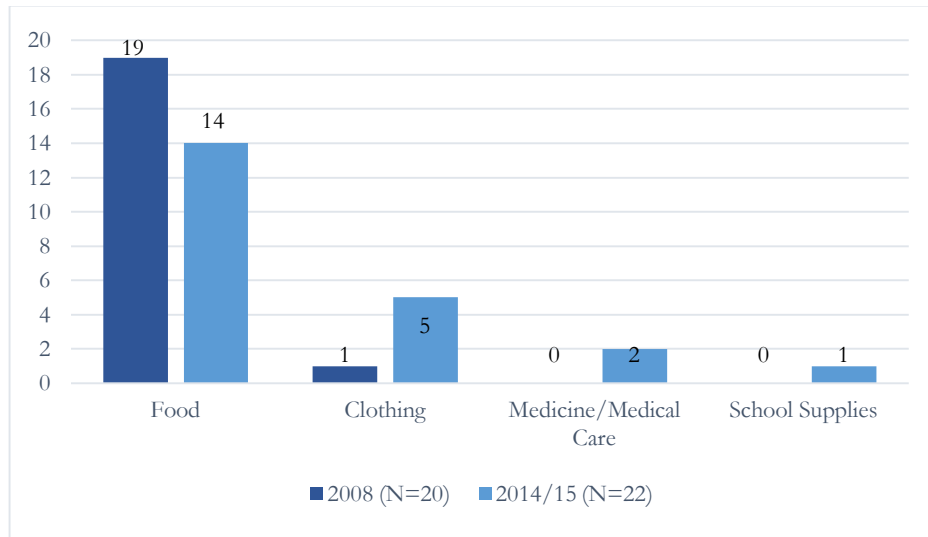
6.2 Continuity and Change in the Lives of Bolsa Família Beneficiaries: From Meeting Basic Needs to Accessing Social Mobility?

Much of the research on young people treats youth as a life phase dominated by change (e.g., Childhood and Youth Studies) and young people as potential agents of change (e.g., the Development Studies research) (Huijsmans et al., 2014). There is thus a tendency to emphasise change in examining young people's lives, with little recognition of elements of continuity between generations. This section considers processes of both change and continuity in the lives of young Bolsa Família beneficiaries, both over time and intergenerationally, that have been facilitated by or coincided with the Bolsa Família programme. It shows that the Bolsa Família cash benefit has been tremendously helpful to many families in meeting their daily basic needs. This represents perhaps the most notable and dramatic change facilitated by the BFP. In addition, expanded access to education and social protection also represent significant intergenerational change, although these appear to be insufficient in various ways in facilitating long-term, transformative change for young people and their families. At the same time, there has been much continuity in the lives of young beneficiaries and their caregivers in terms of the marginalisation, vulnerabilities, and inequalities that persist in shaping their everyday lives, particularly in the labour market, and opportunities for moving out of poverty.

6.2.1 Basic Needs.

The empirical evidence from both household questionnaires, as well as interviews with young people and their families, consistently show the important contribution the BFP benefit has made to meeting households' basic needs. Questionnaire data from 2008 and 2014/15 show that the BFP benefit is primarily spent on food, followed by clothing, and less commonly medicine and medical treatments, and school supplies.

Figure 13: Primary Use of Bolsa Família Benefit (Number of Households)



Similarly, caregivers (primarily mothers and grandmothers) noted that the benefit is/was used for food, lunch or snacks for the children for school (Aline, João’s mother), certain “basic comforts” (Ana, Adriana’s mother), along with helping with the monthly rent (Milena, Iara’s mother) or utilities (Clarice, Lucas and Luiza’s grandmother; Verônica, Gisele’s mother). Clarice (Lucas and Luiza’s grandmother) explained that the BFP money helps a lot because it means that the family can eat when they would not otherwise be able to. Clearly alluding to how important the benefit is for her family, she referred to the BFP benefit as “dinheiro sagrado” (sacred money). Separately, young people expressed similar views of how the BFP money has helped their families.

There was [a difference with the BFP]. This money helped [with] the [bus] fare for us to go to school, to take a class, and even with the household to buy some furniture or food. (*Adriana, age 19*)

[Life] improved [with the BFP]. It helped a lot because it’s an additional benefit, to buy some things, to pay for some things. (*Rebeca, age 16*)

[I]t helps a lot. It is the milk for a lot of children around here. That they have this grant, it is the daily bread of many people. And it is needed not only by me but by many people. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Researcher: And what kind of impact do you think the Bolsa Família had for your family?

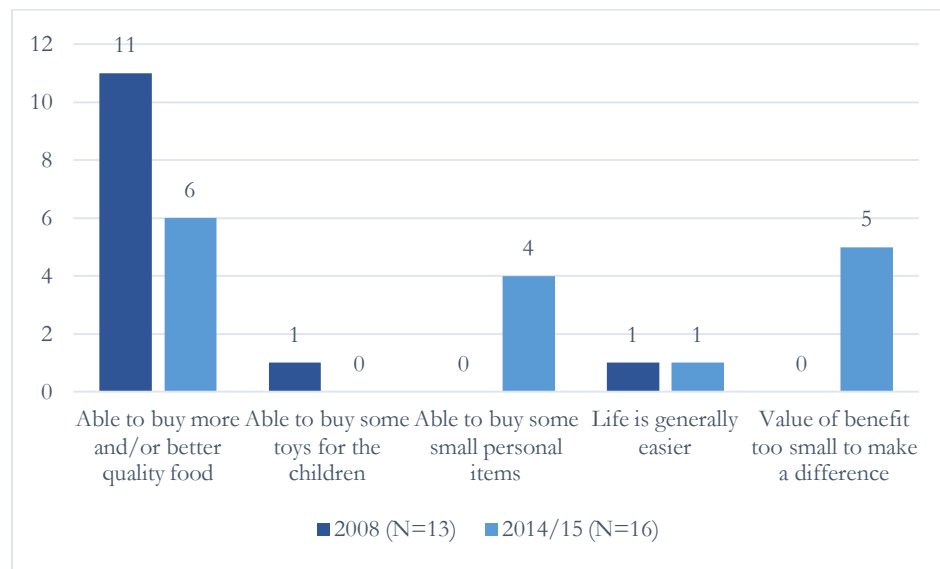
Anderson: It helped improve our living conditions. My mother could buy things that she couldn’t before with the money from my father. She was able to buy a few more things.

Marcella (Anderson's mother): He used to go eat at his grandmother's house when I wasn't receiving the Bolsa. Quite often he would go eat at his grandmother's house, right over there.

(Anderson, age 19)

These improvements to the ability to meet basic needs were confirmed in the reported impacts on consumption patterns in both questionnaires. Figure 14 highlights such changes in consumption patterns upon receiving the Bolsa Família benefit, particularly with regard to the ability to buy more and/or better quality food.⁸⁶

Figure 14: Changes to Consumption Patterns with the Bolsa Família Benefit (Number of Households)



In interviews, beneficiary families stressed the importance of these improvements to their daily lives, particularly in comparative intergenerational perspective.

Even with the difficulties or not, we never starved like she [grandmother] did, we never went thirsty. I never said, "I want this" and didn't have it. You know? From here on it will be very different. *(Lucas, age 19)*

⁸⁶ Note the significant decline in the number of families reporting that the BFP benefit enables them to buy more/better food between the two time periods. This could be explained by the fact that changes to food consumption may become less remarkable over time as access to more/better food becomes the norm with the receipt of the BFP. This would be consistent with the other qualitative data here that shows that the BFP ensures greater reliability of food. This could alternatively or additionally reflect comments that were repeatedly made informally throughout data collection about the rising cost of living in Brazil. This would be consistent with the timing of data collection (2014/15), which occurred in the context of increasing concerns over rising inflation, poor economic growth and rising unemployment.

Such improvements to beneficiary families' ability to meet their basic needs are consistent with the findings in the broader research on the impacts of CCTs. In a review of the evidence on CCT programmes across Latin America, Cecchini and Madariaga (2011) note that there is a notable rise in food consumption in terms of quantity and diversity in many if not all programmes.⁸⁷ In Brazil, various studies have shown increased expenditures on food, education, hygiene and clothing among Bolsa Família beneficiary households (e.g., CEDEPLAR, 2007; Resende & Oliveira, 2008).

The expansion of the BFP under the PT administrations between 2003 and 2016 was accompanied by increases to the value of the benefit. This is reflected in the increase in the value of the benefit received by the beneficiary families interviewed here from an average of approximately R\$65 in 2008 to R\$158 in 2014/15. The benefit now represents a considerable portion of total household income at roughly 16% in the sample of families here. As a percentage of total monthly labour income earned by heads of households and their spouses, the benefit constitutes an average of an additional 25% to these earnings. Even so, table 24 and the examples from the interviews with young beneficiaries (below) underscore the limitations of the BFP in facilitating more transformative, large-scale change. For instance, 31% of families reported that the value of the BFP benefit constitutes too little money to make a difference to consumption patterns (figure 14, above) and 65% said that they have made no plans for larger scale changes, such as educational investments, changing jobs, starting a business etc. (table 24, below).

⁸⁷ There is mixed evidence on the quality of this increased consumption, however (see, for instance, LeRoy et al., 2010; IBASE, 2008).

Table 24: Plans Made Upon Receiving the Bolsa Família Benefit

2014/15		
	Percentage	Number
Study/educational investments	5%	1
Change jobs	5%	1
Buy a house/land	0%	0
Start/expand a business	0%	0
Pay off debts	15%	3
House repairs	10%	2
Nothing, too little money	65%	13
N =		20

Similarly, Sofia and Vanesa alluded to the lack of transformative effects of the BFP: they saw the cash benefit as helpful in allowing their families to buy a few things (basic needs), but not something that altered their life trajectories or opportunities.

Things improved. [The BFP] gives some income. It was an additional money to help us with some things. It didn't change anything. The only change was that it gave us a bit more money. But if we didn't get it, things would have been the same. (*Sofia, age 17*)

To tell you the truth, [the Bolsa Família] never changed much. It made a difference for some people because they were in different financial conditions than me. I had a friend who lived under the bridge. He went to school on foot. He only had the food that they gave him at school. I think it [the BFP] is important because there are a lot of people who really need it, who depend on it for a lot of things. Some people don't have a place to live. (*Vanesa, age 20*)

Thus, CCT benefits are crucial to beneficiaries' ability to meet their daily needs but are not, for the most part, sufficient to provide a means to escaping poverty. In Brazil, the Bolsa Família has had a modest impact on overall poverty reduction, but a much more notable one on the poverty gap and the severity of poverty (Soares, 2012). Indeed, Soares (2012) notes that welfare improvements beyond this – that is, beyond an improved ability to meet basic needs – will require substantial increases to the value of the benefit.

Despite improvements to many families' capacity to meet their basic needs, the questionnaire data show that a substantial minority of families receive help from outside the household, primarily in the form of food and durable goods (i.e., basic needs), and that this has increased slightly over time (figure 15). It is notable that a large portion of families also provide

help to those outside their households (figure 16), typically family members living elsewhere,⁸⁸ illustrating the interdependencies that exist in familial relations that are not well accounted for in such individual and household level interventions as CCTs.

Figure 15: Households Receiving Assistance from Other Households

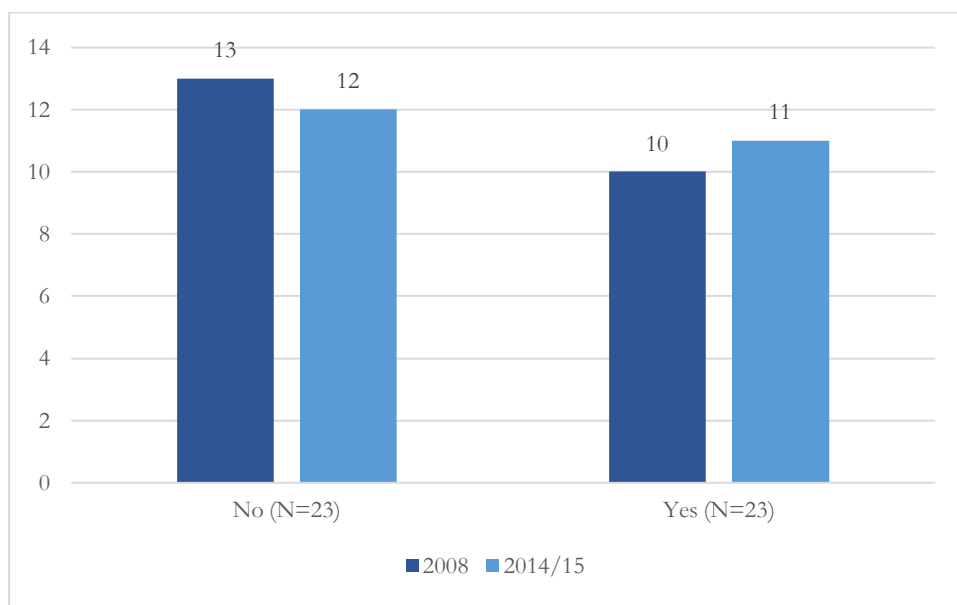
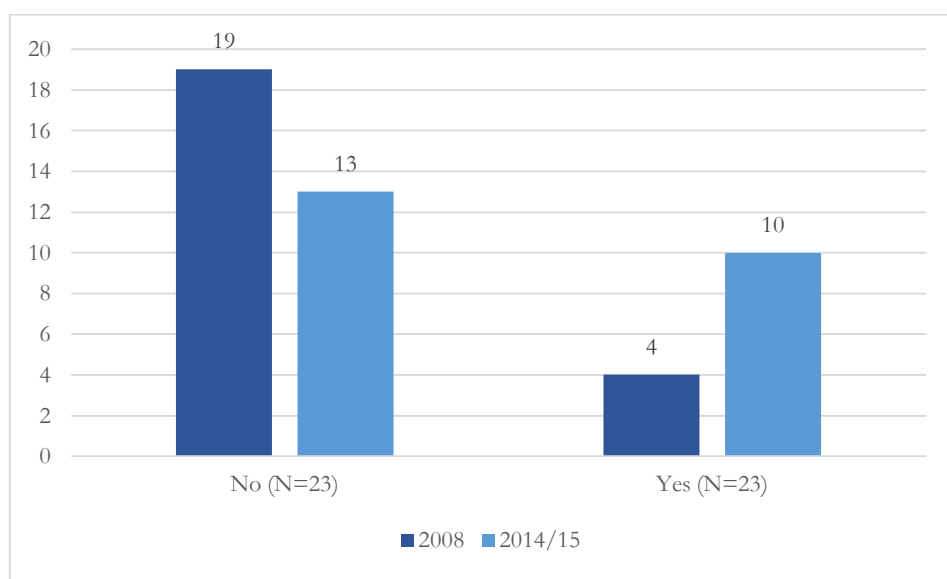


Figure 16: Households Giving Assistance to Other Households



⁸⁸ This was typically to other households within the greater metropolitan area of Recife (in different communities).

Similarly, the questionnaire data show a decline in the number of households that report needing to borrow money to cover their monthly expenses, but still a substantial minority (22%) that is unable to meet these. Among those households needing to borrow to cover their expenses, most report using this money to buy food. It is clear, then, that the BFP benefit is providing a minimum social protection floor for many, but not *all*, families. Moreover, there is little evidence of the BFP facilitating much financial mobility. Over the short-term, most families report no improvement in the household's financial situation over the previous six months to the 2014/15 questionnaire. A slightly more promising picture emerges over the medium-term (previous 2 years), with a small majority reporting an improvement in the household's financial situation.

Table 25: Economic Mobility in Beneficiary Households (2014/15)

	Last 6 months		Last two years	
	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Same	35%	8	9%	2
Worse	22%	5	39%	9
Improved	43%	10	52%	12
N =		23		23

In both cases (6 months and two years), improvements to households' financial situations were largely attributed to increased labour participation or labour income, while those reporting deteriorating financial situations attributed the decline primarily to an increase in the cost of living, or a decrease in labour participation or labour income in the household. This suggests that, despite concerns in the CCT research that these programmes may create disincentives to labour participation, employment and the quality of employment are quite important to beneficiary households' financial situations and financial mobility, and thus indicates the complementary rather than substitutive role of the benefit in relation to beneficiaries' employment.

Overall, the BFP benefit has driven important intergenerational changes in meeting basic needs, perhaps most starkly in terms of access to food. Where parents and grandparents spoke of worrying about providing daily meals and snacks for their children, of sending their children to eat at the homes of extended family and friends, the BFP has lifted the burden of such worries

for many caregivers. In many cases, they spoke of the stress that has been alleviated by knowing that they would be able to put food on the table. In other cases, the benefit has provided the ability to buy more varied foods; most commonly, caregivers gave the example of being able to buy yogurt as a snack for their children, something they were not able to do prior to receiving the BFP. It is clear, then, that the benefit has secured important improvements to the quality of life of many beneficiary families. At the same time, the small value of the benefit constrains the potential for the cash to facilitate more transformative intergenerational impacts for beneficiary families, particularly in the context of the structural inequalities that persist in shaping their lives, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

6.2.2 Social Protection and Social Exclusion.

The extension of access to social protection to a segment of the population previously largely excluded from many of the rights and benefits of social citizenship and in many ways beyond the reach of the state, represents a dramatic change looking across generations. Other authors (see, for instance, Hunter & Sugiyama, 2014) have argued the significance of the BFP in expanding social inclusion and citizenship through increased interaction with the state in beneficiaries' everyday lives.

The BFP constitutes a critical social safety net previously unavailable to the poor in Brazil. In this vein, several young people and their parents noted the important safety net and risk management function of the benefit, particularly in the case of unemployment or precarious employment, for families in meeting their basic needs.

Researcher: Did anything change when you started receiving the Bolsa Família?

Juliana: Ah, yes, it made things better. Food in the house, a few more things for me.

Isadora (Juliana's mother): It was an amount, not that much. Her father was working without an employment card (i.e., in the informal sector). He stopped. What could we do? So it [allowed me] to buy things for her, for her sister. The money that I would get, I would [use to] buy food, underwear, some things she needed for school. But before we [couldn't manage]. Now, for the last few years I think, they give the students the school supplies. Because when she was studying, workbooks, these types of things weren't provided. So the money that came in [from the BFP] was hers.

(Juliana, age 20)

Well, when [my mum] didn't have a job, the Bolsa Família sustained us, it helped us. (*Camila, age, 17*)

Both the safety net function of the BFP and the change it represents in intergenerational perspective in the form of broad and long-term access to social protection for beneficiaries is also evident in the value of the benefit and the timescale over which most families receive the benefit. Amongst households interviewed here, most had received the benefit over a period of at least 6 years, and in some cases over a decade, supporting the notion that the programme represents a widening of social protection and greater social incorporation in a much more enduring way than previously seen in Brazil.

A basic pre-requisite of social citizenship and inclusion is the provision of basic needs and a minimum social safety net. Nonetheless, it is not clear from the participants in this study that the BFP has facilitated the level of inclusion or extended the depth of citizenship rights that has been suggested elsewhere (e.g., Hunter & Sugiyama, 2014). In particular, the understandings and experiences of beneficiary families with the Bolsa Família seem, at best, tenuously rooted in the rights-based discourse propagated by the government. While some caregivers saw the BFP as a right allocated by the federal government, many saw the benefit as unreliable and unstable, undermining the positioning of the BFP as a rights-based programme that ensures universal access to social rights guaranteed under the 1988 Constitution.⁸⁹ Despite the common justification for cash transfers that they offer a degree of stability in income, which many poor families would not otherwise have (e.g., as a result of precarious employment conditions), there seemed to be a considerable degree of perceived instability to the cash benefit and a hesitation to rely on the BFP benefit. Gabriel explained how unpredictable the cash benefit was for his family.

It [the Bolsa Família] was good in one way, but in another... It helped with some things that we lacked at home, but it was cancelled all the time. We ended up without the income, even though we always did everything we could to receive the benefit. (*Gabriel, age 17*)⁹⁰

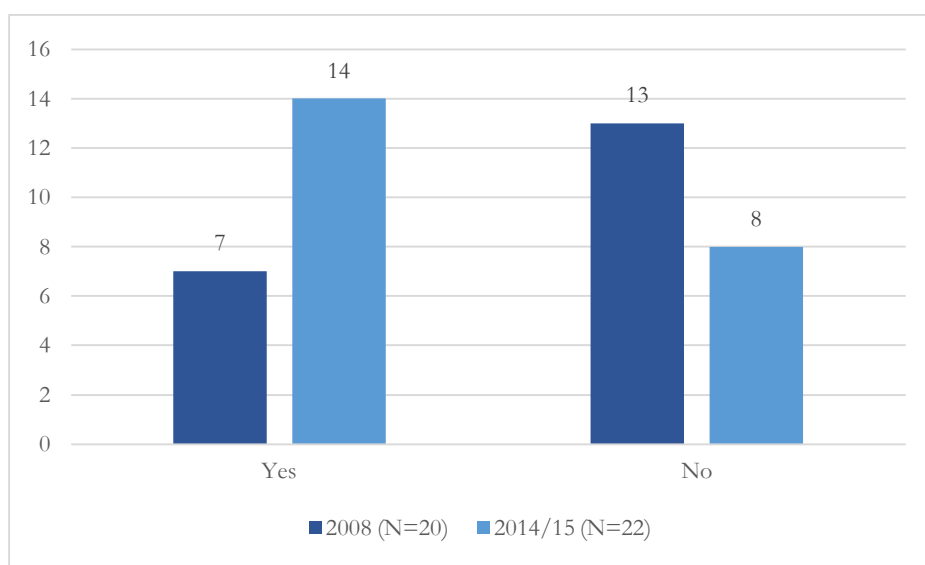
⁸⁹ Based on interviews conducted with government officials in Brasília, Recife and Rio de Janeiro, the government framing of the Bolsa Família programme is within a rights-based approach; that is, the BFP and programme conditionalities are a mechanism for identifying vulnerable and marginalised families and ensuring they are accessing their constitutionally guaranteed social rights to education and healthcare.

⁹⁰ Gabriel's family experienced repeated suspensions of the BFP benefit while they were eligible to receive it, and ultimately it was cancelled. The reason for the blockages and eventual cancellation, both he and his mother separately explained, was the fact that his younger brother was not attending school because he is severely physically and mentally disabled. Despite her extensive efforts, Gabriel's mother was not able to find a school that would accept him, as none have the facilities and resources to accommodate him with his disabilities. The local school

Similarly, Vitoria (Alessandro's mother) noted that “o Bolsa Família é uma coisa que você não deve confiar” [the Bolsa Família is not something you should rely on]. She explained that she cannot depend on the BFP benefit because she does not know if it will be there every month and sometimes it is “randomly” blocked.⁹¹ As a result, she does not feel she can make plans to use it because it might not be there when she goes to withdraw the money.

The questionnaire data demonstrate this instability (in response to the question: has your BF benefit ever been blocked?), with notable increases in the blockage of benefits between the first questionnaire in 2008 and the follow-up one in 2014/15.

Figure 17: Blockages of the Bolsa Família Benefit



provided written letters to this effect, which Gabriel's mother repeatedly took to the BFP offices in Recife, but she was unable to secure reliable access to the BFP, the benefit was eventually cancelled and she was unable to get it reinstated. While this family's situation may be somewhat unique, at a more general level, it illustrates the challenges in navigating the BFP system for some families. Other families expressed similar difficulties and frustrations with the unreliability of access to the benefit and with navigating the system to resolve problems with the benefit.

⁹¹ These findings on the unreliability of the BFP benefit have not been discussed elsewhere in the CCT literature. In fact, they findings run contrary to Hunter and Sugiyama's (2014) findings that the BFP is seen as 'understandable and fair in its distribution,' although these different results may reflect differences in methodology. More broadly, these findings challenge the idea that CCTs provide a reliable minimum income that helps stabilise income flows for beneficiary families. Given the centrality of this issue to the CCT model, further research investigating the scale of the perceived and actual instability of the benefit is needed.

The average length of blockages of the BFP benefit was approximately three and a half months in both questionnaires; however, in several cases, the families were unable to reverse the blockage, despite being unable to ascertain why the benefit had been blocked or how to resolve it. The most common reason for blockage of the benefit was violation of the conditionalities, reflecting the significance of some of the social processes shaping young people's trajectories out of school, including early parenthood and entry into the labour market. A substantial minority of families, however, reported not knowing the reason for the blockage and not knowing how or being able to find out the reason. These patterns suggest a shift towards greater enforcement of conditionality, complicating the government narrative of the BFP as a rights-based programme and the use of conditionality as a mechanism for identifying vulnerable families and in turn supporting them in accessing their constitutionally guaranteed social rights.

Although this is a small sample, these findings raise questions about the role of the Bolsa Família in facilitating social citizenship and inclusion. Some authors have argued that the Bolsa Família enhances social citizenship and inclusion because the design of the programme is seen as “understandable and fair in its design and distribution, as attainable and navigable despite bureaucratic complexities, and defensible through political action” (Hunter & Sugiyama, 2014, p. 835). This was not borne out in the cases of the families interviewed here, however. Though entry and maintenance in the programme was not viewed as political favour, it was not universally perceived to be ‘understandable and fair’ as Hunter and Sugiyama find, nor was the bureaucracy of the programme navigable for many of those who had had their benefit blocked. Indeed, several caregivers expressed their confusion about how to resolve problems with a blocked benefit and noted the significant barriers they faced in doing so, including difficulties with transportation (e.g., navigating to the central office in downtown Recife – this was particularly problematic for many who did not regularly leave their communities and/or who were functionally illiterate; paying the expense of a return bus fare to downtown Recife; the long commutes due to poor public transit connections across the city), long wait times to be seen at the central office such that they needed to begin queueing in the early hours of the morning in order to be seen by officials, a lack of understanding of the bureaucracy of the programme and how to navigate it and thus a perception of arbitrariness of access to the benefit.

This would seem to indicate that the BFP is perceived – and indeed may function for some families – in a much more residual way than government narratives of the programme would suggest, and in turn may facilitate a relatively shallow level of social inclusion and social citizenship than has been found elsewhere.⁹² Similarly, Molyneux (2006) notes that beneficiaries of Mexico's Oportunidades programme expressed dissatisfaction with the perceived arbitrariness in targeting, which, in addition to resistance to the co-responsibility of conditionality, undermines the claim that the programme provides the basis for exercising social rights and achieving full citizenship.

Moreover, participant families' descriptions of multiple dimensions of marginalisation, inequality and exclusion challenge the notion that the expansion of the BFP has substantially deepened social inclusion. Young people described the lack of adequate infrastructure and sanitation in their communities, as well as high levels of violence.

Right, well around here, in this neighbourhood, only a few roads are paved. A few are paved but there are many that aren't, all over the neighbourhood. This is a terrible thing. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

There are various investments needed around the community. I'm talking about the infrastructure – we need sidewalks and various things. I won't say much because nothing much ever comes of it, but since you mentioned 'community,' we are in need of investments. If you look around the community, you can see burst sewers, open sewers, polluting the air, making it smell bad, so I think that if there were more investment, it would help the community. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

There isn't adequate infrastructure. The neighbourhood here, in the north zone of Recife, is practically forgotten even by the government. There's a municipal high school up here, further up [the hill], and there's another [state secondary school] at the [bus] station. Both are in really poor condition – both in terms of the structure of the building as well as the human resources. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Here people walk around with drugs in their hands, running around. We go out into the streets, but you have to keep your eyes open. You could be robbed here in front of the house. (*Mayara, age 19*)

The neighbourhood is good, but there are drugs here. I will get married one day and there is no way that I want to live here. For the love of God, it's the "ass of the world." (*Gisele, age 19*)

More broadly, the lack of depth and breadth of the social inclusion and citizenship rights facilitated by the BFP is reflected in the continuity of experiences of marginality and inequality

⁹² Hunter and Sugiyama's (2014) findings stand in stark contrast to the findings from my study, which do not support such strong claims of social inclusion and citizenship in either the framing or the implementation of the BFP. These conflicting results likely reflect different methods, sampling techniques, and timing of the data collection. Ultimately, these differing findings highlight the need for further research on the dimensions and depth of social inclusion and citizenship to which CCTs may or may not contribute.

that persist in shaping beneficiaries' lives. For instance, Alessandro articulated a deep sense of marginalisation and exclusion that shapes his everyday life in framing his daily life as a 'fight' and a 'struggle,' which parallels his parents' experiences.

I have seen the suffering in my parents' life to maintain the basic things. If I could suddenly change my life, I would make myself rich and I would help a lot of people who need it. This is my incentive: my own life, my own income, to take care of my parents as they have for me, they have suffered a lot. [S]ometimes I speak with God and I think "But God, if only I could escape this life and help my parents." If I had had a good income, I would have left my parents' house, to leave them alone, to try to help. But unfortunately, we have to fight and struggle for everything. So this is what motivates me most in my life, to aim high. And we look and aim [for our goals] and we secure them, there will be obstacles, there will be people who say "give up, you won't manage, look at your situation, look at where you live, look at the community in which you live." But you have to do something, move forward, walk, have faith, create an objective. And this is what motivates me. You have to study, you have to fight. So this is what makes me dream so big: it's my own life, it's where I live, it's my parents, it's the suffering. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

While the cash transfer may help alleviate some of the immediate deprivations experienced by beneficiary families, it does not alter the experiences of marginality, inequality, and exclusion that are so deeply entrenched in the social structures that shape beneficiaries' daily lives. Thus, while the Bolsa Família has importantly extended social protection to a segment of the population that had previously been largely, if not wholly, beyond the reach of the state and excluded from many of the rights and benefits of social citizenship, it does not appear to have been at a depth or breadth that provides the basis for the level of social inclusion that has been suggested elsewhere.

6.2.3 Education.

In addition to meeting basic needs, the BFP benefit explicitly aims to increase the educational attainment levels of young beneficiaries through the attached conditionalities. Despite slow progression and relatively low levels of completion of the basic education cycle among the young participants in this study, there has been a notable increase in educational attainment between generations when comparing young people's educational attainment levels with that of their caregivers (parents, grandparents, etc.).⁹³

⁹³ There has been very little intergenerational comparative research on the educational attainment of young CCT beneficiaries relative to their parents/caregivers. Thus, while this study provides some initial insights into intergenerational changes to patterns of education among CCT beneficiary families, further research would be required to assess the generalisability of these findings.

The questionnaire data show that the average educational attainment level of heads of households and their spouses is to the 7th year of the lower secondary cycle (Fundamental II). As table 26 shows, below, young people's caregivers most commonly left school prior to the upper secondary school cycle (63%), while only 18% completed the basic education cycle through secondary school.

Table 26: Caregivers' (Heads of Household and Spouses) Educational Attainment Levels (2014/15)

	Percentage	Number
No schooling or adult literacy only	6%	2
Lower Primary (Fundamental I)	18%	6
Lower Secondary (Fundamental II)	39%	13
Incomplete Upper Secondary School (Ensino Médio)	18%	6
Complete Secondary School (Ensino Médio)	18%	6
N =		33

Among young people, the average educational attainment level is to the first year of upper secondary school (Ensino Médio), 3 additional years over their caregivers. Compared to 63% of caregivers who left school prior to upper secondary school, only 29% of young people either remain in the lower secondary cycle (Fundamental II) or left before entering upper secondary school.⁹⁴ Similarly, compared to 36% of caregivers who achieved some level of upper secondary schooling (either partial or complete Ensino Médio), 71% of young beneficiaries have completed at least some upper secondary school. These patterns are equally evident in the way young people spoke about how their lives differed from their parents'/caregivers' lives.

Researcher: You think that right now, there are more opportunities than there were in your parents' era?

Rodrigo: Right. They didn't study, they didn't go to school, they didn't do anything.

(Rodrigo, age 18)

Researcher: Do you think that you're in a better situation than your parents were?

José Antonio: I think so, if only because they weren't born here. They are from the interior of the state.

⁹⁴ It is worth noting, however, that all young beneficiaries participating in this study should be in or have completed secondary school based on their age.

Their situation was much more precarious than here, than in the capital of the state. So, even though I dropped out, I have already completed more schooling than they have. So there's already a difference.

(José Antonio, age 20)

Despite substantial intergenerational changes to educational attainment levels, as has been shown in previous chapters, slow progression and low completion rates remain problematic. Among the young participants, only 36% of those aged 18/19 years and above have completed the basic education cycle. Moreover, only a small majority (58%) are currently enrolled in school, indicating that many who have not yet completed secondary school may be unlikely to do so.

This substantial intergenerational increase in educational attainment may have coincided with the expansion of the Bolsa Família, but it is not clear that it is solely attributable to the programme or its educational conditionalities. Rather, much of the intergenerational changes experienced by beneficiary households are attributed to the expansion of educational access (likely linked at least in part to a broader focus on access to basic education in international development agendas) rather than to the BFP benefit. This can be seen in the examples below from interviews with young participants, although this is also consistent with relatively limited increases in educational enrolment and attendance as a result of the BFP found in the academic and policy evaluation literature on CCTs.

I think that before it was much more difficult to go to school, to survive, everything. Today, it's easier, you have more resources and everything, like health, food, jobs. Today it's easier than in the past. *(Lucas, age 19)*

Before, I think there was one [school] in Santa Marta, and another in the centre of the city. Today we have many more opportunities to become educated, to go to school. I don't think you need to leave two hours in advance to arrive at school on time. Today, we can leave 20, maybe 10 minutes before and arrive at school. The opportunities are much greater. *(Alessandro, age 16)*

The opportunity [to study], as my father didn't study. My father didn't have the chance to go to university, he didn't have the opportunity to have a job, a good job, a formal, dignified job. This is being humiliated. This is humiliation. And these days, education is much more advanced. There's the [opportunity to] study. *(Gisele, age 19)*

In addition, caregivers universally expressed the importance of their children attending school and noted that the BFP and its conditionalities have not altered either the value they place on their children's schooling nor their children's patterns of school attendance; rather, they reported that their children have always attended school regularly, and there has been no change

to this since receiving the BFP. As will be shown in the next section, there is tremendous value placed on young people's schooling by both themselves and their caregivers, particularly in relation to securing a better future.

Higher educational attainment has helped ensure improved basic literacy and numeracy for young beneficiaries, if not at a level that would be considered sufficient on national and international educational assessments. While a substantial minority of heads of households and their spouses are unable to write basic statements (24%), this is much lower among children and young people (aged 8-22 years old)⁹⁵ in these same households (10%), demonstrating the improvements to educational attainment and achievement across generations. Even where caregivers reported educational attainment levels that should ensure basic literacy and numeracy skills (e.g., 7 years of instruction), some remain functionally illiterate. This was not the case among the younger generations in these same households, even where young people had left school prior to completing the basic education cycle. This intergenerational change in functional literacy represents a crucial gain for younger generations in both their confidence and perceptions of self-worth, as well as their capacities and freedom to engage in society. The importance of the confidence and dignity derived from formal schooling, from 'being educated,' is often linked to basic literacy and numeracy skills acquired in school that are important not only for competing for employment but also for the independence these skills confer in everyday life.

For instance, highlighting the importance of such basic literacy for one's confidence and self-worth, several caregivers who were functionally illiterate often deferred to their children/grandchildren in responding to the questionnaire because the latter 'knew more,' were 'more educated,' or knew 'how to speak.' Caregivers also often referred to the limitations they face in their daily lives – in going to the store, the bank, negotiating government bureaucracies etc. – as a result of low levels of literacy. For instance, Clarice (Luiza and Lucas' grandmother) recounted how limited she feels by being functionally illiterate: she explained how if she needs to do anything, such as register for the BFP, go to the bank, go to the store, she must take her

⁹⁵ Includes young people interviewed and others in the relevant age range in participant households.

grandchildren with her.⁹⁶ Clarice said she thinks education is important because it enables a greater understanding of the world around you and allows for an independent life – one that she is not able to have. Young people thus often act as mediators for their less-educated caregivers, both in their daily activities and in their interactions with others, shifting intra-household hierarchies based on educational attainment.

While the example from Clarice highlights the intergenerational change in basic literacy that has coincided with the BFP, it is worth noting that there remained instances of young people up to the age of 10 who were not able to write a simple statement. Vitoria (Alessandro's mother) expressed her concerns that her youngest son, who is in the 3rd year of primary school (Fundamental I), cannot yet read or write. She explained that she tries to sit with her children and help them with homework but that, for the most part, they exceed her level of schooling and knowledge. This clearly indicates both the intergenerational change in educational attainment (i.e., that young people's schooling levels tend to exceed their caregivers' and thus caregivers' ability to engage with their children's schooling), as well as the poor quality of schooling received by beneficiaries, a key mechanism through which low levels of human capital formation may persist across generations.

Caregivers appear to be, for the most part, unaware of the poor quality of young people's schooling, however, with 61% reporting that they believe their children learn “a lot” in school and 26% stating that they learn “a little” in school. This reflects the strong belief in the value of education – even where this is not always consistent with young people's own experiences of schooling – and is consistent with the high expectations and aspirations attached to schooling discussed later in this chapter. Thus, whereas the main obstacle to schooling for previous generations was access, this appears to have shifted largely to one of quality, as José Antonio and João noted.

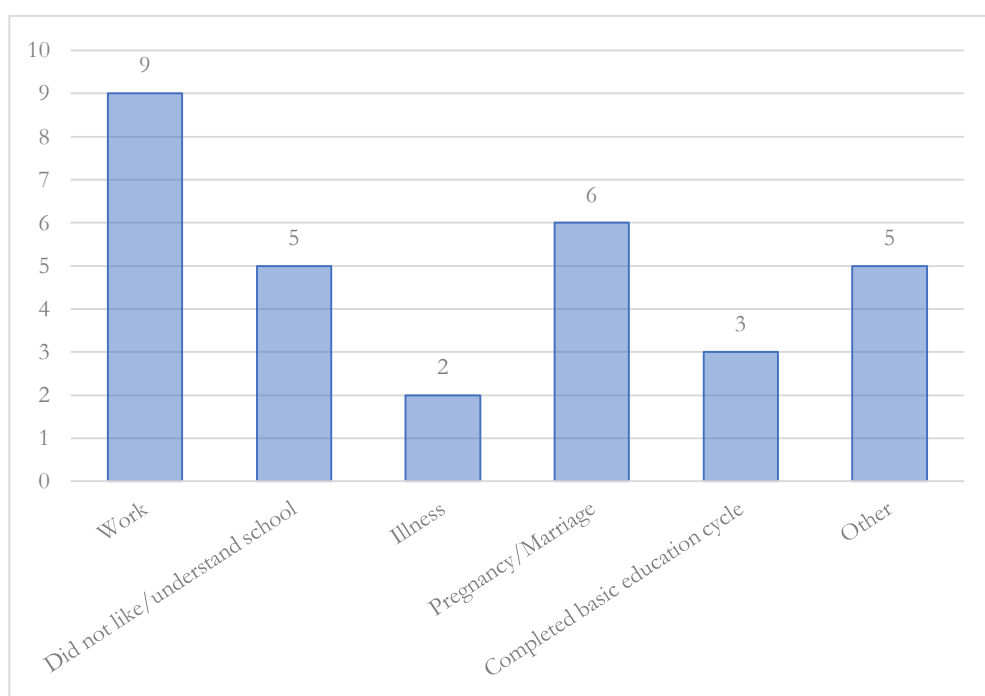
In the past, in [our parents'/grandparents'] era, it didn't matter whether the teaching was poor or great – just having a school was already something really good. Today, no. Today, there are schools. The problem is that the teaching is poor. But at least there are schools. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

⁹⁶ This also underlines the importance of familial and intergenerational interdependence, contesting the notion central to the human capital model of autonomous adulthood as the goal of young people's life transitions and trajectories.

Because it's much more modern today, and in the past, it wasn't. My mum talks about in the past she didn't have workbooks, she would go to school with bits of scrap paper to write notes on, but even that didn't stop her from being what she is today. (*João, age 19*)

Despite notable intergenerational change in patterns of educational attainment, there appears to be much continuity in the social processes shaping early trajectories out of school. Consistent with the experiences of many young beneficiaries discussed in chapter 4, early pregnancy and entry into the labour market (were the two most common reasons that caregivers had left school early as well. Figure 18 shows the reasons reported by caregivers (heads of households and their spouses) for leaving school.

Figure 18: Caregivers' Reasons for Leaving School (2014/15)



In interviews, young people and their caregivers consistently explained the latter's school leaving as a result of the need to work or early pregnancy. Mirroring the examples in chapter 4 of young people leaving the basic education cycle prior to completion out of a need or perceived need to work, Sara (Leandro's mother) explained that she left school as a matter of survival: "ou trabalhava ou estudava" [you either worked or you went to school]. Ester (Rodrigo's grandmother) also recounted how both she and her husband had had "difficult lives" and had both left school to work.

There appears to be much intergenerational continuity in early pregnancy as a driving factor behind early trajectories out of school for young women. Many of the same young people who are parents themselves (and many of whom consequently left school) have caregivers (grandmothers, mothers, sisters) who also left school as a result of early pregnancy. For instance, Mayara left school because of her pregnancy as did her older sister, Laís, who raised her. Similarly, Gisele became pregnant in secondary school and felt compelled to leave school due to stigmatisation and shaming by her teachers and peers; her mother, Verônica, also left school in the 8th year of Fundamental I, when she got pregnant. Echoing Gisele's experience of the stigmatisation and shame associated with early pregnancy described in chapter 4, Vitoria (Alessandro's mother) explained that she left school because of the shame of being pregnant while at school.

Though there have been clear improvements in access to schooling across generations, it is not clear that this has been primarily facilitated by the introduction of the BFP. Nor has enhanced access to schooling ensured similar intergenerational improvements to human capital accumulation. Moreover, many of the same social processes shaping young people's early trajectories out of school mirror the experiences of their caregivers. Work and early pregnancy appear as relevant today in shaping young people's schooling trajectories as they were for previous generations. This would seem to suggest that educational conditionalities, intended to function as a mechanism for social mobility through higher educational attainment, are insufficient to secure the intergenerational change envisioned for young beneficiaries. Based on the relatively limited intergenerational changes to educational trajectories and outcomes, the likelihood that the BFP will ensure transformative pathways out of poverty would therefore seem in doubt.

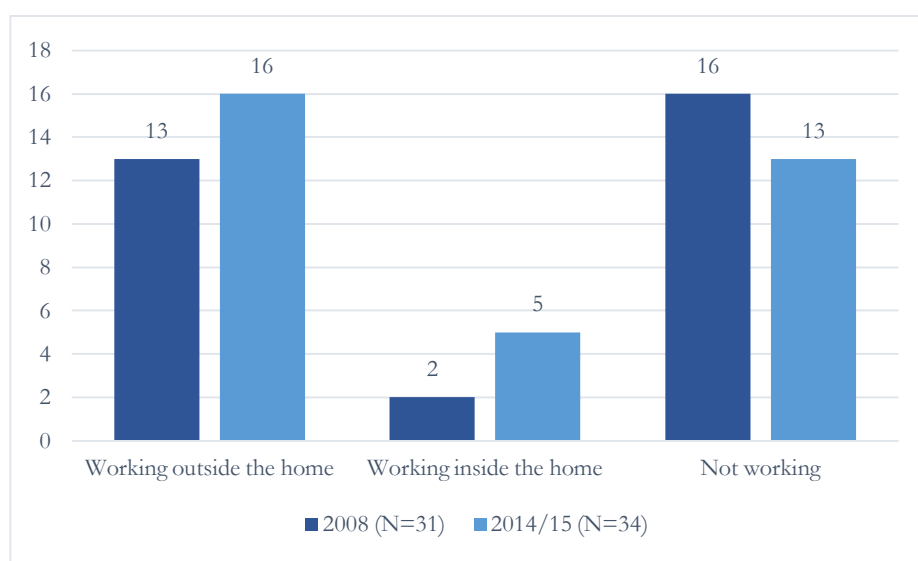
6.2.4 *Employment.*

Whereas the BFP has either facilitated or coincided with notable, if at times limited, intergenerational changes in beneficiaries' ability to meet basic needs, their access to social protection and social rights of citizenship, and their educational attainment levels, such change

is not evident in beneficiaries' patterns of labour incorporation.⁹⁷ The questionnaire and interview data show that young people's employment patterns do not differ markedly from those of older generations in the same households. Instead, in many ways, young people's patterns of labour insertion are more precarious than those of their caregivers and (at least at this point in their labour market trajectories⁹⁸) less consistent with facilitating social mobility and pathways out of poverty over the long-term.

Young people and their caregivers have quite comparable levels of labour participation. In 2014/15, 47% of caregivers were working outside the home and an additional 15% were working inside the home, while 38% were not working. This represents an increase in employment levels from 2008, as shown in figure 19.

Figure 19: Caregivers' Employment



⁹⁷ The findings here represent some of the first research that seeks to examine intergenerational changes in employment patterns among CCT beneficiary families. The data here indicate important areas of future research. The paucity of research examining labour market outcomes in intergenerational comparative perspective limits the extent to which the findings here can be generalised, however.

⁹⁸ Given the relatively young age and early stage of labour participation for most young beneficiaries, however, their patterns of labour incorporation may improve over time, particularly as they accumulate more experience and contacts in the labour market. This highlights the need for further (particularly longitudinal) research on young beneficiaries' labour insertion.

Most caregivers who were not working were either looking for work or had left work to care for children. While 80% of young people reported having ever been employed (by 2014/15), 50% were currently working at the time of the interviews, and another 30% were seeking employment. The remaining 20% had never been employed and were not seeking work.

Amongst those who were or have been employed, the quality of employment – proxied by formal/informal sector employment and the associated labour standards and protections – appears to be low among both young people and heads of households and their spouses. Moreover, there was a decline in the percentage of heads of households and their spouses employed in the formal sector between the 2008 and 2014/15 questionnaires, from 29% to 24%. Young people’s quality of employment appears to be substantially lower still, with only 14% of those employed in 2014/15 employed in the formal sector. This suggests a great deal of precarity to beneficiary families’ employment patterns, which are being replicated in young people’s labour market experiences. This was reflected in the interviews as well, with many noting that they had only ever held jobs in the informal sector, and/or that their employment consisted of odd jobs [“fazer bico”] and as such, their incomes were very precarious and unpredictable. Table 27 shows the types of jobs held by both young beneficiaries and their caregivers (heads of households and their spouses), illustrating how little improvement there has been across generations in the type of employment available to young people.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ There is a paucity of research on the patterns of labour market insertion of young beneficiaries. Nonetheless, the evidence here of the lack of intergenerational change in employment patterns is consistent with the limited evidence available on beneficiaries labour insertion elsewhere in Latin America (see, for instance, Cecchini & Madariaga, 2011; Rodríguez-Oreggia & Freije, 2012).

Table 27: Types of Jobs Held by Caregivers and Youth (2014/15)

Caregiver (Heads of Household & Spouses) Employment		Youth Employment	
Job	Number of cases from sample	Job	Number of cases from sample
Mason's assistant (odd jobs)	1	Painter/Tire repair in an auto shop	1
Hairstylist	1	Street/itinerant vendor	1
Cashier at a pizzeria	1	Assistant to school secretary	1
Cook (home-based)	2	Construction (odd jobs)	1
Babysitter (home-based)	2	Sales assistant in a shoe store	2
Maid	5	Server at a buffet restaurant	1
Cleaner in a department store	1	Customer service staff at utilities company	1
Woodworker	1	Military	1
Mechanic	1	Distributes pamphlets on the street	1
Laundry/ironing (home-based)	1	Hairstylist and party decorating	1
Mason	2	Assistant mason (odd jobs)	1
Painter	1	Staff at an events hall	1
Receptionist	1	Staff at a supermarket	1
Shop owner/vendor (home-based)	2	Babysitter (home-based)	3
Server	1	Cleaner at a cinema	1
Security guard	1	Beautician and re-sells catalogue beauty products (home-based)	1

When caregivers were asked what they thought would have made the biggest difference in their own employment experiences and trajectories as well as what they perceived to be the most significant barrier for people in their communities to obtaining better jobs, they consistently cited more schooling and/or professional training as key to accessing better jobs. This illustrates very clearly the strong belief among caregivers in the value of education for social and labour mobility. This point will be further developed in the next section on young people's expectations and aspirations for the future; however, it is worth noting the disjuncture between, on the one hand, the belief in the importance of schooling and qualifications in determining access to better employment opportunities, and on the other hand, the experiences of young people described in the previous chapter, which were much more linked to social capital rather than human capital.

Perhaps most tellingly, when asked whether they thought they would need the BFP benefit in five years' time, most families (80% in the 2008 questionnaire, and 84% in 2014/15)

anticipated needing the transfer. This suggests that the BFP may be perceived to hold limited scope for facilitating long-term, transformative poverty reduction. As shown in this section, the BFP has secured important improvements in the ability of beneficiaries to meet basic needs and to access the state, but in a highly segmented and limited way. It has provided the basis for limited intergenerational change that would be consistent with substantial social inclusion, the full exercise of citizenship rights, and altered educational and employment trajectories, all of which challenge the notion of transformative change and of long-term poverty reduction through the Bolsa Família. Overall, then, the BFP appears to have been much more successful in addressing poverty alleviation in the short-term than in ensuring poverty reduction over the long-term through greater social mobility. As the next section shows, this generates fundamental tensions within the CCT model between relatively limited intergenerational, transformative change among young beneficiaries, and the aim and discourses around education as the key to social mobility and poverty reduction.

6.3 Great Expectations: Young People's Life Trajectories and Long-term Poverty Reduction.

Beyond the material dimensions of intergenerational change, the aspirational dimensions of intergenerational change are equally relevant to outcomes of poverty reduction strategies. The BFP appears to have contributed to significant intergenerational aspirational changes, raising the expectations and aspirations of young people and their families of social mobility as a result of improved educational and employment trajectories. The human capital-based CCT model, along with the international and national discourses on poverty and education, that see schooling as the key to social mobility and to escaping poverty, have perpetuated a narrative of poverty that locates its solution in educational investments. Yet, as shown throughout this study, there is little evidence that young people's schooling and labour market trajectories are consistent with these raised expectations and aspirations and hopes of moving out of poverty. This section examines these discourses that underpin the CCT model in the Bolsa Família and the clear link these have established between education and social mobility and poverty reduction. It then examines young beneficiaries' educational, employment and life aspirations and expectations, the ways in which they and their families have internalised these discourses, in turn creating a critical tension in the BFP between, on the one hand, the goal of intergenerational change as well as

beneficiaries' raised expectations and aspirations of material change, and, on the other hand, the realities of young people's lives and trajectories, which are not commensurate with such changes.

6.3.1 Conditional Cash Transfers and the Global Education Agenda.

Since the 1990s, as the insufficiency of economic growth as the dominant development strategy and the need for alternative approaches to addressing persistent high levels of poverty and inequality became evident, education has been at the core of global poverty reduction efforts (Tarabini, 2010). The economic changes generated by globalisation – often referred to as the 'knowledge-based economy' or the 'learning economy' – has precipitated the emergence of a new model of accumulation that relies primarily on human capital (Bonal, 2002; Tarabini, 2010). Thus, a global consensus has emerged that education should be at the core of policies for poverty reduction, with international organisations, national governments and NGOs all extolling the virtues of investing in education to reduce poverty.¹⁰⁰

This global agenda defines not only what should be achieved but, in many cases, also how it should be achieved, namely through explicitly pro-poor policies that guarantee that state resources are targeted to those who are most in need (Tarabini, 2008). Several new targeted education programmes have been held up as examples of best practices under this new model for poverty reduction, among which the Bolsa Família is paradigmatic. This new model “makes a direct, casual relationship between education and poverty, with the understanding that increasing one will generate a decrease in the other almost automatically, and that the aggregate result will have positive repercussions on economic growth and national development” (Tarabini, 2008, p. 417). ‘Education as/for development’ discourses explicitly link schooling to employment (Ansell, 2014). The BFP draws on these narratives and discourses by tying educational conditionalities to the receipt of the cash transfer on the basis that ensuring poor families are making the ‘right’ educational investments in their children will secure pathways out of poverty for young people over the long run.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, UNESCO and UNICEF's Education for All programme launched in the 1990s, the UN's MDGs (specifically, the goal of universal access to primary education), and subsequently the SDGs with a greater focus on quality of education.

The 'education as/for development' rationale (as in the BFP) positions schooling as the route to social and labour mobility but also to individual improvement (Ansell, 2014). Global discourses on the value on education for 'successful childhoods' and 'successful youth transitions' are often reflected in the aspirations of young people (Crivello, 2011). Schooling is meant as much to create 'aspirational subjects' – to increase young people's 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004) – as to generate the skills necessary for the labour market (Ansell, 2014). Indeed, there is a wide literature on the high value placed on education by poor families. Education is seen to empower (for instance, through literacy), to bestow dignity – e.g., 'to become somebody' (Crivello, 2011; also Jeffrey et al., 2004) –, and to generate intergenerational change – to 'become different' than one's parents (Crivello, 2011). As shown in the next section, this is consistent with the evidence that emerged from interviews with young people and their families; the importance of 'becoming somebody' of importance, of 'becoming different' from one's parents and grandparents underscores the aspirational dimensions of the ways in which the BFP is understood to facilitate intergenerational change among beneficiaries.

By shaping aspirations as well as skills, schooling intervenes in social reproduction. Yet, as we have seen, education is not so clearly transformative in social reproduction as the global education agenda (nor CCTs/the BFP) predicts. Raised aspirations may be seldom realised due to structural constraints in the education system and/or labour market (or elsewhere), which in turn prevent young people from performing the expected roles in social reproduction (Ansell, 2014). Indeed, this has been demonstrated in the growing literature on young people's transitions. For instance, Jeffrey et al.'s (2004) study of Chamar young men in Northern India finds that increased formal education has contributed to a certain level of freedom from caste oppression through an individual sense of dignity and confidence, but has not translated into secure employment for these young men. This produces a disjuncture between aspirations fuelled by increasing educational attainment on the one hand, and these young men's continued disadvantaged socioeconomic and social position in local class and caste hierarchies. Ultimately, despite other valued dimensions of schooling among parents, the inability to translate raised expectations and aspirations of schooling into social mobility through expanded employment opportunities has influenced parental perceptions of education and led to a diminishing belief in the value of schooling beyond the 8th grade (Jeffrey et al., 2004). While such disillusionment with the idea of education as the key to social mobility was not yet evident in the case of BFP

beneficiary families, as the next section shows, there is a disjuncture between, on the one hand, raised aspirations and expectations of intergenerational change, of social mobility generated by discourses of education for poverty reduction and, on the other hand, as shown earlier, the limited scope for realising these in the context of a highly segmented and unequal education system, labour market and society.

6.3.2 Young People's Educational, Employment and Life Expectations and Aspirations.

Underpinned by 'education for/as development' discourses, young beneficiaries and their families' expectations and aspirations related to increased access to schooling have increased over those of their parents. The expectations of young people (for themselves and by their families) of 'success' in the form of previously unprecedented social mobility, that will lift not only themselves but their families out of poverty, are tremendously high. Yet, as the evidence presented in this chapter shows, it seems unlikely that such high expectations and aspirations of the payoffs of schooling in the labour market, of improved life trajectories and of social mobility, will be realised given limited intergenerational change in young people's educational and labour market trajectories.

The discourses around schooling as the key to escaping poverty, central to the CCT model and the BFP, seem to have contributed to shaping the value young people and their families place on schooling and their aspirations and expectations for the future. As school enrolment has increased dramatically across the globe over the last decade in line with the global education agenda discussed above, children and families increasingly place tremendously high value on schooling. As Morrow (2013) notes, a "huge burden of expectation is placed on children acquiring ever more qualifications as an anticipated route out of poverty" (p. 258). The perception that schooling is the only means of escaping poverty and of accessing greater social mobility has been confirmed elsewhere; for instance, in evidence from the longitudinal Young Lives study of 12,000 children across four countries (Boyden, 2013).

These patterns are similarly evident in the aspirations and expectations of young BFP beneficiaries and their families. Schooling is very much seen as the key to social mobility, to

better access to the labour market, a better future, and social status, as shown in the examples from young beneficiaries below.

Nowadays, you only get a job with an education. (*Gisele, age 19*)

These days, to get a job, you have to have completed secondary school. I think that there are no jobs without having an education. (*Juliana, age 20*)

In Brazil, it's essential that you have a university [education] because without it, your life is over, especially for those born into families of humble means. You have to have it [a university education], or no, it won't be ok. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Right, school is good because, in the world we live in, if you haven't gone to school, you won't get anywhere. Even garbage collectors have to have completed secondary school. (*João, age 19*)

To get jobs, you have to have gone to school. School is important for everything, for the future. (*Noemi, age 17*)

It's important to go to school. You need to have gone to school for everything. If you haven't studied, you have nothing. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

[If I could talk to the governor, I would say] to offer more qualifications. There should be more courses, more opportunities in secondary school, from beginning to end. I think that you have to do this from childhood to adulthood. To prepare for the future, because these days, people aren't that prepared. Maybe a course after secondary school...but I think that it should be offered when you are a child to when you become an adult. Let's be prepared in the extreme, from school through work. (*Leandro, age 17*)

I think that, well, my future is guaranteed. I want to improve in many things, I want to learn more, I want to work and from there I will make my future little by little. (*Luíza, age 18*)

The expectation of a direct link between educational investments and employment opportunities was clear throughout the interviews with many young people. When asked what plans they had upon finishing the basic education cycle, what kinds of jobs they aspired to, and how they might achieve those goals and what obstacles they might face along the way, young people consistently perceived education to have direct and immediate payoffs in the labour market.

You have to study to be able to achieve something better. So only [completing my diploma] will help me. I hope to manage to complete the diploma, which I am sure will open a lot of doors here. I think that from here I will graduate, I will get a job, and if Gods wills it, in the field that I want, in the programme that I choose. I will be able to leave here [the neighbourhood], because I don't plan to stay here. To live in a better place with my family, to have my clinic as I said. This will help a lot. This diploma will help a lot. (*Adriana, age 19*)

[You] finish school, do the [professional training] course. If I do the course right, you have a job [afterwards]. (*Rodrigo, age, 18*)

Moreover, the desire to 'become somebody' (Crivello, 2011) and the perception of the social respect and value bestowed by schooling is nearly universal across the young beneficiaries

interviewed in this study. The refrain “Porque sem o estudo, a gente não é nada” [Because without going to school, we are nothing] was repeated in nearly every interview.

Nowadays, people who haven’t studied are nothing. (*Anderson, age 18*)

It’s like this: without studying, we are nothing. (*Gisele, age 19*)

If I don’t go to school, what will I be in life? (*Luíza, age 18*)

Going to school these days is everything. If you haven’t gone to school, today you’re nothing. (*Lucas, age 19*)

School is important because, you know, people have more of a future, ahead. Because without going to school, you’re nothing, are you? (*Rebeca, age 16*)

But you have to go [to school] to be someone in life. If you don’t, you’re nothing. (*Nívia, age 18*)

I am going to school to study. To be someone in life. We have to study to be someone in life and to learn more. (*Sofia, age 17*)

I just want to improve, to be able to fight to succeed. (*Camila, age 17*)

The pervasiveness of the desire to ‘be somebody’ in the Brazilian context is confirmed by Carvalho (2015) who, in a study of low-income families in São Paulo, notes that parents’ aspirations for children are typically framed in terms of intergenerational change, of wanting children to ‘be someone later in life,’ to ‘study, be someone,’ to ‘have a better future.’ Similarly, in their research with Chamar young men in Northern India, Jeffrey et al. (2004) note that education is seen to instil self-worth, confidence and dignity.

The common desire to ‘be somebody’ of social significance was often evoked in young people’s expressed desire to be ‘a professional’ or ‘a manager,’ positions that are seen as middle class, ‘respectable’ white collar jobs. The association of white collar employment with dignity and respect is consistent in the literature on the aspirations of young people living in poverty elsewhere (Jeffrey et al., 2004; Crivello, 2011). In interviews, many young beneficiaries were unable to define their professional aspirations in any concrete way, however. Rather, their aspirations seem to reflect more of a desire for both social respect and social mobility than a particular professional interest.

Alessandro: Do I have an ideal job in mind? I would be high up, quite high up. I would like to be a regional manager in a company.

Researcher: A manager in a company...

Alessandro: Regional manager.

Researcher: A specific type of company, related to a particular type of business?

Alessandro: Trade.

Researcher: Some type of trading company...

Alessandro: That's right. President of a company.

(Alessandro, age 16)

Researcher: Do you have a job in mind?

Davi: I want to be a manager of a company.

Researcher: Do you know what area of business you would like to work in?

Davi: I haven't thought about it.

(Davi, age 17)

Lucas: I would like a better job. But that's what I'm going to school for.

Researcher: What would be a better job for you?

Lucas: A company manager.

(Lucas, age 19)

Others aspire to the typically well-known, 'respectable' careers that seem to hold the promise of social mobility, such as a doctor or lawyer, although few understand what might be involved in attaining those aspirations and the steps they might take towards those goals.

Researcher: And what would this better job be? Do you have some kind of dream, something like that, to have another job?

Gabriel: Electrician. I want to be an electrician. Either working for myself or for a company.

Researcher: What do you think that you would need to achieve this ideal job?

Gabriel: Man, I don't know. To do a course, right?

Researcher: And do you think it will be possible to do this course? Will it be easy for you or difficult?

Gabriel: I think it would be easy. I think that it will be like that...go back to school...

(Gabriel, age 17)

Researcher: And what do you think you'll do after secondary school?

Rebeca: [Go to] university.

Researcher: And what do you want to study?

Rebeca: Law. You know, I like to talk. People who work in law talk a lot, right? [Especially] judges.

Researcher: And what would be the job that you would like to get? Do you have something that you would like to do in law, to be a lawyer, to be...

Rebeca: A judge.

Researcher: Ah, right. And is there anything that you think makes it difficult to achieve this? To be able to study, to go to university one day, is there anything that gets in the way?

Rebeca: That interferes with going to university? No. Nothing gets in the way, no.

(Rebeca, age 16)

My dream, at first was to be a paediatrician, but I didn't like children very much. I wanted to be – man, what's the name of it... – a veterinarian. That was my dream. But it's just that, I gave up [on that]. So being a nutritionist is also a dream. I also wanted to do a course to become a police officer, which was also a dream. My neighbour was going to arrange for me to study for it – he's a police officer as well. I haven't given up [on that] yet. But what I want to do is to [do the course] to become a nutritionist. *(Gisele, age 19)*

The common thread among all young people's aspirations is the notion of a white collar, 'respectable' career, through which they can access social mobility, and which they typically contrast with their parents' lives. This differentiation between young people's own lives and those of their caregivers (parents, grandparents etc.), the notion of 'becoming different' (Crivello, 2011) runs throughout many interviews but is illustrated particularly clearly in the example below from Adriana and her mother, as well as others.

Adriana: My mum didn't have the opportunities to study like I have. [S]o I think that yes, it will be different [for me]. She got pregnant young. She didn't study, but I'm doing it differently.

Ana (Adriana's mother): And what am I doing? I'm fighting, working so that she can have a different future than I had.

Researcher: And then you will stay at home [meaning the daughter will take care of the mother]?

Adriana: That's right. She will stay at home because I will pay.

(Adriana, age 19)

I believe that my objectives are like this: I will go much further than my parents. I will go much further, I will seek something better, I will be proud of my parents for all that they have done, I will show my gratitude for everything they have done, studying and stressing so much the importance of the labour

market as well as school. [I] will always aim for the best for my life: a good job, a good salary, always with the goal of improving my life. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

Because I will have [a] university [education], I will have a job. Because my mother doesn't have [a job]. So I will have much more. (*Rebeca, age 16*)

[I will have a better life] in finding a job, if I dedicate myself to school. I think I will find a better job. I won't suffer as much. In the kitchen, in families' houses [i.e., working as a maid in other people's houses]. (*Natália, age 19*)

Education, and by association the perception of access to white collar jobs, holds the promise of a 'better life' for young people than their parents had. The aspirations and expectations of young people to 'be somebody,' to have social value and a respectable career was consistently juxtaposed against the experiences of previous generations, underscoring the intergenerational change imbued in aspirations and expectations of young people's futures, of 'being different' than previous generations.

With education understood to be the key factor in gaining access to a 'better life,' considerable shame is associated with not having completed compulsory education, even where young people have 'actively chosen' to leave school and where they hold a job.

I'm...how do you say...a bit ashamed, because I could be the same as them [friends] or better than them. I could have finished school like them, and started working in something else. (*Lucas, age 19*)

I think it was my own lack of merit to have stopped going to school, to have dropped out mid-way through to go work. I should have persevered a bit more, I should have studied a bit more, even with the poor teaching. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

This shame may reflect the pressure young people face to not only secure a better life for themselves but also for their families in the future, as well as to care for their parents in their old age. This shame associated with incomplete schooling appears to have increased for younger generations, as the perception that social mobility is within reach intensifies pressures to take advantage of the perceived opportunities that higher educational attainment will offer.

The CCT model creates a fundamental tension, then, for young beneficiaries between, on the one hand, the aspirations and expectations of young people and their families for a 'better life' that schooling is meant to bring within the 'education for poverty reduction' narrative, and on the other hand, the structural barriers that exist for young people to meet these aspirations

and expectations. Our conversation with Anderson and his mother clearly demonstrates the pressures facing young people to complete compulsory education and to translate that into enhanced employment opportunities and upward social mobility for themselves and their families.

Anderson (age 18) lives with his mother in a favela, in a small concrete one-room house in the hills above Recife. Anderson has completed secondary school and has been working at odd jobs in construction to support himself and his mother. He aspires, however, to more regular work and eventually further education, although he is awaiting the paperwork granting him exemption from military service in order to do either.¹⁰¹

Anderson enjoys living in his community, explaining it is familiar, it is where he grew up, he has friends there, and he does not have any desire to leave. At the same time, he acknowledges that the community is dangerous. He always enjoyed going to school because he “felt more comfortable at school” since he was not able to go outside and play in the streets at home because it was too dangerous. His mother interjects to explain how the violence in their community has impacted their lives; she recounts how her eldest son was killed by the Military Police¹⁰² many years ago before Anderson was born, and several of her other family members have been killed or subjected to police violence and imprisoned. She notes, “here, the police are really violent.”

These experiences have profoundly changed how she feels about the community and how she has raised Anderson – as he alludes to when he explains that he was always more comfortable at school because it was safe. Throughout our conversation with Anderson and his mother, both repeatedly refer to how much she has suffered in her life, both as a result of having lived in desperate poverty and of her experiences of violence. Her experiences have been central in shaping Anderson’s aspirations and her expectations of his achievements. He aspires to be a Military Police so that he can change the pattern of interaction between the police and the community, so that he can make it safer.

I want to be a Military Police, because of what happened [his brother and cousins’ murders]. I am drawn to that, because I go around the neighbourhood a lot, and if I was a Military Police, if I saw someone doing something wrong, as a citizen I could be threatened. There are many police officers around here who don’t know the right approach. They arrive here, in anger, and because they are in uniform, no one can say anything, because you could be held in contempt. So I’m thinking about doing the exam [for entry into police training]. I think I can help with this. [...] More for my family. My family has taught me a lot and made me want to go in this direction.

¹⁰¹ In Brazil, military service is mandatory for every male between the ages of 18 and 45 years old, for a period of 9 to 12 months. Exemptions are commonly obtained; however, the documentation granting exemption is required to enrol in any educational institution, as well as to gain access to some types of employment (such as government jobs), among other restrictions.

¹⁰² The Military Police, while classed as reservist troops, operate as the main policing force in Brazil and are responsible for maintaining public order. Policing on the streets, especially in the favelas is done primarily by the Military Police.

When asked about how he imagines his future life, Anderson's mother interjects, illustrating how the narratives of education as the key to social mobility in the BFP contribute to shaping families' expectations of the payoffs of their children's education, and in turn the pressures young people face to provide a better life for their parents.

[We will have] a big house, with a pool where I can swim. I love pools and the beach. A car, a motorcycle for you, son. To have a house on the beach... Everyday to go walking at the edge of the beach, the sun warming you, to dive into the water, to come home and swing in a hammock...

His mother's expectations contrast with his own aspirations: he personally only wishes for a job and a car. This may reflect his perception of much more limited opportunities in the labour market. His aspirations to a better life are primarily in order to provide for his mother, and as an only child, he feels a strong sense of responsibility to care for her and to compensate for the struggles she has experienced in life.

We always talk about my mother's past at home, the suffering that she has endured. And this doesn't have much to do with me because when I was born, a lot had already happened. But these things – to relax and have fun – they're for my mother. For me, it's working, so that I can buy a car and that's it. I mirror myself in her, in wanting to be someone, to give her a better life.

Families' aspirations and expectations of young people as facilitators of intergenerational change as a result of their schooling, underpinned by the narratives of education as the key to escaping poverty, can thus be very high, and the pressures on young people to provide for their families and to translate their schooling into a 'better future' tremendous. Anderson's mother's expectations of the life he will provide for her thanks to his schooling are perhaps exceedingly high. Thus, there appears to be a tension in the CCT model between young people's own aspirations, their sense of responsibility to their parents, their parents' high expectations linked to their children's schooling, and yet the limitations on young people's ability to meet those expectations due to a host of structural factors beyond their control.

Similarly, Morrow (2013) argues that there appears to be a sense among young people of repaying "debts of gratitude towards parents, of intricate connections between material and social values within the context of kinship, that fosters intergenerational mutuality" (p. 266). Anderson's case reflects this quite clearly. At the same time, she notes that this does not align with policy discourses on youth, which emphasise the attainment of an independent, autonomous adulthood (Morrow, 2013). This interdependence rather than independence in adulthood was commonly expressed by young people who seek to provide a 'better life' for their families and who shape their life aspirations around doing so.

Researcher: And in the future? Do you think that you will be better off than they are now?

Lucas: Yes, if I maintain my focus, yes. In the way that I am dreaming, yes. I can be much better off, and [I can] give a better life to my family.

(Lucas, age 19)

I really want to help my family. To live in a country that I really like. To grow up a lot in life. To have a lot of money and help my family and to do charity. That is it. *(Cláudia, age 16)*

As this section has shown, the human capital and CCT model, along with broader discourses framing schooling as the key to social mobility and escaping poverty, have contributed to much intergenerational change in aspirations and expectations of social mobility, as well as to raising the expectations and aspirations of young BFP beneficiaries and their families of intergenerational change. There is thus a fundamental disjuncture in the BFP and CCTs between, on the one hand, the high value such programmes encourage beneficiaries to place on formal schooling as the key to moving out of poverty, and, on the other hand, the structural barriers, such as poor quality education, as well as household economic contexts, that limit the opportunities to do so. This is highly problematic at both an individual and societal level, as it is not at all clear that these better labour market and life trajectories, these aspirations and expectations, are within reach for most young people. The expectation of linear trajectories from schooling to the labour market in the CCT model, and the notion that completing the basic education cycle will ensure access to a good job and social mobility have clearly been internalised by young beneficiaries and their families. The extent to which this may be borne out in practice for these young people, however, remains unclear. CCTs, and the BFP, may face a particular ethical dilemma, then, to the extent that the narrative of ‘education for poverty reduction’ at the heart of such programmes may be helping to raise aspirations and expectations of a better life, while failing to address the structural inequalities that continue to shape young people’s life trajectories and opportunities and possibilities for moving out of poverty.

There is more at stake, however, than an ethical dilemma in policy design; rather, such raised but unfulfilled expectations and aspirations may eventually undermine CCTs’ efforts to increase educational attainment. While it has yet to materialise in the Brazilian context, as Jeffrey et al.’s (2004) research in Northern India shows, the lack of opportunity to translate educational

investments into altered labour market trajectories and social mobility may contribute to diminished value placed on, and investments in, young people's schooling. If this were to occur in the context of the BFP, the goal of raising human capital accumulation as a mechanism for poverty reduction would be undermined. More recent findings from Jeffrey's (2010) ongoing research in India suggest that young men remain unable to secure stable salaried employment despite significant investments in formal education, such that the notion of 'timepass' has come to frame young men's discourses and understandings of their educational, employment and life trajectories.

Bourdieu (1984) referred long ago to the "broken trajectory effect," wherein young people fail to obtain the occupation they were led to expect. In western UP [Uttar Pradesh], it is more appropriate to refer to "broken trajectory effects," in the plural, wherein dreams of occupational mobility, progression to adulthood, and movement into a modern era were disintegrating simultaneously. (Jeffrey, 2010, p. 477)

While Jeffrey's research participants are both older and have achieved higher educational attainment levels than the young people here, the notion of 'timepass,' of being 'stuck' or 'waiting' are illustrative of the structural barriers many marginalised young people face in fulfilling the educational, employment and life trajectories that the human capital-based CCT model promises. As illustrated in chapter 4, the notion of 'broken trajectory effects' certainly appears to have some resonance with some young BFP beneficiaries' understandings of their trajectories. This also suggests that young BFP beneficiaries' inability thus far to secure changed employment trajectories from previous generations' may not be a function of their age as much as the structural barriers that persist in shaping both theirs and their parents' marginalisation in the labour market.

6.4 Conclusion.

As yet, there has been little consideration of the longer term impacts of CCTs, particularly in intergenerational perspective, despite their explicit aims of breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty through human capital investments. This chapter has provided some of the first work on CCTs that examines experiences of poverty and the educational and employment trajectories of young beneficiaries and their possibilities for moving out of poverty

in comparative intergenerational perspective. It contributes to our understanding not only of the material intergenerational changes experienced by BFP beneficiary families, but also to our understandings of the psychological and aspirational intergenerational changes precipitated by the Bolsa Família. It has demonstrated the tensions created by, on the one hand, educational discourses at the heart of CCTs that position schooling as the key to moving out of poverty, contributing to raising expectations and aspirations of social mobility among both young people and their families, and, on the other hand, the disconnect of these raised expectations and aspirations with the lived realities of young people's schooling and labour market experiences and trajectories.

This chapter has shown that the BFP has secured important changes in intergenerational perspective in terms of beneficiary families' ability to meet their immediate basic needs. Additionally, the extension of the BFP has secured at least a basic level of social inclusion and social citizenship for a segment of the population previously in many ways beyond the reach of the state. While these gains should not be underestimated, they also do not represent the kinds of intergenerational change that would be required to facilitate sustainable, long-term pathways out of poverty for beneficiaries. Improvements in access to social protection as well as to education have occurred in along highly segmented lines. Young people have greater access to schooling, for instance; yet this is largely limited to the lowest quality schools. The intergenerational educational gains, then, remain largely limited to basic levels of literacy and numeracy that, while fundamental to many beneficiaries' sense of self-worth and dignity and a basic level of freedom and self-sufficiency in their everyday lives, do not represent mechanisms for substantially altered life trajectories in comparative intergenerational perspective or for clear pathways out of poverty.

At the same time, there is a great deal of continuity in young beneficiaries' patterns of labour market insertion with previous generations. The highly precarious, temporary/casual, and poorly remunerated nature of the employment of many young people does not seem to hold much promise of changed labour market trajectories compared to their parents, grandparents etc. Overall, high levels of inequality and marginalisation continue to mark young people's educational, labour market and life trajectories, challenging the notion that the BFP can be the basis for broad redistribution and changed life trajectories for the poor.

The BFP has facilitated some material changes for beneficiary families in intergenerational perspective, but it has also contributed to aspirational changes, raising young beneficiaries' and their families' expectations and aspirations of the material gains that increased investments in education are seen to ensure. The narratives that place education as the key to social mobility, which underpin both recent international discourses around 'education as/for development' and the CCT model itself, appear to have helped to raise the expectations and aspirations of young beneficiaries and their families of the promised payoffs of educational investments in the form of access to better jobs and social mobility. If the empirical evidence suggests that such programmes do not appear to be facilitating intergenerational change and long-term pathways out of poverty for young beneficiaries, and yet the narratives of poverty and the routes to escaping poverty implicit in these programmes are contributing to raising expectations of social mobility that are highly unlikely to be fulfilled, then there is an imperative to address this disjuncture. This might provide the rationale for removing educational conditionalities from the BFP that explicitly perpetuate the narratives of education as *the* (and only) key to social mobility, or alternatively, for expanding the scope of the BFP to address the multi-faceted and structural factors that contribute to the reproduction of poverty in Brazil.

CHAPTER 7

CCTs: Delivering on the Promise of Poverty Reduction?

7.1 Introduction.

The previous empirical chapters have demonstrated that young Bolsa Família beneficiaries' schooling and labour market experiences and trajectories appear at odds with the long-term poverty reduction goals of the programme. This chapter explores the implications of the empirical findings of the previous chapters, theoretically for the CCT model, and practically for CCT policies and complementary policies.

The next section highlights the insufficiency of the CCT model based on the empirical findings of previous chapters, while the following two sections consider the question of how to respond to the insufficiency of the model. Section three examines complementary policies at the national and subnational levels that have been conceived to address some of the gaps in the current model and considers the extent to which these are consistent with the empirical findings in this study. It draws on secondary literature and primary empirical data collected in interviews with government officials, particularly at the state level in Rio de Janeiro. The fourth section then moves beyond the notion that complementary policies might be sufficient to address the gaps in the CCT model identified in this chapter to argue that a broader shift in the conceptualisation of poverty and the role of the individual vs. the state is necessary to facilitate the type of transformative, intergenerational poverty reduction that the BFP and CCTs intend.

More broadly, and in contrast to the dominant paradigm in the research on CCTs and the BFP (which focuses almost exclusively on quantitative measures of schooling), this study

highlights the importance of qualitative research that engages directly with beneficiaries. It demonstrates that young people's perceptions and experiences are critical to understanding their schooling, employment and life trajectories, and thus to CCTs' capacity to facilitate intergenerational poverty reduction. The more generalised implications of the findings of this study, then, also include illustrating the need to examine and incorporate a better understanding of young people's lives, the social and relational norms and pressures they face, and the opportunities available to them in the choices they make about schooling and employment in poverty reduction policies such as CCTs and the BFP.

7.2 Implications for the CCT Model.

The empirical findings regarding young people's schooling and labour market experiences and trajectories are not only inconsistent with the assumptions inherent in the human capital model at the heart of CCTs, but also suggest fundamental tensions within the model not yet highlighted in (or illuminated by the quantitative methods used) in much of the existing research. Several fundamental disjunctures in the benefit structure, logic, and implementation of the BFP are evident from the empirical findings in this study; namely, the value of conditionality and the extent to which it serves the aim of raising educational attainment, the linearity of the model in conceptualising young people's trajectories, and the extent to which young beneficiaries are indeed building the human capital necessary to alter future opportunities and life trajectories, and in turn to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty.

7.2.1 *The Bolsa Família Programme Structure and Conditionality.*

Educational conditionalities exist to ensure higher educational attainment – that is, the completion of the basic education cycle – and ostensibly to facilitate human capital development among young beneficiaries. The BFP is structured so that the benefit is cut off after the age of 17 – the typical age at which, given a linear progression through school, young people should complete the basic education cycle, and when beneficiaries are presumed to have developed the desired human capital to secure better jobs and lift themselves out of poverty. Yet, the structure of the benefit does not account for any delays or interruptions in the completion of the basic education cycle, so that if young beneficiaries do experience any delays, they will no longer be

eligible to receive the benefit through the end of their schooling. Thus, the age limit on the BFP benefit implies that the aims of educational conditionalities (i.e., to facilitate the completion of the cycle of basic education) are only relevant where young people progress through schooling in a linear and uninterrupted fashion – a notion that appears entirely at odds with the experience of most beneficiary youth, as demonstrated in chapters 3 and 4.

While educational conditionalities seek to keep young people in school, a substantial number leave school prior to completion; that is, educational conditionalities do not seem to counteract the forces that are pushing and/or pulling young people out of school prior to completion. Rather, young beneficiaries' long-term trajectories through and out of school appear to be shaped by a variety of factors overlooked by CCT programmes far more than by educational conditionalities. Perceptions and experiences of the quality of schooling, especially quality of teaching, along with gendered experiences at school, seem to be far more important in determining educational attainment and trajectories than conditionality. This fundamentally questions the capacity of CCTs and the BFP to facilitate long-term poverty reduction via schooling, as well as the value of educational conditionalities in ensuring the uptake, or quantity, of schooling received by beneficiaries.

These findings clearly suggest that educational conditionalities may have less to do with keeping young people in school (longer) than previously thought or argued in the CCT research, and that the rationale and function of educational conditionalities (linked to long-term poverty reduction through human capital accumulation) may need to be reconsidered in the context of the findings offered here. In light of these findings, the justification of a *conditional* cash transfer, with its higher associated administrative costs and problematic implied individualised conceptualisation of poverty,¹⁰³ over an *unconditional* transfer is unclear and should be carefully examined.

Similarly, young people's concurrent schooling and labour participation challenges the linearity of the CCT model and the function of educational conditionalities. As chapters 4 and 5 show, many young people enter the labour market from an early age and their work constitutes

¹⁰³ See third section of this chapter for full discussion of this.

an important contribution to their own and their families' livelihoods and wellbeing. Nonetheless, the notion that young beneficiaries feel the need to work to help meet their own and their families' basic needs fundamentally challenges the CCT model. On the one hand, young beneficiaries' concurrent schooling and work stands in opposition to the linearity of the human capital-based CCT model, that young people should move *from* schooling *to* the labour market, upon completion of the former. On the other hand, it also challenges the core premise of CCTs that young beneficiaries should prioritise schooling over labour market participation, which has justified both conditionality and direct cash transfers.

Conditionality is intended to incentivise school attendance over other activities, such as labour participation. At the same time, the direct cash transfer is meant in part to compensate for the opportunity cost of young people's labour, allowing young beneficiaries to prioritise schooling over work. Yet, clearly conditionalities are not incentivising schooling over work, nor is the cash benefit sufficient to compensate for young beneficiaries' labour earnings. Moreover, while combining work and school may be useful for human capital accumulation, particularly where that work is relevant to schooling or labour market trajectories (such as in apprenticeship or internship programmes), this is not typically the case for the young participants in this study. Nor is it the case for most young people in Brazil, with only 3% of secondary school students working in apprenticeships (OECD, 2014). Thus, in many ways, young beneficiaries' work, even where it is concurrent with schooling, challenges key assumptions in the CCT model.

7.2.2 *Human Capital Accumulation.*

The implicit logic of poverty reduction of CCTs, based on the human capital model is premised on the notion that higher educational attainment will lead to greater human capital formation among young beneficiaries. This is considered key to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Yet, as chapter 3 shows, it is not at all clear that schooling is making much contribution to human capital formation, that young people are developing the knowledge, capacities and skills needed to pull themselves and their families out of poverty.

The poor quantity and quality of schooling received by young beneficiaries calls into question the value of increased educational attainment in facilitating human capital development.

On the one hand, the quantity of schooling received by beneficiary youth appears poor as a result of a combination of slow and interrupted progression through school as well as incompleteness of the basic education cycle. On the other hand, the quality of schooling received by beneficiary youth also casts doubt on the extent to which greater human capital formation may be occurring. The Bolsa Família programme appears to be requiring young people to attend the most poorly resourced school, on a shorter instructional day, with a learning environment that is not conducive to concentration and learning as a result of poor infrastructure. These schools also appear to be largely ineffective at ensuring that students learn even basic literacy and numeracy skills – skills that are crucial to functioning in the labour market and society more generally. Thus, the evidence on young beneficiaries’ quantity and quality of schooling, as well as their learning and skills development, is entirely at odds with the human capital model that underpins CCTs’ logic of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

Despite the lack of evidence of improved learning outcomes and human capital development, school attainment rather than skills acquisition seemed to be consistently viewed by both young people and their families as the key factor in expanding future opportunities and in securing a better life. The explanation commonly given by young people in this study for the importance of schooling in labour market outcomes was that “even a garbage collector needs to have finished secondary school.” The job of garbage collector is considered to be at the bottom of the unskilled jobs pool, and yet even for that job, the perception is that one must have completed a secondary school education to be considered. The implication is that the value of schooling for entry into the labour market lies in the credential gained rather than the skills learned at school. This may also be linked to a perception of secondary school credentials as key to accessing formal, even if unskilled, jobs.

Carson et al. (2014) confirm young people’s perception in Brazil of the importance of credentials over skills in the labour market; that is, that educational credentials will be sufficient to lift them out of poverty and open the door to the middle class, regardless of the learning gained or skills acquired through schooling. The authors note that returns to education slow, and even decrease, through primary and incomplete secondary school, with returns increasing only upon completion of each education cycle (primary, secondary, tertiary) – that is, with the attainment of an academic credential (Carson et al., 2014). In the context of a middle and upper

class that has already opted out of the public basic education system, this perception of the value of credentials over learning may also be problematic in creating the demand for improvement in the quality of basic education in Brazil (Carson et al., 2014). Demands for improved public services are typically the result of cross-class alliances that push the state towards reform. In Brazil, where the middle and upper classes have already opted out of the public education system (at least at the primary and secondary levels), these cross-class alliances may not be feasible. Where the credential is valued over the knowledge and skills (human capital) acquired through schooling, and where the public education system is used solely by the poor, it is unclear how those using the public system will be both motivated and able to make demands on the state for improved quality, posing significant problems for overcoming the problems of poor quality schooling and poor schooling outcomes for young BFP beneficiaries.

The emphasis on educational attainment and credentials over human capital accumulation, both in the CCT model and in the beliefs of young beneficiaries, stands in contradiction to the logic of long-term poverty reduction in CCTs – that is, that the human capital acquired in schooling is central to facilitating better labour market outcomes and pathways out of poverty, in turn breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. At the same time, the logic of long-term poverty reduction in the CCT model – specifically, the positioning of schooling as the key pathway to escaping poverty, reinforced by educational conditionalities – creates contradictions for young beneficiaries in the context of poor schooling quality and human capital formation. As chapter 6 shows, it seems that the BFP serves to funnel young people into school on the premise that it will provide access to better jobs and help lift them out of poverty, and in doing so, raises aspirations and expectations among young people and their families of a better life, but without the ability to deliver on this promise.

7.2.3 Long-term Poverty Reduction.

The findings offered in chapters 3 through 6 demonstrate the insufficiency of the CCT model as overly simplistic in its conceptualisation of the lives of young beneficiaries and the pathways out of poverty available to them. CCTs fail to account not only for key dimensions within the human capital model – for instance, from schooling quality to schooling outcomes,

to the quality of young people's labour market insertion – but also for key aspects of young beneficiaries' lives – such as the non-linearity of their schooling and labour market trajectories, the social norms, relational identities and responsibilities that shape their lives and decisions about schooling and employment. It seems clear, then, that the CCT model is insufficient in understanding the multidimensionality both of young beneficiaries' lives and of the necessary approaches to poverty reduction. The question, then, is how to resolve this? The following section examines some of the implications of the findings for CCTs and the BFP as policies, along with some of the policy experimentation that has sought to address some of the gaps in the current model, and evaluates this against the empirical findings about young beneficiaries' lives.

7.3 Implications for CCT Policies.

Beyond the implications of the study's findings for the theoretical model for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction in CCTs, there are various implications in more concrete terms of the ways in which CCT policies may be altered or added to in order to address some of the insufficiencies of the model identified in the previous section.

7.3.1 *The Bolsa Família and Complementary Educational Inclusion Policies.*

As chapters 3 through 5 demonstrated, a substantial portion of young BFP beneficiaries leave the cycle of basic education early, and the reasons for these trajectories out of schooling have a clear gender dimension. For young men, early trajectories out of school are typically in favour of labour participation, either by active decisions to leave school as a result of poor quality schooling (such as in Gabriel's case in chapter 4), and/or by circumstance, typically the need or perceived need to work due to difficult financial circumstances within the household (such as in José Antonio's case, in chapter 4). This process tends to be driven by a combination of factors, including gendered identities, roles and responsibilities that contribute to a sense of needing to 'provide' for the household, and a greater sense of urgency in exploring the transition to social adulthood (e.g., 'to be responsible,' 'to be an adult,' 'to explore one's independence') among young men compared to young women. While labour market participation is very common among young BFP beneficiaries, it tends to win out over schooling almost exclusively for young

men. Thus, a more complex, nuanced understanding of educational inclusion for young men, and the economic, social and familial processes contributing to their decisions to prioritise employment over schooling is necessary in CCT policies.

Specifically, these micro-level experiences and trajectories suggest two key macro-level issues of relevance for policymakers. On the one hand, the BFP cash benefit is not providing sufficient income (at least for some households) to offset the need for young people's labour participation in order to meet households' basic needs. A key premise behind both the cash benefit and the attached conditionalities is the idea that the cash will compensate for the opportunity cost of young people's labour participation, allowing (or perhaps more accurately, *requiring*, through conditionalities) them to prioritise schooling over employment. If this is not the case for some (or perhaps, many) families, then there is clearly a need to rethink how the BFP's benefit structure and aims can be better aligned. This might imply, for instance, an increase in the value of the benefit, such that young people's labour is no longer seen (by either families or young people themselves) as essential to the household's livelihood.

At the same time, there is clearly a need to increase the appeal of schooling to young people (and especially young men) through both improved quality and relevance to their daily lives and future trajectories. Where young people do not feel that their time is well spent in school, that the quality of the teaching and learning is sufficiently high, and that schooling has relevance and importance for their everyday lives today and in the future, they are less likely to remain in school through the basic education cycle. Improved quality and relevance would ideally involve a range of changes, from improved infrastructure to better-trained teachers. Based on the experiences and perspectives of the young people here, however, two key areas would appear to be most important to target in efforts to maintain engagement in schooling.

First, young people who had good relationships with their teachers, particularly those who perceived their teachers to be demanding and to set high expectations and therefore to care about their students and their students' success, seemed to be less likely to leave school early. Second, those young people who were most enthusiastic about and engaged with school were those who saw some relevance in what they learn and do at school to their futures. Young people who had undertaken internships were particularly enthusiastic about school and the importance

of school for their futures. When asked what could be improved in school, most young people cited more labour market-specific training and preparation, from training in interviewing and writing a CV, to access to internships and apprenticeships. It appears, then, that there is scope for improving the relevance of schooling to young people's everyday lives and future trajectories in any effort to increase engagement in school. For instance, while the multi-shift schooling system is problematic for a variety of reasons related to school quality, where capacity has not yet been developed to provide access to full-day schooling for all young people, there may be scope to use the existing gaps in instructional time to provide professional training and/or internships/apprenticeships for students attending school on the shift system. This could be useful in increasing the relevance of schooling for young people (especially, young men) and their engagement and retention in school through the basic education cycle.

In contrast, young women's early trajectories out of school are not typically in favour of labour participation. Indeed, none of the female participants here had left school in favour of work; rather, as discussed in chapter 4, motherhood was a key factor in young women's educational inclusion and retention. Even if they were employed prior to becoming pregnant and leaving school (i.e., they balanced both school and work), most of these young women were no longer active in the labour market due to childcare responsibilities. Though many hoped to either return to school and/or the labour market at some point, few saw the possibility to do so in the foreseeable future, given their childcare responsibilities. As one young woman put it, "But, who will I leave him [my son] with?"

Young women's trajectories both out of schooling and out of the labour market are confirmed by national level data. While Brazil has a larger than average proportion of young people who are neither in employment, education nor training (NEET, or '*nem-nem*' in Brazil) compared to the OECD average, this is mostly a female phenomenon (Campos, 2013; OECD, 2014). Indeed, the OECD (2014) estimates the rate of young women (aged 15-24 years) who were NEET in 2012 (25.5%) to be twice the rate of young men (12.5%). This is largely attributable to childcare responsibilities: nearly 50% of young women who were NEET had at least one child in 2011, compared to just under 16% of non-NEET young women (OECD, 2014).

Young women's trajectories thus suggest the need for greater understanding of the broader structural processes shaping the barriers these young women face to accessing both school and the labour market if CCT policies and the BFP are to have the desired impacts on long-term poverty reduction. In particular, the provision of affordable/free childcare and/or full-day schooling from early on in the basic education cycle would be helpful to facilitating the completion of the basic education cycle and entry into the labour market for some young women. More broadly, challenging gender norms around the distribution of domestic labour and childcare responsibilities (as illustrated by Mayara's comments in chapter 4 regarding the burden of domestic labour) may also contribute to changing the gendered dimensions of early school leaving.

7.3.2 The Bolsa Família and Complementary Labour Inclusion Policies.

Brazil's policies aimed at young people have a strong focus on education, with little emphasis on the labour market or labour market transitions (OECD, 2014). The BFP is a prime example of this: the programme emphasises educational access and uptake, with the assumption that this will have positive impacts on young people's labour market insertion, but without any provision for facilitating the desired labour market outcomes. The focus on education over labour market insertion may be partly explained the fact that the creation and expansion of the BFP largely coincided with relatively positive labour market conditions (particularly in the 2000s to early 2010s). As chapter 5 shows, however, young people remain at a disadvantage in the labour market relative to other workers, with higher rates of both unemployment and inactivity as well as much more precarious employment. Moreover, with the recent contraction of the Brazilian economy, the need to account for both human capital accumulation *and* the productive inclusion of young people as key components of national poverty reduction strategies is gaining increasing attention (see UNDP, 2013). These two components – human capital accumulation and productive inclusion – have thus far been addressed, in both policy and programming, separately: policies aimed at addressing human capital accumulation have targeted children and young people (for instance, the BFP), while policies aimed at productive inclusion of the poor have been directed at adults. As this section shows, there has been very little integration between these two components and limited consideration of how they may be complementary in poverty reduction strategies.

National Policies:

Several national level policies in Brazil attempt to facilitate the labour market insertion of young people through a focus on the completion of the basic education cycle, the expansion of access to tertiary education, and the provision of professional and vocational training programmes. In the first instance, the *ProJovem* programme, introduced in 2007, was one of the first youth training programmes in Brazil and focuses on re-engaging young people who are out of school with the education system and ensuring the acquisition of basic qualifications (OECD, 2014). The *ProJovem Integrado* programme functions as an umbrella programme that encompasses *ProJovem Adolescente*, *ProJovem Urbano*, *ProJovem Campo*, and *ProJovem Trabalhador*, each aimed at different sub-sections of young people and each managed by a different government ministry, but all generally aimed at re-engaging young people with the education system in order to raise educational attainment and to provide training in ICT, communication, life skills, community action, and job searches (OECD, 2014).

Table 28: ProJovem Integrado Programmes

	Target Population	Training	Benefit	Government Ministry Responsible
ProJovem Adolescente	Young Bolsa Família beneficiaries	• Group activities for 12.5 hours per week for two years • Activities organised around the themes of human rights, social welfare, work, culture, the environment, health, and sports and leisure	--	Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome (Ministry of Social Development)
ProJovem Urbano	Young people aged 18-29 who have not completed primary and lower secondary education (Fundamental I and II)	• 18 months of studies • completion of primary and lower secondary education (Fundamental I and II) through Youth and Adult Education (<i>Educação Jovem e Adulto</i>) • professional/vocational training • citizenship training	R\$100 per month based on 75% attendance rate	Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education)
ProJovem Campo	Rural young people aged 18-29 who have not completed primary and lower secondary education (Fundamental I and II)	• 2 years of studies • completion of primary and lower secondary education (Fundamental I and II) through Youth and Adult Education (<i>Educação Jovem e Adulto</i>) • professional/vocational training • social training	R\$100 per month based on 75% attendance rate	Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education)
ProJovem Trabalhador	Unemployed young people aged 18-29 from households with a per capita income below one minimum wage per month	• completion or enrolment to complete primary and lower secondary education (Fundamental I and II) • 350 hours of training: 100 hours on social training (ICT, ethics, citizenship, personal hygiene, labour rights, occupational health and safety, entrepreneurship); 250 hours of professional/vocational training	R\$100 per month for six months	Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego (Ministry of Labour)

Source: Compiled by author with data from OECD (2014)

Despite the intended integration and coordination between these programmes through the umbrella *ProJovem Integrado*, each essentially functions independently without coordination

(OECD, 2014). Moreover, there are few evaluations of the impacts of these programmes on young people's labour market outcomes, but existing evidence suggests a number of problems, including poorly trained staff, poor infrastructure, a lack of resources, limited complementary services, curriculum that is out-of-date or not context-relevant, limited follow-up with participants especially in facilitating the job search, a lack of financial support for young people in the *ProJovem Adolescente* programme, low rates of completion of some programmes (e.g., a completion rate of 16.4% for *ProJovem Urbano*), and a lack of awareness of such programmes among poor young people (OECD, 2014). The latter may reflect the lack of integrated service provision, which could hamper the dissemination of relevant information on such programmes to target groups. This was confirmed in the interviews with the young participants, few of whom were aware of, and none of whom mentioned any experience with, these programmes.

Several other national level initiatives have attempted to expand access to tertiary education; such as, the *Programa Universidade para Todos* programme, offering means-tested scholarships for full or partial fees for high achieving students from public schools to attend private universities; the *Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior*, providing means-tested loans for students to attend private universities; the *Plano Nacional de Assistência Estudantil*, offering financial assistance for poor students in public universities; and the *Lei das Cotas*, a law establishing affirmative action quotas for federal public universities to increase enrolment among students from poor backgrounds. As the previous chapters have shown, however, few young BFP beneficiaries have progressed to tertiary education, and their schooling trajectories remain, for the most part, incompatible with higher education. Thus, efforts to expand access to tertiary education among the poor do not appear to yet be relevant to many young BFP beneficiaries. Investments in expanding access to tertiary education without concomitant efforts to improve the quality of basic education and progression and completion would seem to do little to expand opportunities to pursue tertiary education nor opportunities in the labour market for many young people living in poverty.

Beyond university education, the PRONATEC (*Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego* – National Vocational Education and Employment Programme) programme, established in 2011, aims to expand the federal network of technical schools; yet, vocational training in Brazil remains limited. In the basic education cycle, enrolment in vocational upper

secondary school has doubled in the last decade, but remains a very small proportion of total enrolment and significantly behind the OECD average (OECD, 2014). Indeed, none of the young people interviewed had any experience in vocational secondary school, despite nearly all of them identifying increased professional training and preparation for the labour market as a key gap in their schooling.

Related to this, the number of apprenticeships offered remains very low – in 2012, a mere 260,000 apprentices were hired (OECD, 2014) – and few young people benefit from these – less than 0.3% of young people aged 15 to 29 years old are hired as apprentices (Neri, 2012). This can be at least partly explained by the lack of financial incentives for firms to hire apprentices,¹⁰⁴ but may also be explained in part by a lack of knowledge of such opportunities among unemployed young people. The latter is consistent with the experiences of the young participants in this study. Several young people had taken part in apprenticeships, however, for the most part, they had found such opportunities through their social networks (e.g., referred by a friend or neighbour) rather than through more structured avenues, such as the school system or community programmes.

The experiences of those young people who had taken part in apprenticeships or internships were extremely positive.

My contract was one year. I liked it a lot, at the company, we were not only friends but like a family. [It was] my first work experience. I liked it a lot, enough to want to stay. As I said, I begged [to stay] but I couldn't. But I really liked it, it was a cool thing that I think they do with young people to give them their first job. [I loved] both the friendship, the family that we were, as well as the work itself, selling, helping management. It's really great to arrive in a company, not knowing anyone, and be embraced by everyone. Even today, I miss it. Whenever I can, I pass by there to see friends. (*Alessandro, age 16; internship in a shoe store*)

I work at ABF Engineering. It's a company that does outsourced work for CELPE. I'm in the Jovem Aprendiziz programme there. I like it a lot. I did the course at SENAI, and I met new people there. It's a first job...it's an experience for us for the future, for university, for further studies. I like it a lot. (*Nívia, age 18; internship in an electrical company*)

Many other young people noted, unprompted, their interest in internships and apprenticeships and saw these opportunities as important for improved labour market outcomes. Yet several

¹⁰⁴ Training, staff time, wages etc. are costly for firms, but the only compensation they receive is lower contributions to the social security system.

explained that they had tried to access such opportunities but had been unable to as a result of rules related to finishing the basic education cycle before enrolling for apprenticeships and internships. There is potentially space here then for expanding such programmes to allow young people, particularly those living in poverty and whose labour market insertion tends to otherwise be highly precarious, unstable and informal, to gain on-the-job experience while ensuring they are able to make the expected contributions to their families, but with higher quality patterns of labour market insertion.

Lastly, the SINE system (*Sistema Nacional de Emprego* – National Employment System) seeks to provide information, placement and support services for the unemployed, particularly low-skilled workers (OECD, 2014). The system remains under-used, however, with only a minority (estimated at 30%) of jobseekers using SINE (MTE, 2010). As Guimarães (2009) notes, and is confirmed in the data presented in chapter 5, social networks remain a key method for accessing the labour market and finding jobs among young people. This suggests that there is much more that could be done to optimise the SINE system to increase reach and offer more tailored services. International evidence indicates that job search assistance – including help with writing CVs, preparing for interviews, matching vacancies to skills training programmes – can be very helpful in improving labour market outcomes for young people (see, for instance, Betcherman et al., 2004; 2007; Card et al., 2010). Linking the SINE to schools to provide better guidance on careers, training and job searches may help increase awareness of programmes, and ensure training is better linked to labour market insertion. Linking these systems to social services, such as the CRAS centres (*Centro de Referência de Assistência Social* – Centre for Social Assistance) which oversee the local administration of the BFP, could provide a one-stop-shop for young people, covering information, guidance and service provision on a range of areas, from education, to housing, health, relationships, personal finance etc. (OECD, 2014) and could ensure that beneficiaries know about and can access these complementary services and programmes. This would be fundamental to facilitating the assumed link within the CCT model between human capital accumulation and productive inclusion for long-term poverty reduction.

Subnational Policies:

While national level policies have not yet linked human capital accumulation and productive inclusion, policy experimentation at the state level has made strides towards linking these two. The state government in Rio de Janeiro recently launched a sub-national

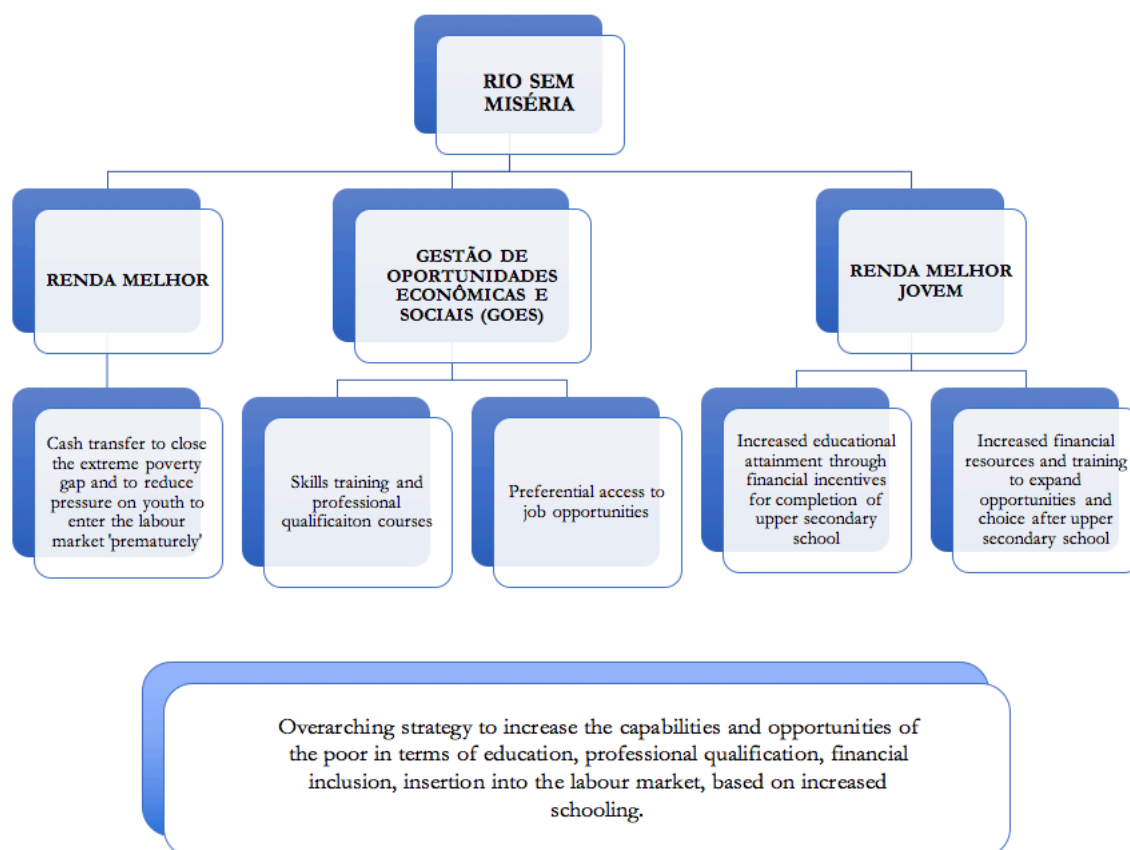
complementary programme to the BFP in an attempt to better link human capital accumulation and productive inclusion, with the aim of ensuring the desired long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction through the CCT model. This section draws on primary data collected through interviews with state-level government officials in Rio de Janeiro to explore the extent to which the state's new complementary programme to the BFP links human capital accumulation and labour inclusion.

The *Plano Estadual de Superação da Pobreza Extrema* (State Plan for the Eradication of Extreme Poverty, more commonly referred to as *Rio sem Miséria* (RSM; as a parallel to *Brasil sem Miséria*, a national level programme to eradicate extreme poverty that functions as part of the BFP), implemented in July 2013,¹⁰⁵ builds on national efforts to address extreme poverty and seeks to (a) eradicate extreme poverty; (b) improve the living conditions of the population of Rio de Janeiro state; (c) increase the level of educational attainment in Rio de Janeiro state; and (d) improve the working conditions and income of the poor. The key issues in addressing poverty were understood by policymakers in Rio de Janeiro to be: (a) the need to address the intergenerational reproduction of poverty, and specifically, to deal with its structural causes; (b) the need to address barriers to productive inclusion, namely, low educational attainment and the associated lack of labour market opportunities for the poor; (c) the indispensable nature of secondary school education and a skilled labour force in the current global economy; and (d) the need to address inequalities in educational attainment and outcomes, which represent a key barrier to sustainable poverty reduction. With the creation of the RSM plan, state policymakers sought to move beyond a simple cash transfer; rather, the new approach sought to address long-term, intergenerational poverty by explicitly addressing access to the labour market among the poor, particularly among young beneficiaries. Thus, the RSM plan represents a much more concerted effort to make the explicit (rather than *implicit*, as in the BFP) link between human capital accumulation and productive inclusion.

¹⁰⁵ At the time of writing, the programme had recently been suspended in the context of the budgetary crisis in Rio de Janeiro state.

The *Rio sem Miséria* plan takes a multi-pronged approach that includes three programmes: *Renda Melhor*, *Renda Melhor Jovem*, and the *Gestão de Oportunidades Econômicas e Sociais* (GOES). The specifics of these programmes are outlined in figure 20.

Figure 20: Rio sem Miséria



Source: Reproduced from Secretaria de Assistência Social e Direitos Humanos (2013)

The first prong of the RSM plan, the *Renda Melhor* programme, seeks to address the aim of short-term poverty alleviation in the CCT model by topping up eligible households' BFP benefit. While the *Renda Melhor* programme clearly fits into CCTs' short-term aim of immediate poverty alleviation, primary data collected in interviews with government officials in Rio de Janeiro suggest that the programme is also intended to contribute to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty by relieving some of the financial pressures on beneficiary households that have contributed to young people's early labour market entry, and indeed, often early trajectories out of school in favour of the labour market. As both chapters 4 and 5 showed, young people's labour participation is often perceived to be important both by young people

and their families for the household's livelihood and wellbeing, even where the household is receiving the BFP benefit. The acknowledgement that the BFP benefit thus far has not been sufficient to compensate for young people's labour in many poor households and may contribute to lower educational attainment and outcomes than intended in the CCT model is notable and consistent with the findings here.

The second and third prongs of the RSM plan – the GOES framework and the *Renda Melhor Jovem* programme – are more explicitly aimed, however, at linking human capital accumulation to productive inclusion. The GOES framework aims to address poverty in the medium to long-term by mapping and facilitating economic and social opportunities for the poor through skills training and job placement, with preferential access for RSM beneficiary households.¹⁰⁶ The programme seeks to expand technical and professional training and qualification opportunities, financial education and inclusion, and insertion into the labour market after the completion of upper secondary school. It ultimately aims to do this in an integrated manner in which local staff and social workers would be informed of all these components and the opportunities offered within each and would then work with beneficiary households to develop an individualised family development plan regarding training and job opportunities, modelled after the *Chile Solidario* programme. While many of the training opportunities that the GOES framework links to the RSM plan are not new (e.g., PRONATEC, the *Sistema S*,¹⁰⁷ etc.), the framework is seen as key to bringing these opportunities into the reach of the poor, where they had previously been confined to the lower middle class. This could go a long way to addressing the gaps in knowledge of such complementary programmes among young people identified in the previous section. Moreover, the notion that the state can and should play an active role in connecting the poor with better educational and (especially) labour market opportunities represents a new and significant shift in antipoverty efforts in Brazil.

¹⁰⁶ The framework includes technical and professional skills training and qualifications through the federal PRONATEC programme, the promotion of entrepreneurship and access to microcredit, and preferential access to apprenticeships/internships and job opportunities through partnerships with the federal vocational training programmes, along with other government institutions, and public and private companies (e.g., L'Oréal, Coca Cola, Supermercados Guanabara, Walmart, Banco do Brasil, MetroRio, among others). It also includes a life skills course integrated into the final year of upper secondary school, covering topics from personal finances, to access to post-secondary education (both university and technical education), and access to microcredit and micro-entrepreneurship opportunities.

¹⁰⁷ The Sistema S is made up of private, non-profit organisations that provide a range of services, including vocational training, and are organized by sector of economic activity.

Critically, it explicitly acknowledges the implied links in CCTs between schooling and human capital accumulation and the labour market. Moreover, such efforts to connect beneficiaries directly with training and labour market opportunities are badly needed (as demonstrated in chapter 5 and discussed earlier in this chapter) and could help address the lack of awareness of many such programmes and opportunities among young people.

The third and final piece of the RSM plan is the *Renda Melhor Jovem* (RMJ) programme, which also seeks to address long-term, intergenerational poverty by increasing the capabilities and opportunities of young beneficiaries through higher educational attainment and increased financial resources. The programme aims to address persistent age-grade gaps¹⁰⁸ and to increase educational attainment among young beneficiaries through an additional cash benefit paid to young BFP beneficiaries on the basis of completion of each year of upper secondary school and of the school-leaving exam (ENEM), as follows:

Table 29: Renda Melhor Jovem

	Benefit	Conditionality
Year 1 Ensino Médio	R\$700	Completion of year and regular written evaluations of progress
Year 2 Ensino Médio	R\$900	Completion of year and regular written evaluations of progress
Year 3 Ensino Médio	R\$1000	Completion of year and regular written evaluations of progress
ENEM School-leaving Exam	R\$500	Minimum grade of 50% on exam

¹⁰⁸ Multiple government officials interviewed here noted that a key driver of the RMJ programme was the fact that a mere 19% of young people living in extreme poverty enter upper secondary school before the age of 18, implying a minimum of a three-year age-grade gap.

Figure 21: Renda Melhor Jovem Advertisement



Translation:

You have a right to extra money to invest in your future.

Will you pass that up?

If you are enrolled in Ensino Médio (upper secondary school) or Technical Secondary School and your family is enrolled in the Renda Melhor programme, find out more at: www.rendamelhorjovem.rj.gov.br

Source: Author's own photo and translation (2013)

The cash benefit is paid directly to young beneficiaries (rather than to the head of household) and is deposited into a savings account in their name, with 30% of funds available for immediate withdrawal and 70% available after the completion of upper secondary school. The intention is that young beneficiaries can accumulate a substantial savings over the course of secondary school that will allow them to pay for future investments in their productive capacity, whether in the form of skills training, university education, entrepreneurial activities, access to technology (e.g., buying a computer), or the ability to pay for the requirements of a job search (e.g., professional clothing, transportation to interviews etc.).

As with the *Renda Melhor* programme, the *Renda Melhor Jovem* programme represents an important acknowledgement that the BFP benefit appears to be insufficient in incentivising poor young people to prioritise schooling over employment and to complete the cycle of compulsory education. While the programme is one of the first to explicitly acknowledge the implicit links in the CCT model and makes impressive strides towards addressing the gaps in the current model, it is still not clear that it will be sufficient to counter many of the factors identified in this study that 'pull' young people out of school prior to completion. As chapters 4 and 5 demonstrated, young people's decisions about schooling and labour participation are more complex than the CCT model imagines in establishing educational conditionalities and a cash benefit to help compensate for the opportunity cost of schooling. Many young beneficiaries

expressed their perception of their need and responsibility to work in order to contribute to the household and help relieve some of the financial pressures faced by their families. While the additional cash benefits paid through the *Renda Melhor* and *Renda Melhor Jovem* programmes may help address the necessity of young people's labour participation in some households, it may not be sufficient to compensate for it among all poor households, and notably among those living in extreme poverty. It very well may be that young beneficiaries continue to feel the need to work in order to contribute to the family, particularly given that the majority of the *Renda Melhor Jovem* benefit only becomes available upon completion of upper secondary school. Moreover, the *Renda Melhor* and *Renda Melhor Jovem* programmes do not address other factors that clearly shape young people's trajectories out of school prior to completion, namely, early pregnancy and parenthood, the poor quality and irrelevance of schooling, and perceived gender roles and identities (particularly among young men) at both school and home. Thus, while the programmes represent an important step towards providing the additional financial support to families living in poverty and extreme poverty that contribute to young people's labour participation, they may not represent a sufficiently multi-faceted approach to address the complexity of factors shaping young people's lives and their schooling and labour market trajectories.

More broadly, the *Rio sem Miséria* plan as a whole makes significant strides towards addressing some of the gaps in the federal BFP in terms of the gaps identified in the CCT model for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction. The effort to create better incentives for young people for higher educational attainment, along with efforts to better link the human capital accumulation and productive insertion components of the CCT model for young beneficiaries are important innovations in CCT policy implementation. At the same time, several key challenges remain. In the sphere of education, *Rio sem Miséria* maintains the focus of the BFP on the uptake of education and educational attainment (specifically, the completion of upper secondary school) and does not include any efforts to address the quality of education that young beneficiaries receive, despite the fact that the poor quality of education and inequalities in educational outcomes were a key reason behind the creation of the RSM plan. The problem of poor quality education and its relevance to the RSM and BFP goals is not lost on state-level policymakers; rather, many acknowledge the problem it poses for young people and their ability

to take advantage of labour market opportunities.¹⁰⁹ While policymakers recognise that the poor quality of education is a key problem in the state and is critical to the logic of both programmes, the RSM does not include provisions to address the problem. This may be a result of the complexity of the issue of educational quality, along with the lack of coordination and integration across government secretariats. Despite the emphasis on inter-sectoral coordination in the RSM plan, interviews suggested that there is a lack of coordination in practice between the secretariats responsible for social assistance, education and labour. For instance, the Secretariat of Education is involved in the RSM plan strictly for monitoring of conditionality compliance (i.e., school enrolment and attendance).

There is thus a contradiction between the problems that brought about the creation of the RSM plan on the one hand, and the shape they have ultimately taken on the other, particularly regarding educational quality and outcomes. While the problem of poor quality education and outcomes appears to be well recognized among government officials, the nature and underlying causes of these appear to be much less well understood. It would seem that, without addressing the incongruence in the RSM plan, it may face difficulty in impacting young beneficiaries' schooling trajectories and outcomes in the ways in which it aims to do so. Better coordination and collaboration between the government secretariats responsible for social assistance and education would seem to be a prerequisite for addressing the quality of education received by young beneficiaries, and in turn, their educational attainment and outcomes.

In the sphere of employment, the RSM plan makes substantial contributions to addressing some of the problems faced by young beneficiaries in the labour market highlighted in chapter 5. In particular, the GOES framework is an impressive effort to address the bottlenecks in access to the labour market discussed in chapter 5 and to provide young beneficiaries with the knowledge of training and employment that would appear to be critical to the changed labour market and life trajectories that are fundamental to the CCT model. This will likely require complementary policies that go beyond the scope of social assistance to include broader education, labour and economic policies. For instance, the GOES framework is laudable

¹⁰⁹ We could add to this the incentives young people have to stay in school through the basic education cycle, as the irrelevance of schooling for many young people seems to also play a critical role in shaping early trajectories out of school.

for its attempts to facilitate the labour market insertion of young beneficiaries through partnerships with both private and public firms. Yet ensuring the availability of jobs for these young people will require coordination between technical and professional training, on the one hand, and labour demand, on the other. A disconnect between the training offered and completed by young beneficiaries and the opportunities available in the labour market upon their entry would likely not lead to improved productive inclusion. A long-term, coordinated pro-poor job creation strategy would seem an essential complementary component of the RSM plan.

Overall, educational and labour inclusion continue to be conceptualised as separate spheres in the RSM plan, as in much of national level complementary programmes. The poor quality of schooling outcomes, and the importance of the perception of school quality and of the relevance of education to young people's engagement in schooling discussed in chapters 3 and 4, as well as the early labour participation of many young people discussed in chapter 5, suggest the need for a less sequential or linear approach to considering educational and labour inclusion. Integrating labour inclusion as an integral part of educational inclusion would seem to hold much promise for addressing some of the gaps in the current model highlighted by young people here. A key obstacle to this, however, is a lack of inter-sectoral (and, inter-ministerial) coordination, evident in the segmentation of educational and labour policies and programmes aimed at young people, the poor, and BFP beneficiaries. A shift towards a more integrated and coordinated conceptualisation of young people's educational and labour market experiences and trajectories, however, would represent an important step towards a more holistic view of BFP beneficiaries, their life trajectories, and their opportunities for moving out of poverty – a key overarching theme that is highlighted by the findings throughout this study as fundamental to a more transformative (and ultimately, likely successful) approach to long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction in CCTs.

7.4 Implications for Conceptualising Poverty in CCTs: Towards a More Transformative Approach to Poverty Reduction?

In the vein of a more holistic understanding of young beneficiaries' lives and a more transformative approach to poverty reduction in CCTs, additions and alterations to the CCT model offered by complementary policies alone are likely to be insufficient. Rather, there is a

need to for a fundamental shift in the CCT model in its conceptualisation of poverty. As this study has illustrated – from the theoretical framework to the empirical findings – the conceptualisation of poverty solely at an individual level is inconsistent with the evidence on young people’s schooling, employment, and life trajectories and outcomes, and the (primarily *structural*) factors shaping them. As this section shows, this individual level conceptualisation of poverty in CCTs and the BFP has been internalised by young beneficiaries and their families as the key driver of poverty and is thus highly problematic in the context of the many structural level factors that appear to shape (and limit) young people’s lives and their possibilities for moving out of poverty. This produces fundamental tensions in the CCT model in terms of its structure, aims, and outcomes for young beneficiaries that will need to be resolved if the goal of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction is to be achieved.

7.4.1 Conceptualisations and Understandings of Poverty in the CCT Model: The Individualisation of Success and Failure.

As the theoretical framework argued in chapter 1, CCTs are based on a theory of change that locates both the causes and solutions to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty at the individual and household levels. This individualised conceptualisation of poverty is mirrored in earlier discourses around the ‘culture of poverty’ (Lewis, 1969), and more recently in terminology such as the ‘underclass’ (Murray, 2001) or the ‘hard to reach’ or ‘problem family’ (Hooper et al., 2007). The core assumption in these discourses is that those living in poverty are poor because of their own doing, their own deficiencies, which are transmitted across generations.

This individualised approach to understanding and addressing the dynamics of poverty may, at best, offer only a partial explanation. It ignores the broader structural conditions, politics and power that shape the lives of CCT beneficiaries and that constrain their ability and efforts to move out of poverty (Devereux & McGregor, 2014). If the causes of poverty cannot be located solely at the individual level, then it follows that neither can its solutions. Yet the CCT model perpetuates a narrative of schooling – and by implication, of individuals’ own effort – as the key to social mobility, while failing to provide the basis for trajectories out of poverty, largely

as a lack of the recognition of the structural inequalities that underpin a lack of access to social mobility and the reproduction of poverty across generations.

As Chase and Walker (2012) note, representations of the causes of and solutions to poverty as individual rather than structural are powerful and readily internalised by the poor. Indeed, young BFP beneficiaries appear to have internalised such discourses about the individualisation of poverty. Their success and failure in their schooling and life trajectories and in producing the expected intergenerational changes, according to which their success in escaping poverty, in translating their schooling into better jobs and a better future, is viewed as wholly contingent on their own efforts. Very few saw any structural barriers to their success, and maintained that achieving their aspirations was a matter of hard work and dedication at school.

Obstacles...just my own willpower to not want to study, to not be studious. Aside from this, nothing. (*Anderson, age 18*)

My future depends on whether I go after it. If I do, I can have something better. (*Juliana, age 20*)

The future depends on the will of each person. If I want to continue in the same condition, I will continue. (*Alessandro, age 16*)

The problem is really just schooling, that people don't have it, but there are lots of job vacancies, if you work hard... (*Nívia, age 18*)

Only people who don't want to study don't study, because they give you everything – workbooks, uniforms, food, everything. (*Natália, age 19*)

I think that it depends on the person, on the style of the person, if they want to reach their objective, if they are making the effort, they then will succeed. (*Rodrigo, age 18*)

I don't think there will be any obstacles. When you want to succeed, you do. But, as I said, the matter of finances is difficult. But everything that you want, you will succeed in getting. (*Adriana, age 19*)

If I push myself enough, if I focus on my studies, then I will manage. (*Sofia, age 17*)

If a person wants it, works for it, they achieve what they want. (*Claudia, age 16*)

Researcher: Why do young people manage to finish secondary school but they don't manage to go to university?

Gabriel: I think that it's because they don't want to.

(*Gabriel, age 17*)

Many caregivers expressed similar views of social mobility and the capacity to move out of poverty being entirely dependent on the individual and their own effort. Vitoria (Alessandro's

mother) explained that it is the individual's responsibility to take advantage of the opportunities that are offered to them, and these opportunities are much greater today than in the past. In her view, each individual's future depends on their own will, their discipline, and hard work. Similarly, Clarice (Luiza and Lucas' grandmother) noted that what young people get out of school today depends entirely on them as individuals, how hard they work, and how much their parents are involved in keeping track of their progress. If young people apply themselves at school, they will succeed.

If and when young beneficiaries are not able to translate their educational investments into improved labour market outcomes and social mobility, there is a risk not only of declining value placed on schooling among beneficiaries (undermining the theory of change in CCTs), but also of provoking a sense of shame and failure among young beneficiaries for not living up to familial and societal expectations. As Walker et al. (2013) argue,

shame is individually felt but socially constructed and imposed by the non-poor in their discourse and dealings with people in poverty...and structured by social forces including the media and government in the framing, structuring and delivering of policy. (p. 230-231)

In their study of poverty in the UK, Chase and Walker (2012) find that feelings of shame resulted from a failure to meet both "self-imposed expectations such as progress along certain work or education trajectories, provide care for others, or remain independent of institutionalised welfare support" (p. 750). Pushing back against such feelings of shame and failure, Walker et al. (2013) note that 'othering' that juxtaposes the 'us' (i.e., the 'deserving poor') and the 'them' (the 'undeserving poor') is commonly invoked in reconciling individualised narratives of poverty with people's own experiences and sense of self.

Bombarded by this notion which they felt was not true of themselves, they sought to find others who fitted the widely promulgated portrayal of the undeserving poor, hence finding comfort in the belief that they were no longer at the bottom of the social pile. (Walker et al., 2013, p. 229)

Thus, those who are working may try to distance themselves from those who are not, claiming the moral high ground; others may seek to demonstrate their 'upstanding behaviour' by

referencing disapproved behaviours such as begging, theft, or not sending children to school (Walker et al., 2013).

In response to the individualised narratives of poverty that are being perpetuated and reinforced by the conceptualisation of poverty in CCTs and the Bolsa Família, and the risk of shame in failing to live up to such narratives, BFP beneficiaries do indeed revert to ‘othering’ in either direct or indirect reflections on their own situations and the programme.

In general, it [BFP] helps a lot. But there are people who don’t value it. They just want to spend, and a lot of people who need it are not receiving it. There are women who are like, maids, but they have this Bolsa Família money to throw a party. So it helps, but I think it should help those who need it most. So, yes, there are [people who do this]. [But], a girl who, when her benefit is cut off, you know, she is asking for food from the neighbours, asking if they have sugar... So I say, those are the people who need it. (*Juliana, age 20*)

This othering is often used as a way of delineating the ‘deserving’ from the ‘undeserving’ poor as a way of justifying one’s own situation as different from the individualised conceptualisations of poverty that beneficiaries have internalised. In the examples below, young people juxtapose their own situations, the ‘responsible’ decisions they do or would make, with the implied ‘irresponsibility’ of the choices other people make, clearly defining themselves as the ‘deserving poor’ and others as the ‘undeserving poor.’

I would prefer if they would check in each house, each person, to see who really needs it [BFP], because there are a lot of people who use the Bolsa Família to do shit...to use drugs... I know people who use Bolsa Família money, and instead of helping their children, they use it for drugs or alcohol. I think that they [the government] should check. [They should] check each house and see if they really need it, what they are really using this money for. I have a sister-in-law who just uses the money for drugs. And the children eat on the good will of others. They come here [to eat]. I mean, what is the Bolsa Família money for? Is it not for them [the children]? It is not being used for them, it’s being used for her. And the kids suffer, because she receives it. She has three children, she receives R\$300. And the children are cared for by other people. I think that they should come, really look at what is happening, what they are using the money for. She does nothing... I think that for me, if I was to [have] this money, I would know how to use it well because I have a son. I don’t think about myself, I think about him. (*Mayara, age 19*)

I hope that in the future people will open their eyes to achieving something, because there are a lot of people who are so dependent on the Bolsa Família. They say, “ah, I’m receiving the Bolsa Família, I will have another child.” So there are people who will have more children to receive the Bolsa Família. And there are people who don’t. There are people [who say] “I have the Bolsa Família, I will work, I will manage something better.” This is the biggest problem. The Bolsa Família is good, it helps. There are people who truly need it, just like there are other people who take the Bolsa Família and do stupid things. But there are people who need it, who are sustaining their families with the Bolsa Família. I just wanted to say that. My mother worked and received it. When she wanted something, she could buy it. Even in the household it helped with the food. I just wanted to make that really clear. (*Nívia, age 18*)

My uncle has a wife...she gets pregnant, she stops [taking the pill] every year, and now she has seven children. This isn't because she doesn't know any better – she is old. I think she's 35, maybe 34. She already has one [child] who is working and another who is finishing school soon. And the rest of them are all very young. So there are these stupid people, who will produce a whole football team. They work, but not at a steady job, and she receives this money from the Bolsa Família. So there are people like this who get pregnant every year, every year it's another [child]. And they know that their financial ability is limited. And then there are families who have one or two kids and who need it [BFP] and who don't receive it. I don't receive it and yet she has seven kids, every year another one, and she gets the Bolsa Família. And there are others who have one or two kids and they don't receive it either. (*Gisele, age 19*)

I think that it's a story like this... You're walking in the street – it's a well-known story – and a beggar comes up to you and asks for help. You're at the side of a river, and so you go there and fish, and then give the fish to the beggar to feed him for a day. But if you teach the beggar to fish, you'll feed him for the rest of his life. Right? I think that the government made people a lot comfortable with this Bolsa Família. A lot of people don't want to look for jobs anymore. And so it ends up taking away people's interest in finding a job, in going back to or starting school. I don't think that's very good. And also there have been cases on the news and such of corruption. Many people try to cheat the system. In one family alone, they [the media reports] said they enrolled various times in the programme to receive double, sometimes triple the benefit. And this ends up taking the benefit away from families who need it more than they do. (*José Antonio, age 20*)

Mayara, Nívia and Gisele clearly distinguish between the conditions of their own families, of either their own or their caregivers' 'responsible' use of the Bolsa Família benefit, in contrast with other 'irresponsible' parents and families. Similarly, José Antonio repeats commonly held assumptions and biases against BFP beneficiaries, which he perceives to be quite widespread and common occurrences, as a result of discourses and portrayals of beneficiaries within an individualised narrative of poverty common in the media. This illustrates the extent to which social discourses can contribute to particular understandings of poverty, which can be entirely removed from people's own experiences. Ironically, this process of othering ultimately perpetuates the same beliefs around the individual level drivers of poverty that BFP beneficiaries believe to be untrue in their own lives – that is, that poverty is “largely about a lack of trying rather than the absence of opportunity” (Walker et al., 2013, p. 230).

Such individualised understandings of success and failure in terms of social mobility are very much consistent with the theory of change in the human capital-based CCT model. It is, however, highly problematic in the context of the high expectations and aspirations linked to schooling, both among young people and their families, and yet limited opportunities for changed educational and employment trajectories in intergenerational perspective, as highlighted in chapter 6. Ultimately, in offering schooling as the key mechanism through which to escape poverty, the Bolsa Família and CCTs may be raising expectations and aspirations of a better life among the poor and perpetuating a narrative that their success in achieving this 'better life' is

entirely a matter of their individual effort and merit. Yet, as the evidence presented throughout the preceding empirical chapters illustrates, it is not at all clear that young people will be able to realise these aspirations in the absence of a broader approach to poverty reduction that acknowledges the various structural barriers that appear to be more relevant to shaping the reproduction of poverty across generations than the individual level factors incorporated into the current model.

This raises important questions about the ethical implications of promoting a particular narrative of poverty and social mobility through a policy framework (in CCTs) based entirely on a conceptualisation of poverty that does not hold true. It also illustrates the tensions and contradictions between the aims and outcomes of CCTs/the BFP, and suggests the need for a re-conceptualisation of poverty within the model that shifts understandings of the drivers of and pathways out of poverty for beneficiaries away from solely operating at the individual level to incorporate the structural level factors highlighted throughout this study. Such a shift, towards a more transformative and structural approach to poverty reduction through CCTs, is not only critical in terms of creating viable pathways out of poverty for young beneficiaries over the long-term, but also in terms of meeting the expectations and aspirations of young beneficiaries and their families. The individualised conceptualisation of poverty in CCTs and the BFP makes any discussion of the limitations of the programme(s) and the need for broader structural social change both difficult and unlikely, potentially undermining the aim of breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. In the absence of a shift to a more transformative and structural understanding of poverty in CCTs, however, the raised expectations and aspirations of young beneficiaries are likely to go unmet over the long-term, potentially eroding the gains already made by the BFP in the short-term on young people's schooling and the belief in and high value placed on education by beneficiary families.

7.5 Conclusion.

This chapter has examined the implications of the empirical findings from previous chapters (3 through 6), theoretically and analytically for the CCT model for poverty reduction, and practically for the design and implementation of CCT policies. The first section drew out the implications of the preceding empirical chapters for the CCT model, illustrating the

insufficiencies of the model in its design and structure. It argued that the findings in this study show that (a) there is a fundamental tension between, on the one hand, the BFP's eligibility structure and educational conditionalities and, on the other hand, the schooling and labour market trajectories of young beneficiaries; and (b) there is a disconnect between the human capital aims of the CCT model for long-term poverty reduction and the experiences of young beneficiaries in school. This suggests that the long-term poverty reduction aims of the BFP are unlikely to be met within the current CCT model.

Based on the insufficiencies of the CCT model highlighted in this first section, the second section of the chapter examined the extent to which complementary policies to CCTs could (and are) help(ing) to address the gaps in the current model. The chapter drew on secondary data and literature, along with primary empirical data collected through interviews with the Rio de Janeiro state government on its recent *Rio sem Miséria* programme, to examine the extent to which complementary policies do/could address the gaps identified in the CCT model. The section examined national and sub-national level efforts to address young people's educational and labour inclusion. With regard to the latter, it argued that the RSM programme has made impressive strides towards acknowledging the lack of explicit links between human capital accumulation and labour market outcomes, particularly in its effort to provide a framework to facilitate young beneficiaries' productive inclusion. While the RSM plan is very recent and the process of implementation and its impacts are as of yet unknown, significant gaps remain unaddressed in its efforts to raise educational attainment and outcomes (notably, the poor quality of education) and to facilitate productive inclusion (e.g., addressing not only access to but also availability of jobs through better coordination between skills training and professional qualification programmes, on the one hand, and job placement and labour demands, on the other). Addressing these remaining problems – both within the RSM *and* the BFP – will likely require greater coordination and collaboration between different government secretariats and ministries to create an overarching and integrated strategy suited to tackling the multitude of factors that contribute to the intergenerational reproduction of poverty. A more integrated approach and holistic understanding of young beneficiaries' lives and pathways out of poverty is required for the BFP to facilitate the desired long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction.

As the third section argued, however, achieving more transformative long-term outcomes for young beneficiaries requires a much more fundamental shift in the conceptualisation of poverty at the heart of CCTs. The current model understands the reproduction of poverty and its solutions entirely at the individual and household levels. This not only runs counter to much of the evidence of the factors shaping young BFP beneficiaries' lives offered throughout this study, but also perpetuates and entrenches false narratives about the poor and their ability to move out of poverty, both in broader social discourses and amongst beneficiaries themselves. This is highly problematic from both an ethical and practical standpoint to the extent that the current individualised conceptualisation of poverty in the BFP has helped to raise the expectations and aspirations of young people of moving out of poverty based on their own individual effort, and yet at the same time has failed to incorporate the many structural barriers that limit them in doing so. Thus, while the BFP has achieved some important gains for poor young people in Brazil, the current policy framework is insufficient to creating the long-term pathways out of poverty that would break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. A fundamental shift in the model – one that moves away from the segmented conceptualisation of young people's educational and labour inclusion, away from a solely individualised conceptualisation of poverty, and instead towards a more integrated and structural approach to poverty reduction – is necessary to facilitate the types of transformative outcomes sought by CCTs.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

As one of the most significant policy innovations in poverty reduction strategies in the last two decades, conditional cash transfers have been widely adopted, first across Latin America and increasingly across the developing world. As one of the pioneers of such programmes, Brazil's Bolsa Família has become the central tenet of the country's poverty reduction efforts, now reaching approximately one-quarter of the population. With the increasing adoption and expansion of CCT programmes in many countries, a great deal of effort has been made to evaluate their impacts on poverty. Given their relatively recent implementation, however, the existing evidence has been limited to evaluations of CCTs' short-term impacts, such as on school enrolment and attendance rates. The positive evidence on such measures is often taken as indicative of their success in reducing poverty over the long-term.

Given the explicit long-term aim of CCTs to help break the intergenerational cycle of poverty through human capital investments, however, this existing evidence seemed lacking in several ways. First, the use of short-term measures of the uptake of schooling (i.e., enrolment and attendance rates) seemed wholly insufficient as a measure of human capital accumulation; such measures tell us nothing of young beneficiaries' schooling trajectories, whether such increases in the 'quantity' of schooling are sustained over the course of the basic education cycle, nor of the value of this schooling and whether it generates the human capital assumed in the CCT model. Second, the existing evidence of the positive impacts of CCTs is, for the most part, based on large-scale, quantitative evaluations of young beneficiaries' uptake of schooling. Yet these short-term average effects tell us very little of the micro-level experiences for young beneficiaries, the range of impacts and the social processes that shape them. Ultimately, CCTs

are meant to change the life trajectories of individual young people; yet there is a paucity of research that engages at the micro-level directly with beneficiaries, especially young beneficiaries. This study, then, aimed to help fill some of these gaps in our understanding of CCTs from the perspective of young beneficiaries, of their longer term impacts, and the social processes shaping them. It sought to answer two main research questions: (a) What are the trajectories of young people in Brazil's Bolsa Família programme, and what are the implications of these for long-term poverty reduction?; and (b) What are the social processes that shape young people's trajectories and possibilities for moving out of poverty over the long-term?

To answer these questions, chapter 1 began by highlighting the gaps in our understanding of the impacts of CCTs from both a temporal and methodological perspective and then unpacking the theory of change behind the aim of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction in the CCT model. It laid out the logic in the model for breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty and then theorised the inherent assumptions and gaps in the current model in order to develop a more holistic and accurate framework for examining the long-term impacts of CCTs.

Similarly, the methodological approach adopted in this study, described in chapter 2, was designed to address these temporal and methodological gaps in the current CCT literature by employing methods that engaged directly with young beneficiaries and that allowed for consideration of their own and their families' trajectories. These included semi-structured interviews with young beneficiaries, a questionnaire with their caregivers applied over two time periods, field reports, and interviews with government officials. The analysis and findings that resulted from approximately nine months of fieldwork in Brazil were guided by the theoretical framework for understanding the logic of long-term poverty reduction in CCTs, outlined in the first chapter. This framework also formed the basis for the structure of empirical chapters that followed.

Drawing on empirical evidence from interviews with young beneficiaries along with questionnaire data from 2014/15, and macro-level data, chapter 3 demonstrated that young beneficiaries' schooling is not consistent with the aims of the BFP (and the CCT model) of increased human capital accumulation. Higher educational enrolment and attendance rates often

cited in the CCT literature as evidence of their positive long-term impacts do not accurately capture young beneficiaries' educational attainment; rather, slow progression, with substantial age-grade gaps, and low completion rates suggest far less of an increase to young people's 'quantity' of schooling than the current research indicates. Moreover, the quality of schooling young beneficiaries receive appears equally inconsistent with the aims of the BFP. The use of multi-shift schooling, poor infrastructure and resources, and quality of teachers all appear particularly problematic, not only in terms of human capital formation, but also (as chapter 4 elaborates) in terms of young people's engagement with and retention in school. The problems of lower quantity and poor quality schooling are borne out in young people's learning and skills development, with most young people leaving the basic education cycle with insufficient literacy and numeracy skills. These findings suggest that the schooling received by young BFP beneficiaries is not at all consistent with much human capital formation, fundamentally challenging the idea that CCTs are contributing to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty through educational investments.

Chapter 4 further explored young beneficiaries' schooling experiences, focusing on the non-linearity of their schooling trajectories and the social processes influencing them. Through biographical accounts from young people, it was shown that gendered social norms, roles, responsibilities and identities are critical factors shaping many young people's early trajectories out of school, albeit in different ways for young men and young women. While labour participation is a common driver of early school leaving among young men, early pregnancy and parenthood lead many young women out of school. In addition, poor quality schooling, and particularly poor quality teachers and irrelevant curricula are clearly linked to many young people's 'active' decisions to leave school early. The findings here show how and why the linear, 'life stages' model on which CCTs are based does not hold true in the lives of young beneficiaries. The linear CCT/BFP model, then, seems insufficient for understanding young beneficiaries' lives, the social institutions, norms and processes shaping them, and the opportunities and constraints young people face in moving out of poverty. The findings in this chapter clearly demonstrate the value of the methodological approach in this study that engages directly with young beneficiaries; these findings stand in contrast to much of the literature on the impacts of CCTs for young beneficiaries, and would not have been illuminated through the dominant, quantitative approaches in much of the existing research.

Chapter 5 drew again on data from semi-structured interviews with young beneficiaries as well as macro-level labour market data. It confirmed the non-linearity of young people's schooling and labour market trajectories illustrated in chapter 4, with many young people either balancing school and work in parallel or moving in and out of schooling and the labour market based on the need (or perceived need) to work. In addition, there is a high level of precarity in young people's labour market experiences and trajectories, with many unable to enter the labour market at all, or unable to enter the formal labour market. Most remain either without employment or in casual and highly precarious employment, with low and unstable remuneration. Moreover, rarely do young people's jobs meet their expectations and aspirations of 'good' jobs, which is largely associated with formal sector employment and the protections and benefits it confers. At the same time, the structural conditions in the labour market hold little promise of opportunities for better quality employment. In contrast to the CCT model, young people's access to employment seems to be far more dependent on their social networks than their human capital stocks. Overall, young people's patterns of labour market insertion do not appear to be consistent with the changed labour market trajectories assumed in the CCT model, nor with the aim of long-term poverty reduction. The findings suggest that educational attainment and human capital stocks are less relevant to shaping young beneficiaries' labour market outcomes than the CCT model foresees, and that there are important structural factors shaping young people's labour market outcomes that need to be incorporated into the CCT model and BFP policy framework if such programmes are to contribute to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty.

Chapter 6 explicitly addressed the aim in CCTs of breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Drawing on empirical evidence from semi-structured interviews with young people, as well as questionnaire data gathered from caregivers in 2008 and 2014/15, this chapter examined continuity and change in the lives of young BFP beneficiaries relative to their caregivers with regard to experiences of poverty, social protection, education and employment. It showed that the BFP has played a key role in improving their ability to meet basic needs and in expanding access to education and social protection across generations. It has been less successful, however, in other regards; there is a great deal of continuity across generations in beneficiary households in patterns of labour insertion, marginalisation and inequality, and lack

of opportunity. Beyond the material dimensions of intergenerational change, this chapter also showed that the BFP has contributed to aspirational changes, raising the expectations and aspirations of young beneficiaries and their families of social mobility. There is, however, little evidence of the conditions necessary for young people to realise these raised aspirations and expectations.

Despite the aim of breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty, of providing access to unprecedented social mobility for many poor young Brazilians, the high degree of precarity that marks many dimensions of young BFP beneficiaries' lives seems likely to pose significant barriers to long-term pathways out of poverty. As chapter 7 argued, there is a fundamental disjuncture between, on the one hand, the structure and aims of CCTs and the BFP, and, on the other hand, the experiences of young beneficiaries discussed in the preceding empirical chapters. Overall, the findings pose a significant challenge to the CCT model and the theory of change implicit in the goal of long-term poverty reduction, to CCT policies as a policy framework for poverty reduction, and more broadly, to the overall individualised conceptualisation of poverty implicit in CCTs. The chapter argues that a fundamental shift in the CCT model is necessary, away from the segmented conceptualisation of young people's educational and labour inclusion and an individualised conceptualisation of poverty, towards a more integrated and structural approach to poverty reduction if the BFP is to achieve the type of transformative outcomes it seeks.

The Bolsa Família has achieved important gains in the lives of beneficiaries, and these should not be overlooked in evaluating the success and shortcomings of the programme. The programme has reached many of Brazil's poor, who in many ways and for many years lived beyond the reach of the state and who now have access to crucial social protection and expanded access to education. There is little evidence, however, that it is providing the foundation for long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction as it aims to do.

While the evidence here provides important initial insights into young beneficiaries' lives and the potential of the BFP to facilitate long-term poverty reduction, it nonetheless represents only the first steps towards filling the enormous gaps in our understanding of the long-term and intergenerational impacts of CCTs. Perhaps most obviously, this study illustrates the value of

and need for longitudinal research on the lives of CCT beneficiaries. Tracing young beneficiaries' schooling and labour market trajectories over time would provide valuable insights into not only the precarity of many dimensions of their lives today but also how this evolves over time. Of particular relevance here is the extent to which higher levels of precarity in young people's patterns of labour insertion relative to older generations evolve over time, and whether current patterns reflect an early stage of labour inclusion or whether these will remain entrenched. Other important issues include the ways in which young people's aspirations and expectations evolve over time and change in the context of the limitations they face in realising them; or, the extent to which young people's trajectories remain gendered.

Beyond this, comparative research across Brazil and other CCT programmes would be important in establishing the contextual specificities and the generalisability of patterns in young beneficiaries' lives and trajectories discussed here. Additionally, more in-depth research on the lack of inter-sectoral and inter-ministerial coordination between education, labour and social development would provide important insights into the scope for a more integrated and structural approach to poverty reduction in the BFP/CCTs. And, at a more fundamental level, a thorough examination of the conceptualisations of poverty in the BFP (and other CCTs) would be valuable in deepening our understanding of the ways in which CCT policies play out at the micro-level for beneficiaries. The BFP conceptualises poverty exclusively in terms of income poverty and thus does not attempt to understand or incorporate how poverty and wellbeing are understood and experienced from the perspective of beneficiaries. Yet as has been argued throughout this study, the programme seeks to affect individual lives and trajectories, and its success in doing so thus requires a much better understanding of beneficiaries' lives at a micro-level and how they perceive and experience the programme.

Finally, while this study has demonstrated the constraints young beneficiaries face in moving out of poverty over the long-term, future research should seek to explore why the BFP does not appear to have been effective in facilitating transformative and sustainable pathways out of poverty by examining in more depth the social structures, institutions, discourses and norms – such as notions of femininity and masculinity, familial relations, and social networks – that shape young beneficiaries' lives and the ways in which this limits their possibilities for moving out of poverty.

In seeking to address some of the key gaps identified in the existing evidence on CCTs, this study has provided some of the first evidence on young beneficiaries' perceptions and experiences of schooling, their schooling trajectories and the social processes that shape them, their patterns of labour market insertion, and the impacts of CCTs in comparative intergenerational perspective. More broadly, the findings here provide valuable insights into thinking about many of the assumptions, based in human capital theory, that underpin education-based development interventions and agendas. The recently adopted SDGs recognise the importance of expanding the thinking behind many of these interventions and agendas to incorporate notions of quality in education and employment. This study contributes to the extensive research that will be required to better understand problems of quality of service provision in broader poverty reduction goals. The pressing need to address the problems of persistent poverty and (in many parts of the world, rising) inequality on a global scale underscores the importance of research and policymaking that seeks to understand and conceptualise the lives of the poor and of young people in a holistic way. This study has aimed to contribute to such efforts. As cash transfers increasingly form a key part of poverty and inequality reduction policies, much more will need to be done to meet this challenge in both research and policy.

APPENDIX A: The Research Team

Methods and Data Collection with the Research Team:

The research team, including three research assistants and several transcribers and translators,¹¹⁰ was central to the research conducted with participant families and thus to the completion of this project.¹¹¹ Their responsibilities included making initial contact with potential participant families based on the list from the 2008 study detailed in chapter 2, explaining the nature of the study and of the participation requested, arranging a time to conduct the questionnaire and interview, helping to conduct the questionnaires and interviews with participant families, and finally writing field reports for each family interviewed. The research assistants did not function as translators at any point, and my interaction with them was entirely in Portuguese, as only one spoke any English; however, their ability to clarify the meanings of particular phrases, colloquialisms or idioms was tremendously helpful at times.¹¹²

My priority with the research assistants was to ensure not only that they were able to work alongside me during fieldwork, but also that they were sufficiently prepared to conduct some of the final questionnaires and interviews on their own.¹¹³ Along with thorough training prior to going into the field, I also emphasised the importance of regular and excellent communication amongst team members as well as ongoing reflection and learning from the data collection process – not only with me, but also with the other research assistants. Since the three research assistants initially worked alongside me but not with each other in conducting interviews, I scheduled weekly meetings in which we would discuss progress over the week, reflect on the research tools, ensure an ongoing process of learning and adaptation to the implementation of the research design, and allow the research assistants to reflect on their positionality¹¹⁴ in the project vis-à-vis the research participants.

¹¹⁰ Research assistants were current or recently graduated undergraduate students at the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE) in Recife.

¹¹¹ The research assistants were not involved in the government interviews.

¹¹² Such discussions for clarifications were only undertaken after concluding the interviews, during debriefs with the research assistants.

¹¹³ This was necessary due to the circumstances described in chapter 2 related to the departure of the first research assistant and the resulting delays to data collection.

¹¹⁴ While the research assistants were all local, they had not all engaged in research with the sample population. Thus, while they had a familiarity with the city and communities in which we worked that I did not, they were also

Upon my departure, I had worked extensively one-on-one and in a team setting with all three research assistants and felt confident in their demonstrated capacities to carry out the remaining interviews in my absence. While initially I had worked alongside one research assistant for each interview with participant families, the interviews were conducted by a varying combination of two of the three research assistants working together. The decision to have two members of the research team present for all data collection with participant families was two-fold. First, it aimed to help ensure the safety of all members of the research team, particularly given that data collection occurred in the homes of participants who were unknown to the research team. Second, having two members of the research team present enhanced the credibility and reliability of the data by providing an additional set of eyes and ears to improve the accuracy of the data collected, by allowing for multiple forms of data collection simultaneously (e.g., questionnaire and notes for field reports; audio recordings of interviews and notes for field reports)¹¹⁵ for cross-referencing and greater richness of data, and by providing a different personal filter through which data were interpreted.

One advantage of conducting questionnaires and interviews with two members of the research team was establishing rapport with participants. This was important in the interviews with young beneficiaries where the ability to solely focus on the conversation allowed the interviewer to establish a more conversational, informal tone. Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) note that establishing rapport is key for qualitative researchers to access a participant's story, and that many participants lack people in their lives who want to listen to what they have to say, to their stories. This seemed to frequently be the case for both the young people and their caregivers interviewed in this study.

confronted with questions of how they viewed themselves and their own communities vis-à-vis the participant families and their communities.

¹¹⁵ That is, one member of the research team would direct the questionnaire, while the other would listen, ask for clarification and make notes on the additional comments and explanations given by research participants that would not be captured in the questionnaire. Similarly, while one member of the research team would lead on the interview with the young beneficiaries, another would interject for clarification or elaboration, and would take notes from the interview that might not be captured on the audio. The notes taken by the second research team member in both the questionnaires and the interviews formed the basis of the field reports.

Ethical Considerations in Working with the Research Team:

In addition to ensuring the protection of the research participants, an additional dimension of the ethical implications of this study was consideration of the wellbeing of the research assistants. This was particularly relevant to disclosures of trauma by participants, which we addressed through immediate and weekly debriefings after interviews and through encouraged reflection and team support, but also to issues ranging from the positionality of research assistants, to the practicalities of conducting fieldwork, such as ensuring that research assistants were given separate SIMs for contacting potential participants so they did not need to use their own telephone numbers, that they only worked in pairs and during daylight hours for personal safety reasons, and that they had sufficient cash to be able to make last minute changes to transportation plans.

Reciprocity in Working with the Research Team:

A dimension of reciprocity in research often not considered is reciprocity towards the research team. While the research team all received appropriate agreed upon monetary compensation for their work, beyond this, an effort was made to offer the research assistants experience in the design of research tools and the implementation of these in fieldwork which was important to all of them for future academic pursuits. Several research assistants ultimately have chosen to pursue postgraduate studies and I offered guidance and support for their applications, including references. Finally, when research is written up, the role of research assistants and others can often be downplayed. The research team that worked with me on this project was central to the work that is presented here and any reference to the data collected from participant families is a reflection of not only my work but also very much of theirs.

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