The Preventative and Symptomatic Approaches to Educating Street Children in Recife, Brazil: *an Assessment of Best Practice*

By: Jasmine Paloheimo

A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in International Development Studies

August, 2011 Halifax, Nova Scotia

Approved:		Dr. Anthony O'Malley
		Supervisor
Approved:		Dr. Esther Enns
		Examiner
Approved:		Mr. Shane Theunissen
		Reader

Date: August 16 2011

Abstract

The Preventative and Symptomatic Approaches to Educating Street Children in Recife, Brazil: *an Assessment of Best Practice*

By Jasmine Paloheimo

According to UNICEF, there are over 100 million street children worldwide. Out of the 130 million school-aged children not enrolled in school around the world, street children are likely to make up the majority of them. Brazil is home to one of the highest populations of street children, with a high concentration in the North-eastern capital of Recife. Several NGO and government programs have emerged that provide street children with an education. The two primary approaches to educating street children in Recife can be categorized as the Symptomatic approach, as employed by NGO's, and the Preventative approach, through Bolsa Familia. The research question sought in this thesis is which approach is the most promising for providing street children with an education in Recife. The argument of this thesis is that the Preventative approach is more promising due to its sustainability and through addressing the root cause of street children; poverty.

Date: August 16 2011

Table of Contents

Chapter One

Introduction

Street children: they are seen sitting on the street corners, collecting bottles in the garbage and shining shoes in the doorways of local businesses. They defy conventional notions of childhood, and occupy a space that is shared with gangs, police, sex workers, and drug dealers. The presence of large numbers of unsupervised and unprotected children in the streets reflects an unparalleled social issue of profound inequity and oppression. The use of the streets as both a living space and place of work signifies a state of misery for millions of children and youth worldwide. According to the United Nations, there are over one hundred million street children around the world, and this number is likely increasing (Harris, et al, 2010). Although less known to developed economies, the phenomenon of street children is well-known to developing countries, with one of the highest population concentrations in Brazil (Rizzini & Lusk, 1995).

Brazil is home to over 160 million inhabitants, with 50 percent of the population younger than 25 years old, and 40% of whom are estimated to live below the Brazilian poverty line. With one of the worst income distributions in the world, a large portion of Brazil's new generation has to overcome substantial economic barriers that have left them socially and economically marginalized. With shantytowns, or 'favelas' proliferating the outskirts of Brazil's mega cities, millions of children have been forced onto the streets to supplement their family's income, or to live on their own. With population estimates ranging from 200,000 to eight million, Brazil's street children encapsulate the failure of

economic growth to satisfy the most basic needs of the lower economic rungs of society (Fernandes and Vaughn, 2008).

Reared by families who are unable to provide adequate food, shelter and support, children from millions of impoverished families in Brazil turn to the streets to eke out a living. The streets offer little more than violence, hunger, exploitation and addiction, and works to further alienate them from the services and comforts of conventional society. The longer these children spend on the streets, the more likely they are to die there. Their days are consumed by providing for their most immediate needs, and for the majority, day-time schooling is a far-flung dream; yet it is these children who need it the most.

According to UNESCO, education is the most effective, long-term strategy for reintegrating street children back into society. As one of the more recent development strategies promoted by the international community to both reduce poverty and spur economic growth, education has become increasingly central to development strategies everywhere. Through the lens of the human capital approach, which is a well-established and central part of traditional economic theory, education increases an individual's social mobility through expanding their stock of knowledge, skills and competencies, enabling them to participate in income-generating activities (Robeyns, 2006). For this reason, education offers the most long-term strategy for reintegration and social mobilization for street children everywhere.

Needless to say, the obstacles to educating a population that spends the majority of its time on the street and struggles with day-today survival are substantial. In need of the most basic necessities, and with societal perceptions of them leaning towards criminal, street children have little opportunity to obtain an education.

Poverty in Brazil not only has a colour, but it also has a location. The Northeast region of Brazil has been the poorest since records have come into existence, with concentration in major urban centre. As the capital of the Northeast State of Pernambuco, Recife is home to over four million Brazilians, and a considerable population of street children, although the total population remains unknown. The street children in Recife have some of the largest obstacles to obtaining an education (Hecht, 1999).

The stark class divide in the Northeast has alienated the largely black and racially-mixed poor from education and other basic public services. The combination of high poverty rates, low educational attainment levels and a deteriorating education system is leaving street children at the bottom of a deep barrel. The education system in the Northeast of Brazil has the reputation of severe over crowding, chronic strikes and lack of resources. The system has been reported to be of low quality, which is captured by lagging education indicators, such as high dropout and repetition rates. Needless to say, the current state of the education system has not worked to the benefit of the most educationally excluded children and youth; street children (Kenny, 1999).

Given the scope and gravity of the street child phenomenon, a large number of rehabilitation programs have emerged in Recife that strive to re-integrate these children back into society, with State and non-State actors both vying for a role. With considerable background research now available on the problem, coupled with the rapid emergence of non-government organizations working with street children, policy-makers have never had such an opportunity to curb the proliferation of children on the streets.

The two central approaches to providing street children with education in Recife that have emerged are the symptomatic approach (hereafter abbreviated as SA), spearheaded by the NGO community and the preventative approach (hereafter abbreviated as PA), led by the government. Both approaches have the ultimate goal of removing children from the street and providing them with an education, but they differ substantially in their method and delivery. On one end is the SA, which is characterized by NGO educational programming and street educators. As street children have remained out of the reach of the formal education system, NGO's have emerged as key actors in providing education to the educationally excluded. This approach has proven to be exceptionally creative and well adapted to the needs and lives of the street children, and remains to be one of the only vehicles for street children to receive educational instruction.

Although the SA has been effective in adapting to the needs of the street children, it is questionable whether it is effectively educating them. Due to both the lack of knowledge in the current literature on what NGO's are providing street children with, including education, as well as the lack of standardization characteristic of non-formal education, there is growing concern over what these children are getting access to, and whether it is increasing their social mobilization (Rose et al, 2007).

On the other end is the PA, delivered through Bolsa Familia, which is the largest conditional cash transfer program (referred to as CCT) in the world. Studies have shown that CCT'S that are focused on enrolling the children of low-income families in school have resulted in higher educational outcomes throughout Latin America and the rest of the developing world (Lindert et al, 2007). Since its launch in 2003, the Bolsa Familia program has grown exponentially, expanding to cover 26.6 million people by 2005, and

4

by 2008 it had reached 46 million people, which is a quarter of the Brazilian population (ILO working paper, 2009). By providing the poorest quantile of families with cash transfers on the condition that they send their children to school, Bolsa Familia is attacking the root cause of street children; poverty. Instead of families being forced to send their child to the streets to work, or to disintegrate completely, the added income enables the families of the street children of today and tomorrow to keep their children off the streets, and in the formal school system.

As the literature to date has largely focused on the extent and root causes of this urban phenomenon, it is crucial that research moves beyond this focus towards program evaluation in order to determine best practices and to better understand programming that will successfully foster street children back into society, which is best accomplished through education. Recife offers an ideal unit of analysis due to its high level of poverty, poor education system, and large number of street children. Thus, if a best practice can be determined in these conditions; these practices will likely be conducive to cities that have more favourable economic and educational circumstances.

The theoretical framework I have adopted for my thesis is the human capital approach, because it highlights the instrumental purpose of education. The human capital approach interprets education only insofar as it contributes to increasing an individual's human capital, and therefore increases their social mobility. My intention through this research is to find which approach is the most promising to delivering education to street children, with the assumption that education will enable them to leave the street. I am not negating the intrinsic value of education, nor its less quantifiable qualities as conveyed through the capabilities approach, but rather I am only focusing on the instrumental value

5

of education as a vehicle for street children to leave the streets. Additionally, as Brazil is the eighth largest economy in the world, policy-makers are focusing on increasing this growth and remaining highly competitive in international markets. The human capital approach quantifies the macroeconomic links between economic growth and education, further promoting it as a preferred development strategy.

Due to the extensive amount of literature and research available on these two approaches, field research was not required for this thesis. The methodology used to obtain all data was through secondary sources, but all data furnished by these secondary sources is itself primary data. Data that was of particular importance to this thesis was research conducted on street children in Recife by Hecht (1998), Rosa et al (1992), Pare (2004) and Swift (1991). Regrettably, little research has been conducted on street children in Recife that is more recent. I would like to mention that although I did not conduct field research, I have experience with street children in Brazil. I was fortunate enough to spend a few days with children in a shelter outside of Rio de Janeiro, and this left me with a very strong impression. That experience is what has led me to this research.

Following this chapter is a review of the current literature and research on the area of education and street children, with a thorough analysis of the central issues involved. Commencing this chapter is a review of the dialogue that has emerged in the international community surrounding education as a central development strategy, followed by an analysis of the major theoretical contributions to this field. Following this will be a review of the broad issues involving street children on a global scale, and how non-formal education has emerged as a principal strategy for delivering education to this population. Subsequently will be a narrower look at the issues surrounding street children in Brazil,

with additional focus on the North-eastern region. Chapter three will present the empirical data on both the PA and SA approaches in Recife, Brazil. The chapter will begin by presenting background data on street children and education on a global scale, as well as a national and local scale, bringing us to the children on the streets of Recife. Chapter four will discuss and analyze the empirical data presented in chapter three in order to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the PA and SA. The approaches are measured against three evaluative questions, which assess how children are accessing these approaches, how education is being delivered and how sustainable the approach is. Finally chapter five concludes the thesis with a set of recommendations that involves the strengthening of the relationship between local NGO's focusing on street children and the Bolsa Familia administration.

The question which guided my research and which formed the focus of my research protocol was: *What is the most effective approach, or combination of approaches, to deliver education to street children in Northeast Brazil (and by implication, in other developing societies with significant populations of street children)?*

The central argument of this thesis is that the PA --the preventative approach-- will be a more promising approach to educating street children in the location of my research. This result has implications for educational policies elsewhere in the developing world.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Children occupy a space that is both central and marginal in human culture. As the future generation, children can encapsulate the promise of hope. However, when the fabrics that bind us together fray, it is often the children that are the first to suffer and this suffering can be the most pained and ignored. As representatives of one of the most marginalized groups in Brazilian society, street children encapsulate the failure of economic growth to satisfy the most basic needs of the lower economic rungs of society. Reared by families who are unable to provide adequate food, shelter and support largely due to their exclusion from the profits reaped by twenty percent of wealthy elites, children from millions of impoverished families in Brazil turn to the streets to eke out a living.

The theoretical framework of my research question is founded on the notion of education as a strategy for development, as argued by the human capital approach. Scholars, researchers and educators from various fields have conceded that education is a central mechanism for spurring development, but their arguments diverge on why this is the case. In this chapter, I explore the different theoretical frameworks that have been applied to argue education as a strategy for development. Through the human capital approach, education has been accepted as crucial to development strategies all over the world. Based on conventional economic theory, the human capital approach values

education insofar as it increases the economic productivity of workers, increasing overall economic production of a country. However, this approach has fallen under criticism due to its narrow scope of education, failing to account for the intrinsic value of education, and incorporate the very substantial social barriers faced by marginalized populations. As a result of these criticisms, Amartya Sen has moved beyond the human capital approach and developed a theory of capabilities, which views education as both intrinsically valuable, and instrumentally valuable. The capability approach has made a strong impact on the international community's understanding of development and education. Along the same lines of this theoretical framework are the theories of internationally renowned pedagogue Paulo Freire, who advocated for education as a practice of liberation and a catalyst of unleashing human potential (Freire, 1970). Once the backdrop of education and development has been set, issues surrounding the current state of knowledge of street children around the world will be discussed. Researchers from all areas of the humanities examining the phenomenon of street children have encountered similar research barriers, and have called into question the validity of this broad social categorization. Ensuing will be a more focused look at street children in Brazil, in relation to the specific social and economic peculiarities present in Brazilian society. This portrait will than be followed by an analysis of the obstacles facing street children in relation to schooling access and educational achievement, and what current programs and approaches have subsequently emerged. This will lead the discussion to the streets of Recife, Brazil, and how the population of street children is accessing educational opportunities.

Education and Development

Education is not just a basic right, but a link that helps to connect growth, equality and

participation in society. Many international commitments to progress in education treat it

as a key factor in development (ECLAC as quoted in UNESCO 2010)

Over the past two decades, education has been a key focus in the global agenda

for development. Economic growth as the dominant solution for development and poverty

reduction has proved insufficient with the persistent high poverty and inequality rates. As

a result, the international community and researchers have engaged in a search for new

mechanisms and strategies to spur development in the developing world. In this process,

education has emerged as a preferred strategy to fight poverty and stimulate development.

Presently, the global consensus on the need to make education a priority in national

development strategies has resulted in education lying at the core of development

strategies around the world (Tarabini, 2010).

This section will examine the relationship between education and development,

and how perspectives from both economic and human-centered approaches have

interpreted this relationship. Perhaps the most dominant perspective on education and

development is the human capital approach. Founded on classical economic theory, the

human capital approach emphasizes the economic benefits reaped by education for both

the individual and society, with easily quantifiable indicators. Contrastingly, the topic of

education and development has entered the alternative development dialogue, which

frames education as a catalyst for both emancipation from oppression and enhancement of

10

freedom. From Paulo Freire's revolutionary theories of education, to Amartya Sen's groundbreaking Capabilities Approach, the education and development agenda is being re-centered on individual freedom and critical citizenry.

1. The Human Capital Approach

Although it is obvious that individuals have a stockpile of useful experiences, skills and knowledge that shape the contribution they make in society, it is not obvious that these skills and knowledge are a form of capital (Becker, 1975). This capital can be substantially attributed to deliberate investment made by the State, and the growth of this capital surpasses growth of conventional capital in Western societies (Becker, 1975). It has been widely documented that national output has increased substantially when compared with the increases of land, physical reproducible capital and man-hours, and this unaccounted growth has largely been attributed by economists to investments made in human capital (Becker 1975; Psacharopoulos 1988; Tarabini 2010; Robeyns 2006). Earnings that are forfeited in order for individuals to attend school, State expenditures on health care, and on-the-job skills training are examples of investments in human capital. It was not until the 1960's that such activities were seen as important factors in economic growth, and could account for the rise in real earnings per worker.

Education, as seen through the human capital approach, is an instrumental process of creating skills and acquiring knowledge. It serves as a vehicle to increase the productivity of an individual as a worker, thus resulting in higher economic returns in the form of wages (Robeyns, 2006). Education through this approach is seen as important

11

insofar as it increases the economic production of the individual (Robeyns, 2006). Of course, the assumption that a more educated individual will be a more productive worker is contested in the literature, and will be discussed in the critiques section.

The social and economic functions of education are argued to be related to the very origins of the educational system, and only within the last century has it been explored as a development strategy (Tarabini, 2010). The links between education and development through the human capital approach can be understood in numerous ways, but the literature has focused on a few explicit links. The expected returns to education can be broken down into two distinct categories, the social returns (referring to the returns reaped by society) and private returns (referring to the returns reaped by the individual). George Psacharopoulos, a renowned researcher on the implications of education for development, has focused on how education is most directly related to a common notion of economic development, specifically in relation to growth accounting and labor market outcomes, for both private and social returns (Psacharopoulos, 1988).

2. Social Returns: Labour Market Outcomes and Growth Accounting

According to Psacharopoulos, the global average rate of financial return for every year of schooling is 10%. The highest rate of return is found in low to middle-income countries, and the highest average return to schooling is found in Latin America and the Caribbean region (please refer to Table 1) (Psacharopoulos, 2001). The high rate of social return in the form of economic growth expected from investing in education can be captured through macroeconomic analysis. The pioneering work of Schultz in *Investment*

in Human Capital breaks down a country's economic growth into various contributory factors, such as investment in physical capital and human capital. This process is known as growth accounting, which filters out the various economic inputs that can account for the consequential economic outputs, allowing for the growth attributed by education to be calculated, exposing the microeconomic links between education and economic growth (Schultz, 1971).

Additional arguments for education as an essential development strategy for developing countries are summarized by Psacharopoulos as follows: Firstly, the social returns to education in developing countries are as high or higher than any measure of the opportunity cost of capital. This means that investing money in people rather than machines is more conducive to economic development. Secondly, primary education yields the highest rate of return, followed by secondary and the university level. This makes the provision of primary schools the most economically beneficial investment the State can make in terms of education, which is illustrated in Table 2. Thirdly, the more developed the country, the lower the return on education on all levels. In other words, developing countries benefit economically more than developed countries.

It is argued that the higher return from education in less developed countries is due to their lower levels of human capital. Fourthly, the private returns from education are higher than social returns at all levels, which is largely due to the public subsidization of education; this is also illustrated in Table 2. It is important to note that the discrepancy between private and social returns to education is largest at the university level, which raises issues concerning whether higher education should be publically financed (Psacharopoulos, 1988; Psacharopoulos 2001)

Table 1. The Returns to Investment in Education
by Country Group and Level of Schooling (in %)

Country Group	Social Return			Private Return		
	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Africa	26	17	13	45	26	32
Asia	27	15	13	31	15	18
Latin America	26	18	16	32	23	23

Source: Psacharopoulos, 1988

3. Private Returns

The human capital theory credits education with making individuals more

productive members of society, both in the marketplace and in the household. According

to Psacharopoulos, and supported by the work of Becker (1975), an individual's earnings

increase with every additional year of schooling. The empirical core of education as an

investment in human capital is demonstrated in Figure 1, which illustrates the trade-off

between a low level of education and earnings today versus more education and earnings

tomorrow (Psacharopoulos, 1988).

Figure 1. Trade-off Between Education Today and More Earnings Tomorrow

Source: Psacharopolous, 1988

14
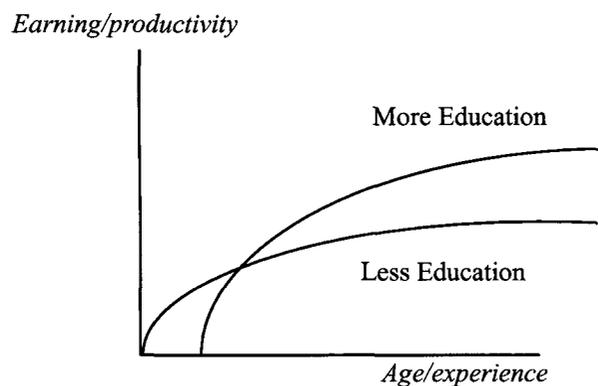
This figure describes the long-term economic benefit accrued by an individual by forfeiting waged labour in the immediate present, in order to pursue long-term education. Although income may be greater in the immediate present for an individual who pursues waged labour and foregoes an education, it is not economically beneficial in the long-term. This relationship between education and earnings has been documented in almost every country around the world.

In addition to increased earning potential and increased economic growth, education can also affect how income is distributed in a country. One documented effect of the expansion of schooling has been the subsequent reduction in the dispersion of earnings, resulting in a more equitable income distribution (Psacharopoulos 1988; Psacharopoulos 2001). This is of particular significance for Brazil, as it is home to the largest income gap in the world.

4. Critiques of the Human Capital Approach

The human capital approach to education describes the process of education as being economically instrumental to both the individual and the collective. The approach interprets education as a means of increasing the quality of life of individuals and society, and can protect people from falling into destitution and poverty (Robyens, 2006). This approach makes a very strong argument for the expansion of education in developing countries, especially for the expansion of education in economically destitute communities. However, this theoretical lens is problematic as it values education entirely on an economic and instrumentalist basis. Through this lens, the only benefits accrued

from education that are taken into account are increased productivity and increased wages. Human capital theory ascribes no value to the cultural, social and non-material dimensions of society, conceptualizing the world purely through mainstream economics. The general criticisms of mainstream economics are that its framework is unable to deal with issues of culture, identity, history or emotions. Therefore the human capital theory cannot explain the behavior of an individual who learns something without any prospect of receiving an economic return (Lochner, 2004). This theory perceives the actions of an individual as being motivated by economic reasons only. Additionally, the human capital approach is problematic in that education is only valued as being instrumental to achieve other outcomes. It values the skills and knowledge acquired by an education only to the extent that they contribute to economic activity. This is not problematic in the sense that economic activity is not important, but rather that this approach fails to acknowledge the non-instrumental values of education. The personal pursuit of history or literature for purely intellectual reasons cannot be explained or accounted for in this approach. The consequences of this approach being overly founded on economic and instrumental principals can have different consequences for different groups of people. For example, not every individual will have the same return rate on their education, even if quality and quantity are at the same level; not all individuals will be able to use their education towards income-generating activities. This can be a result of restrictions, which Robeyns has categorized as being either internal or external, which can exist due to social or natural reasons. An example of a naturally occurring, internal restriction would be a mental or physical disability (Robyens, 2006). An internal, socially occurring restriction would be the absence of a particular labour market. External restrictions are generally due

16

to cultural and social reasons, like inequality based on gender, ethnicity or culture. If a woman from a gender oppressive society receives an education, her ability to use it will be seriously curtailed by what society permits her to do. Thus, the benefits to the knowledge and skills she has acquired will be severely limited (Robeyns, 2006).

As mentioned earlier, the human capital approach also links education with production levels of an individual. According to this approach, the more educated individuals are, the more productive they will be. The human capital approach has undoubtedly contributed to the use of education as a tool for development through an economic framework. It has enabled education to be seen as an essential investment towards economic productivity of a country, and the returns that it offers can be quantified and measured. However, this perspective is still limited to only the instrumental and economic roles of education, and fails to recognize the intrinsic value of education. Of course, not all educators have adopted this approach to education, but rather have highlighted its potential to unleash the power of human creativity.

5. The Capabilities Approach

Over the last few decades, Amartya Sen's capabilities approach has emerged as a development alternative conceptualizing the links between poverty, inequality and human development. Although Sen is an economist, and has not directly explored the notion of education in his theories, the capabilities approach has been explored by others from an educational point of view. At its core, the capabilities approach focuses on what people are effectively able to do and to be, which is in this sense, their capabilities. This

approach centres on the well-being and agency of individuals, and interprets education as a means to enhance an individual's capabilities. Sen defines capabilities as the various 'functionings' that a person can attain (Sen, 1999). An individual's capability refers to the ability to choose various functions, whereas functions constitute the elements of living; doing and being. Thus, the notion of capability is based on freedom; the range of options an individual has in deciding what kind of life they want to lead. A few examples of functionings include having a job, being educated, being a part of a community, or a nurturing family, whereas capabilities refer largely to the ability to live a long life, have good health, enjoy an imaginative capacity, and being able to exert control over one's environments (Arends-Kuenning, & Amin, 2001). Thus, social arrangement should be evaluated according to the extent of freedom people have to achieve the functionings that they value. In this light, poverty is understood as capability-deprivation, as the poor have little option to pursue the functionings that they value, like education (Saito, 2003).

The capabilities approach argues that having access to education and being knowledgeable are valuable capabilities in that they enable a person to thrive. Education can also enable the expansion of other capabilities, which is described as its instrumental roles. For example, Martha Nussbaum highlights the importance of literacy as enabling the expansion of other capabilities, like participating in local politics, and filling out the paper work to enrol one's children in school. In this light, education is a portal to fulfilling capabilities, and thus leading to greater individual freedom (Nussbaum 2003, pg 332 – 333).

In the capabilities approach, Sen examines both the intrinsic and instrumental roles education can play. As captured in the human capital approach, Sen recognizes the

importance of education as being instrumental in economic production and growth. At this point, Sen moves beyond the instrumental scope of the human capital approach, and incorporates the intrinsic value of education. The intrinsic value of education is enjoying learning for the sake of it, like learning a new language to deepen cultural connections, or taking a poetry class for the enjoyment of it. Sen argues that education plays a role in accumulating human capital, but also plays a role in expanding capabilities, in two respects. First, if a child is taught how to swim, that education has enabled them to acquire the capability to swim. In the other respect, education can expand the opportunities that child has. For example, if children learn mathematics, they have a wider spectrum of opportunities to become an engineer, a banker or a mathematician. This new capability enhances their 'capability set', and provides them with greater options in the future (Saito, 2003). Thus, in order for a child to have options, the child needs to become autonomous through education. Accordingly, providing street children with education is critical to increasing their autonomy, and their ability to lead a life they value.

6. Critiques of the Capabilities approach

The criticisms surrounding the capabilities approach involve its lack of specification, the use of new terminology and language, and the difficulty in operationalizing Sen's framework for practical application. As a fairly new and broad approach, Sen and other advocates for this approach are attempting to move beyond the current limitations of the approach, but many remain sceptical of its practical use.

Robeyns (2006) contends that this approach lacks a considerable degree of operationalization, as its terms are broad and non-descript. This can lead to drastically different interpretations when evaluating social arrangements, leading to very different policy recommendations. Additionally, the capability approach introduces a language that is not well-known among politicians, and other social actors, making the approach less accessible. The weakness of the approach is interpreted by some as being the strengths of the approach, particularly regarding the issue of under-specification. Some authors contend that under-specification enables the approach to be better applied to local circumstances and conditions, and forces policy-makers to understand the principal issue at hand. Others view this as a weakness, arguing it enables too large a degree of interpretation, failing to provide adequate direction to policy-makers and social actors in relation to intervention of the issue at hand. For example, Sen has been criticized for failing to provide a list of important capabilities; while others contend that the value assigned to capabilities will be very different due to cultural and social differences, rendering the approach too theoretical (Robeyns, 2006). These criticisms arguably demonstrate the need to further develop the capabilities framework to make it more operational, and much literature has recently emerged on how to do this. Perhaps the most valuable contribution this approach has made in relation to development approaches, is that it brings the focus back to the people development is meant to serve. Education is valued for ability to increase the freedoms enjoyed by individuals, which corresponds to the philosophies of Paulo Freire.

7. Paulo Freire on Education

Paulo Freire's approach to education starkly contrasts with the human capital approach to education, in that it frames education's role in development as emancipatory, not economic. As an internationally renowned pedagogist, Freire's philosophy of education and literacy emphasizes the liberative power of education and its ability to develop citizenship (Gadotti & Torres, 2009). Born in 1921 in Recife, Brazil into a middle-class family, Freire became interested in the education of the poor people in the northeast region of Brazil and went on to produce some of the most non-orthodox philosophies of education and development.

Freire's philosophies of education are founded on the idea that education is a catalyst for unleashing "the human potential for creativity and freedom in the midst of politico-economic and culturally oppressive structures" (Gerhardt, 1993: pp 11). Along this foundation, Freire's life work was centered on promoting alternative methods to the normative education process through the use of dialogical social interaction and by facilitating in his students the 'conscientization' process. Central to his works, 'conscientization' is defined as a "process by which people achieve a deepened awareness, both of the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (Gerhardt, 1993, pg 11). Freire maintains that it is crucial in the learning process, that the learner understands his or her own reality and circumstances.

Freire's works, including internationally renowned *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968) and *Education, the Practice of Freedom* (1967), are deeply connected with the question of education for development. Authors Gadotti & Torres (2009) summarize the

basic objectives that an education for development should encompass, as outlined by Freire: Firstly, education for development should provide students "with the necessary instruments to resist the deracinating powers of an industrialized civilization" (Freire 1968: pp 82). Freire was very vocal about the need for critical citizenry, and education should attempt to foster critical thinking in its students, even of education itself. Secondly, it should be an education that encourages students to openly discuss their problems with an open dialogue, and allows the student to be "susceptible to a kind of rebelliousness" (Freire, 1968: pp 84). Finally, education for development should orient the students in their lives and "help people reflect about their ontological vocation as subjects" (Freire, 1968: pp 52). In order for an individual to be truly critical of their surroundings, they must be able to situate themselves in it, and to reflect on what their life purpose is. It is clear in these objectives that Freire is not addressing the question of development from the perspective of an economist, but rather from the perspective of a political activist, attempting to bring an ethical dimension to education and its implication for building critical citizenship (Gadotti & Torres, 2009).

Needless to say, Paulo Freire's theory of education for development is deeply rooted in the political nature of education. The aforementioned tenets of his notion of education for development are framed within his assertion that nowhere does a neutral education exist. Education has the potential to either function as an instrument to facilitate the integration of individuals into the logic of the current, unjust system and induce conformity, or education can be the practice of freedom (Freire, 1968). Freire divides these two applications of education into the education of domestication and liberation education, respectively.

Education that is grounded in reproducing the existing political and economic order is described by Freire as education for domestication, and exemplified by the traditional teacher-student relationship. In this typical academic relationship, the teacher is dominant over the learner and is perceived as being knowledgeable, while the student is perceived as empty of knowledge. The teacher projects absolute ignorance onto his or her students and thus establishes himself or herself as the student's opposite. According to Freire, this relationship characterizes a society that is based on class structure where individuals are segregated as worker and manager, master and slave, and teacher and student (Freire, 1968). Freire interprets an education system that utilizes this top-down authoritative structure and denies students the right to name their world as being grounded in a 'banking concept of education' (Freire, 1970). This concept refers to the process of the teacher depositing information into their students, like a piggybank, with the expectation that the students will than mechanically memorize the narrated content. This banking concept of education minimizes or even annuls the student's creative power and serves the interests of those dominating society who "care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed" (Freire, 1970: pp 60). In this way, the banking concept acts to sustain the already existing knowledge and power relations through stifling the creative and critical faculties of students.

Conversely, education for liberation is based on the premise that education's ultimate purpose is to nurture our ontological vocation, which is to become more fully human. Freire contends that our human potential is unrealized, which is largely due to the oppressive societal structures that put the interests of the small wealthy class first. These oppressive structures have alienated the masses from their human potential. Consequently,

23

liberation education must reject hierarchal banking education and embrace a co-equal, dialogical relationship between student and teacher. Dialogical education examines the way that knowledge is socially constructed, whereas banking education resists dialogue and inhibits creative thinking. This student/teacher dialogue must begin with the experience of the student, because individual experiences determine how we think and interact with the world. This type of experiential learning entails that the student investigates their way of thinking and their understanding the world. This inevitably leads the students to critically think about their relationship with larger societal structures and decipher the ideology being presented to them daily (Freire, 1985). Thus, knowledge is viewed as more than a product to be passed down, but something to be investigated. In place of the banking concept of education, educators must replace it with the "posing of the problems of men in their relations with the world (Freire, 1970: pp 66). Coined as problem-posing education by Freire, this education method seeks to nurture critical thought in students for the purpose of their liberation. It also solves the student-teacher dichotomy by recognizing that knowledge is not merely deposited from one individual to another, but instead is created through the dialogue between the two. Thus, liberation education "consists in acts of cognition, not transfers of information" (Freire, 1970: pp 67).

The core of Freire's pedagogy of education for development is the ideas of freedom, democracy and critical participation, which he never abandoned throughout his life's work. His notion of education for domestication illustrates that an education that seeks to reinforce the political and economic structures of a capitalist society will never lead to equitable development, and the realization of human's ontological vocation. They

24

will only serve to integrate individuals into this existing hegemony of socioeconomic division. Conversely, education for liberation will enable the collapse of socioeconomic divisions and create a liberated society, and through this establish equality structures, and arguably this must start with the education system. Needless to say, Freire's non-orthodox philosophies of education were complemented by non-orthodox methods of teaching, which highly resonates with non-formal education programmes and approaches.

8. Non-Formal Education

Although it is generally the case that education is provided by the State, many countries suffer from inadequate formal education systems, which fail to provide schooling access to all primary-school aged children. As a result, non-state providers have stepped in to provide 'alternative' forms of education in place of the 'conventional' state system to the educationally excluded. Alternative forms of education, known as non-formal education, are found around the world and are provided in large by INGO's and NGO's; they differ substantially in content, mode of delivery, pedagogy, and target group. With a renewed focus on expanding basic education access since the Education for All commitments (hereafter abbreviated as EFA) , governments and donors have encouraged these non-state education providers in the hopes they will enable the State to meet its EFA targets (Rose, 2007). Of course, as non-formal education programs are becoming more common, many questions are being raised as to their validity. Primarily, researchers are asking what options children have after participating in non-formal education programs. What is actually being offered in these programs? Do these children have the same

options as formal school graduates in terms of employment opportunities? This section will discuss these questions, and how non-formal education has emerged as the only option for those who are excluded from formal education.

The provision of basic education to a country's citizens is generally accepted to be the responsibility of the State. Internationally-accepted EFA goals have outlined that primary education should be a free and compulsory service provided in every country, which has resulted in many countries adopting legislation to support this. However, as one of the largest and most essential State institutions, formal education systems across the globe are known to suffer from poor management, inadequate funding and governance, reportedly due to the sheer size and geographical scope. As a result, the formal education system often fails to provide all primary-aged children with schooling access, particularly to those children from remote rural areas, and living in extreme poverty (Weyer, 2009). Children who can be described as "hard-to-reach" (eg. orphans, street children, child soldiers or indigenous groups) are more likely to be victims of educational exclusion. This form of exclusion can also be a result of socio-cultural factors, like gender or ethnic discrimination or it can be a result of inadequate supply of schooling in remote or poor regions (Rose, 2007). As a result, non-formal education has emerged as playing a critical role in achieving the EFA goals, and meeting the educational needs of the more marginalized members of society (Weyer, 2009). According to Coombs and Ahmed (1974), non-formal education can be defined as any organized and systematic educational activity that is practiced outside the formal education system, in order to provide specific types of learning to specific subgroups of the general population (Rose, 2007). By contrast, Formal education is loosely defined as being highly institutionalized,

hierarchically structured and it is based on a chronological grading system that spans from primary school to post-secondary school (Rose, 2007).

Non-formal education activities can include literacy programs, occupational skills training, youth groups with an educational purpose, and community programs designed to provide information on health, cooperatives, family planning and various other subject areas. Among the largest providers of non-formal education is international and national non-government organizations (NGO's), which have developed highly tailored programming to fit the unique needs and characteristics of particular subgroups excluded from the formal system (Weyer, 2009). In some countries, NGO's or INGO's may be the main service providers of education where the State lacks either the funds or the will to provide this service. The most fundamental attribute of non-formal education (NFE) is that it occurs outside of the formal education system, as well as the providers of NFE programs being outside the State. The various NFE programs found around the world differ in content, style, mode of delivery and target group, and no single definition will encompass all NFE efforts. Weyer (2009) stresses that NFE "is characterized by a specific approach, which is child-centered, heterogeneous, flexible and participatory, bottom-up, and locally relevant..." (pp 251). Weyer describes the formal education approach as "teacher-centered, homogeneous, rigid, top-down, and lies on an over-crowded curriculum." (Weyer 2009: pp 251). Kavazanjian highlights how NFE can work around the constraints, which are keeping girls out of school in Afghanistan by providing "a structured program of learning in a non-institutional environment based on a learner-centered curriculum and flexible schedule" (Tietjen and Prather 1991: pp 60, as cited in Kavazanjian 2009). NFE programs can offer their students convenient scheduling,

27

appropriate pedagogy, and programming tailored to fit their specific needs, which generally take place in community spaces.

Of course non-formal education is not without its criticisms. The term non-formal education has been found to be problematic by educators in part because it implies second-best, and of lesser value. Its definition is based on being separate from the "formal education" system, rather than standing independent of it. Additionally, the term is very broad and used to encompass a wide range of programmes, which can create fuzzy lines, particularly because the formal education system is increasingly adopting programming that can fall under this category; thus making the term meaningless (Rose, 2007). Moreover, the lack of acceptance of non-formal education as being a legitimate form of education may leave its graduates not much better off. NFE has been considered by researchers as a means to increase employment opportunities for those excluded from the formal education system, and therefore can assist in overall poverty reduction (Rose 2007; Weyer 2009; Kavazanjian 2009; Coombs and Ahmed 1974). However, the relationship between NFE and employment opportunities is relatively under researched. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) argue that the beneficiaries of NFE are at a disadvantage in the labour market compared to formal education graduates, particularly in the formal employment sector. Similarly, La Belle and Ward state that "non-formal education typically provides occupational access only to the lowest-level jobs because it does not have the legitimacy... and credentials necessary to gain access to white-collar and professional jobs. (Le Belle and Ward 1994: pp 4143, as cited in Weyer, 2009). In short, will NFE provide its students with the opportunities of social mobility? Research has failed to provide a clear answer to this question. Similarly, Rose (2007) discusses the positive

attributes associated with formal education as being a more professionally-regulated system with the intent of providing access to the formal employment sector. In contrast, non-formal education frequently involves little external monitoring, with content limited to basic numeracy and literacy, meaning that these children are not likely to move beyond their existing socio-economic status.

Additionally, researchers on NFE have concluded that there is very little systematic, critical analysis of who is gaining access to NFE programs, and what is being taught in these programs (Rose 2007; Weyer 2009). Weyer (2009) highlights the need for the identification of conditions under which NFE can effectively meet the learning needs of its targeted population, as well as its effects on poverty reduction and gaining access to employment. Thus, there is much unknown about the nature of NFE programs provided, and how they are affecting poverty rates, and employment opportunities for the educationally excluded.

In a response to these concerns, NFE programs have become increasingly aimed at merging with the conventional formal system, rather than standing apart from it. According to research by Thompson (2001), successful NFE programs are highly documented and cited in education research, resulting in an overly optimistic picture of the success of NFE programs. However, Thompson argues that the majority of NFE programs are not successful, given the lack of critical analysis of NGO programmes, poor funding and systematic regulation characteristic of these programs. This more accurate account makes the collaboration between non-state education programmes with the formal system the most promising approach. This approach would demand state schools

to be more responsive and flexible in their administrative structure, and willing to acknowledge weak areas in their service provisions.

The portrait of non-formal education for the educationally excluded is divided. The failure of the State to provide education to all primary-aged school children has resulted in the emergence of these programmes, yet their ability to improve a child's social mobility and economic status is unclear. Additionally, the lack of regulation of content and administration of these programmes has left questions about who is accessing these programs, and what are they gaining access to. Despite its criticism, NFE still remains the only educational option for the educationally excluded, including street children. Thus, more research is needed on how to improve its accountability, and increase its positive impacts on the lives of those who need it most.

The Street Child Phenomenon

The United Nations (UN) has estimated the global population of street children at over 100 million (UNESCO, 2002). No country and virtually no city, can escape the presence of this population and yet no society has been able to resolve this troubling social phenomenon. Despite the extensive research conducted on this population, basic questions remain. Who are street children? Why are they on the streets, and how many are there? This section will address these questions, and the theoretical and practical limitations to answering them, including how to define this population.

1. <u>Who are Street Children?</u>

Researchers are not in agreement as to whether the number of street children is growing globally, or whether it is just the awareness of the issue in society which is increasing (CSC, 2009). According to Glaucer (1997), organizations involved in working with street children have been accused of inflating the number of street children in the region they are working in. In recent years, donations from Northern countries to charities and projects working with street children have increased dramatically. A legitimate street child industry has been created within Latin America and beyond. And when the number of street children is called into question, the existence of the organizations working with them is also called into question.

Another area of debate surrounding the population of street children is how to define them. One of the most widely cited definitions used by researchers for street children is UNICEF's, which states that "any girl or boy for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, derelict land, etc.) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood; and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults" (ICCB, 1985 in Harris et al.). It is important to note that this definition is still very broad, as it can include completely abandoned children who both live and work on the streets, or children who maintain some familial contact, and contribute portions of their earnings to supplement the family's income. According to Williams, the first recorded use of the term 'street children' was by the Victorian journalist, Henry Mayhew in the 1851 edition of "London Labour and London

Poor". Mayhew stated "every year sees an increase in street children" (pp 479, as cited in Williams, 1993). This first modern published use of the term "street children" was found again in UNESCO's literature regarding war-vagrant children after World War II, and entered the common lexicon following the Year of the Child in 1979. Williams argues that tracing the historical use of the term suggests that the presence of children living on the streets is not a recent phenomenon, but the conceptualization of it as a problem and the application of a social category is, in relative terms. However, authors are in disagreement over the usefulness of the social category of 'street children' (Williams, 1993).

2. The Social Categorization of Street Children

Although children found on the streets may share similar experiences of violence, hunger and exploitation, commonalities found within this population arguably end there. A pressing research issue that has emerged in the literature is in relation to the usefulness of labelling children under this broad social category. The adoption of the generic social categorization of "street children" has resulted in two opposing perspectives concerning the usefulness of this universal label within the literature. One perspective suggests that this term is too vague, and riddled with assumptions resulting in erroneous intervention strategies (De Moura, 2002; Williams, 1993; Glauser 1997). The regularity of the use of the term "street children" seems to imply that such a group exists as a homogenous phenomenon in reality, ignoring the unique and differing relationships these children have to the street. In *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*, Glauser argues that the different categories formulated by UNICEF do have the term 'street' in common, but the

street acts as a differentiating element between them. According to Glauser, this differentiation is based on the individual child's relationship to the street, as well as the child's relationship to his/her family. This differentiation embedded within the three categories contains several hidden assumptions about the meaning of family, the child and the street. There is a great variety in the ways these children, labelled "street children", make use of the streets, and there are many children who do not fit easily into these categories. The implication of the imprecise application of the term has led to criticism of its operational value. Glauser goes on to argue that the three categories are used in different parts of the world to refer to very different situations of children. This means that the literature on street children will be referring to a wide range of children, without a clear definition of who these children are (Glauser, 1997).

An opposing perspective to this broad categorization contends that any label is a prerequisite for mobilizing an appropriate response. Although these social classifications may lack precision, they are a necessary tool to assemble research and intervention strategies in the attempt to better the lives of this population. Although there may be an overlap in how researchers are fitting children into these categories, it is a necessary trade-off in order to communicate and intervene with this population in any respect. The research presented in this paper will adopt this perspective, in that a broad label of this diverse population is necessary in order to motivate a response, and pursue research.

3. Why are Children on the Streets?

Although social issues, cultural contexts and social policies differ greatly between countries, researchers and organizations have focused on similar issues to characterize and explain the existence of street children. The immediate factors responsible for a child's condition is unique, however researchers have highlighted similar factors which in combination, lead a child to the streets. Volpi (2002) contends that street children are a product of the combination of low family income, lack of housing, family neglect, armed conflicts, failure in school and natural disasters and epidemics. De Moura (2002) highlights the disintegration of familial relations, due to abject poverty, neglect, physical/sexual abuse and addiction. Rizzini and Lusk (1995) discuss the impact that rural-to-urban migration has had on children from poor families, who are unable to thrive in the new urban landscape. Le Roux (1998) relates the existence of street children to a number of societal stressor's associated with rapid urbanization and industrialization, creating inn-city decay, shantytowns and high rural-to-urban migration rates. The emergence of over-crowded, substandard housing areas that lack electricity, water and sanitation has been attributed to the rise of children turning to live on the streets, as home may mean no more than a dirt floor and makeshift roof (de Moura, 2002; Harris et al 2010; Lusk 1992). In *Street Children Need our Care*, Barrette (1995) distinguishes between the root causes, and the underlying and immediate causes that create street children; refer to table two for Barrette's summary. Despite the divergence in reasons given for the emergence of street children, researchers are in agreement that poverty is a primary cause of children finding themselves on the street.

34

Table 2: Reasons for children on the streets

Root Causes	Underlying Causes	Immediate Causes
Rapid social changes (urbanization, increased population growth, high unemployment, etc...)	Poor distribution of resources, including opportunities and services	Increased rate of family disintegration (divorce rate, single-parent families, etc...)
		Large, impoverished families
Political instability	Lack of employment opportunities	Unemployment
Natural disasters (earthquake, tsunami, flood)	Poor working conditions	Substance addiction (alcohol, drugs, etc...)
	No access to essential services (housing, transportation, water, etc..)	Physical and sexual abuse
Economic Problems		Lack of parental involvement (no emotional support)

Source: Barrette, 1995

Brazilian Street Children

In addition to Brazil's renowned beaches, carnivals, and football athletes, this emerging

economy is equally known for the deplorable situation of its street children. Starting from

the 1970's, the growing number of street children in Brazil became the subject of

extensive research and analysis, particularly following UNESCO's International Year of

the Child in 1979. The subsequent literature that emerged after this era attempted to

uncover who these children were, why they were on the streets and how many of them

existed. This research was plagued with the same practical and theoretical limitations as

35

mentioned above, and has resulted in divergent answers to these research questions.

Nonetheless, researchers postulated that the existence of street children was a product of

a social-economic climate that left over half the Brazilian population in poverty (Pare,

2004).

1. Who are they?

Street children in Brazil exhibit all the characteristics typical of a socially

marginalized population. As a multi-racial society, the discrimination faced by non-white

Brazilian citizens is particularly apparent in the population of street children. Almost

entirely comprised of non-white Brazilians, street children are a clear example of the

economic and structural exclusion faced by millions of racially-mixed Brazilians.

According to Wong & Balestino (2001), the majority of street children are born to rural

migrant families who reside in urban squatter settlements, where they live in abject

poverty. They have received little education upon turning to the streets, and they are

likely to receive none at all once they make the streets their home.

The structure of the families that these children originate from has been the

subject of little research but can be of great importance in relation to explaining why the

children leave home. Lusk (1992) argues that the majority of Brazilian street children

come from two-parent families, which is contrary to the popular belief that they are from

single-parent families. Rizzini further specifies that most Brazilian children "on" or "of"

the streets come from nuclear families in Brazil, and only a small percentage of these

children have severed all contact from their families completely (Lusk, 1992).

36

2. How many Street Children are there?

As discussed earlier, there are significant discrepancies between different sources on the number of street children worldwide and Brazil is considered home to some of the most conflicting estimates (Lusk 1992; Pare 2004). Reasons given for these discrepancies include contrasting definitions of street children used by researchers and organizations, the mobility of this population and the exclusion of street children from official statistics. In the late 1980's, UNICEF estimated that Brazil is home to 7 million children who spend the majority of their time on the streets and/or sleep on the streets. This number, which is widely quoted amongst journalists and organizations, is now recognized as an overestimate. In the past few years, a number of studies in Brazilian cities have revealed a much lower number, even as low as less than one thousand. A recent study in São Paulo found that approximately 4, 500 children were scattered throughout the streets during the day, but only approximately 900 slept on the streets at night (Wong & Balestino 1999, quoting *Jornal do Brasil*, 1995). In Salvador, Bahia, a recent study found 15, 500 children and youth working in the streets and 468 living in the streets (Wong & Balestino 1999, quoting *Projeto Axe*, 1993). Researchers have recognized the inherent limitation of data collection on a transient marginalized population and generally scale up estimates in the observation that only one in three street children are spotted during these studies. In this context, the above estimates totalled the street children population at 38,000 in Brazil (Green 1998, quoting Allison & Prout, 1990).

3. <u>Why are they on the streets?</u>

On a macro scale, the problem of street children is emblematic of a larger problem in Brazil; a failed economic development model that has left nearly 50% of the population in poverty (Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1994). The political, cultural and economic changes that took place in Brazil over the past 50 years has left the country with the worst income distribute in the world (Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1994). As previously discussed, poverty is highly linked to racial discrimination in Brazil, as the non-white population in Brazil disproportionately represents the poorer sections of society, with approximately half living below the poverty line (Rizzini et al 1999). Needless to say, this social and economic exclusion has impacted the state of Brazilian children. Researchers use this socio-economic climate as the backdrop for explaining the causes of street children, but diverge in terms of what combination of factors they focus on. Pare relates rural-to-urban migration rates in Brazil, resulting in slums or *favelas,* without access to adequate social services. Pare also discusses the disintegration of families, giving rise to the number of female-headed households and issues of drug and alcohol abuse and domestic violence. De Oliveira (2000) highlights the incidents of street children as being a result of poverty coupled with societal neglect, a lack of effective social policy, and increases of drug trading in poor neighbourhoods (favelas).

All children who leave their homes usually do so for a combination of push and pull factors. Factors that pull children to the streets include being attracted to the 'adventure' of street life, lured by the idea of drugs, freedom and money. The literature cites additional push-factors such as a lack of affordable housing, lack of public

assistance, mental illness, AIDS, and natural disasters (de Oliveira 2000; Lusk 1992; Rizzini & Lusk 1995). Despite the differences in what aspects researchers capitalize on to explain this urban phenomenon, researchers conclude that poverty is the underlying cause for the proliferation of children living and/or working on the streets of Brazil; individual causes may be complex, but the source of these individual complexities is relatively simple. The vicious cycle of poverty leaves families broken, children abandoned, or sent to work on the streets, sometimes as young as five (Lusk 1992; Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1994; de Oliveira 2000).

4. Exaggerated Prominence

Another issue that has been raised in the literature is in relation to the exaggeration of this issue in Brazil. The plight of the street child received an enormous amount of attention from international and national media, local and international organization's and human rights organizations during the 1980's and 1990's (Rizzini et al, 1999). The image of the street child became the symbol of poverty in Brazil, as depicted in the international and national media, as well as in numerous research reports and studies on child poverty at the time. According to Rizzini et al, this image of the street child as representing child poverty is inaccurate and deflects attention away from the much larger population of 'invisible' children, who belong to very low-income families. Rizzini et al. argue that the focus on street children has meant that most children's programs in Brazil have directed their resources to a relatively small number of children and youth in dire situations. But relatively little policy or program development in Brazil

39

is focusing on supporting and assisting the much larger number of children and youth in low-income families. The once estimated 7 million street children in Brazil, as reported by UNICEF, which has now been recognized as an overestimate, and it is this estimate, which may have led to heightened attention on children and youth living on the streets. However, as mentioned earlier, recent studies have emerged which show the number of street children to be in the thousands, and not the millions. The consensus has now emerged in Brazil, that there are not nearly as many street children as once estimated, and it only is the "tip of the iceberg of low income children, the majority of whom continue to live with their families but often in difficult situations that compromise their development" (Rizzini, 1999: pp 5).

Educating Street Children

According to UNESCO, education is the most effective strategy for integrating street children back into society, yet the majority of them will never see the inside a classroom nor receive a meaningful education. There exists no data on what portion of street children make up the 130 million primary aged children around the world who are out of school, but street children potentially make up the majority of them (Bellemy 1999; CSC, 2009). For these children, life on the streets demands priority for short-term survival needs, rather than long-term goals and knowledge. Unfortunately, the longer these children spend on the streets, the less likely they are to enrol in school. This section will look at the barriers and difficulties confronting street children in terms of access to

schooling and academic success, followed by an analysis of programmes and approaches

which have emerged as a result of these obstacles.

1. Obstacles to Education

Of course educating a population of children that struggles with day-to-day survival requires a very different approach than found in traditional classrooms. The obstacles inhibiting street children from obtaining an education are specific to each country and each child; however the literature emphasizes common barriers experienced by street children around the world. The most commonly cited obstacles to street children enrolling in school include health, money, time, low self-esteem and the lack of relevance the school curriculum has to their daily experiences (Mawhinney-Rhoads & Stahler 2006; CSC paper submission 2009; Pare 2004; Lusk 1992). Of course, a major obstacle lies within the formal education system failing to be compatible with the needs and circumstances of street children, which has given rise to non-formal educational programs, which will be explored in a later section.

According to Lusk (1992), the structure that accompanies the formal education system and the children who attend it is in direct contrast to the daily experiences of street children. Immersed in what has been coined "street society" by Lusk, street children have been exposed to a lifestyle that is shared by gangs, drug traffickers, sex workers, and police. The values and norms they have had to adopt on the streets as a means of survival are incompatible with those of a formal education system. Similarly, the Consortium for Street Children (CSC), an international organization working with street children and

41

research hub, emphasizes the lack of compatibility between the experiences of street children and the formal education system (CSC, 2009). Self-esteem issues are highlighted by many authors as inhibiting street children from the classroom (Mawhinney-Rhoads & Stahler 2006; CSC, 2009; Pare 2004; Lusk 1992). Growing up in a volatile household, experiences of violence or abandonment can be detrimental to one's sense of self. Mawhinney-Rhoads & Stahler and the CSC emphasize the lack of peer acceptance felt by street children enrolled in school, aggravating their sense of shame and emotional instability. Street children are also more likely to have lower academic performances levels, due to several factors that can create feelings of low self-worth and shame.

Additionally, street children are forced to work during the day to either meet their basic needs or to supplement their family's income. Such demands are incompatible with traditional schooling hours. As mentioned earlier, 60% of street children work to supplement their family income, which greatly impedes their ability to enrol in school. Health is another serious obstacle to educational attainment for street children, as research shows that the general health of street children in poor (Brink, 2001; Lusk 1992; Pare 2004). A substantial amount of medical research has been conducted on street children around the world in relation to HIV/AIDS, and psychological disorders, including schizophrenia, anxiety disorders and effects of stress. Additionally, street children have been studied for the effects of malnutrition, which consequently has led to lower heights and weights than is found in the average child population (Brink 1997; Szanton Blanc, 1994). Addiction to drugs and solvents are very common among street children, as they can provide temporary relief from cold, hunger, fear or loneliness. Glue-sniffing is particularly prevalent due to its effects and low cost, but is very damaging to the

respiratory system, and eyesight. The impacts of solvent addiction can cause rapid mood swings and the inability to concentrate, furthering inhibiting the child's chance of receiving an education (Brink, 2001).

It is clear that circumstances are working against those who would benefit from education the most. Street children's lives are characterized by fulfilling short-term needs, and foregoing any long-term goals, as many believe their futures will be equally as short-term, and regrettably, many of them are right. However, organizations working with street children work tirelessly to improve their circumstances, and as a result many innovative programs have emerged around the world, tailoring to the specific obstacles present in different cultures

2. Programmes and Approaches

Street children as a group are in need of holistic and highly-tailored educational approaches in order to overcome the aforementioned barriers. As street children are virtually excluded from government educational budgets, it has been left up to organizations to address the educational needs of this population. There are thousands of non-government organizations, religious and secular, working alongside international agencies such as UNICEF, the World Bank and UNESCO to offer these children an alternative to street life (UNESCO, 1995). Many of these organizations have been described as being highly uncoordinated, but highly effective in reaching street children through innovative strategies. As a result of the rejection these children have experienced from their families and society, street children are very untrusting of adults and authority

figures. These organizations need to approach street children with care, as it is imperative that they win the children's confidence. Many programs involved with street children take place in the child's natural environment, the street. Others will make contact with the children, and once trust has been established, invite them to another location. This initial contact is crucial to winning the child's trust, as it will determine whether the child chooses to involve him or herself with the program.

Programs working with street children engage in a wide range of activities, usually combining basic assistance, health care, job training and education (Volpi, 2002). Programs largely differ in relation to what services and programming they provide to the child, the family and the community. Another distinction between programs is that some provide residential services for a smaller group of children, while others provide non-residential outreach services to a larger group on a regular basis. Most programs include some form of child rights advocacy and lobbying, as well as provide channels for other child/youth services. Another distinction between programs is the age group they target. Programs geared towards adolescents and youth focus on job skills, housing, sexual health and legal defence. Programs that are geared towards young children tend to concentrate on school, family reintegration and basic assistance (Volpi, 2002). This section will address programs aimed at reintegration through education, illustrated through both residential education programs and non-residential education programs.

3. Non-Residential Educational Outreach

Street children are often described as sharp, streetwise, and mature for their age, but many of them have very low attention spans due to either drug abuse or overall poor health (Lusk 1992; Brink 2001). Educational activities must be engaging, innovative and relate to the children's every day experience. The primary means of contact with street children in this model is through street educators, which engage in informal educational activities with the children in their environment, and establish a regular meeting time generally on a weekly basis. An example of this program model is the NGO Istituto de Apoio a Crianca located in Lisbon, Portugal. This program is aimed at street children in downtown Lisbon who have little or no family contact and largely engage in illegal activities as a means of survival. The program aims to reconnect these children with their families and communities through education, work, family counselling, and service referral support. The program is composed of professionally trained educators that works in collaboration with the Ministry of Education to reintegrate the children back into public schools, or to prevent them from dropping out. This program also facilitates training for public school teachers to increase their awareness of challenges facing street children and the services available to them (Volpi, 2002).

4. Residential Educational Services

A residential centre for street children provides a safe space for children to escape from their daily hardships on the streets and interact with other youth (Brink, 2001). These shelters offer long-term or short-term accommodations, depending on the program's overall goal. Educational activities are offered throughout the day, and participation is encouraged. An example of this program model is Casa Alianza located in Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Mexico. This NGO is dedicated to the rehabilitation of street children and the defence of their rights throughout Central America (Volpi, 2002).

Instead of attempting to improve street life, this organization's primary goal is to enable children to leave the street. Thus street educators making initial contact with street children will not offer food or clothing, but rather will encourage them to come to the crisis center. From this initial visit, children will be evaluated as to whether they can be reintegrated back into their families or require long-term residential care. The ultimate goal of this NGO is to reintegrate street children into their families (Volpi, 2002).

These models illustrate the options NGO's have in providing street children with education. The model chosen by an organization is likely to depend on funding restrictions, as well as how they perceive the issue of street children. What is missing in the literature is an explicit comparison of these different models. As thousands of NGO's are involved with providing services to street children, little has been offered in way of best practices, or most fitting program models. As economic, social and cultural

46

circumstances differ significantly between countries, any model comparison should look at programs in the same country.

Educating Street Children in Brazil: Three models of approaches

Brazil has been internationally criticized for its high population of street children, but it has also been internationally renowned for its leadership in innovative programmes for street children. As a consequence of the failure of the military regime to provide adequate programmes for street children, the end of the 1970's saw the emergence of a wide variety of non-government programs attempting to fill the needs of these children (Swift, 1991). The founders of alternative programming in Brazil for street children harbored an alternative value system that rejected the large number of children on the street and the wide spread suffering. The programs that are aimed at providing street children with education can be categorized into three broad program models that encompass unique dynamics and power relations between all relevant stakeholders involved.

1. Model One: The Grassroots Approach

Although it may be difficult to identify the exact moment this approach was born, the beginnings of the Movimento Nacional de Meninos e Meninas de Rua (National Movement of Street Children, MNMMR) in the 1980's may be the most relevant example of this approach. The MNMMR was formed to encourage the growing number of street children to organize themselves in order to promote their rights and interests to the State,

as well as to ignite in them the desire to learn. Comprised of street children, non-formal educators and advocates, the MNMMR has been attributed with developing "popular education," an education philosophy that promotes a learning environment in which both the student and the teacher are learning, and are engaging in active citizenship (Wong & Balestino, 2001). In order to accomplish these goals, MNMMR adopted two central pedagogical principals. First, all educational work undertaken with street children should be approached within the parameters of their daily realities. The education developed in the formal sector has been done so in accordance with the realities and circumstances of more privileged classes. Secondly, the education process that the street children participate in must be used to transform their circumstances, through action and participation in the decisions that affect their lives (Wong & Balestino, 2001).

One of the most unique characteristics of this response model is the creation of street educators. These individuals are the fabric of popular education. By going into the streets, alleyways and gutters, street educators are engaging, organizing and tailoring education to the daily realities and experiences of the street children. Education in this practice is not strictly methodological or prescriptive, rather it is a process that must be adaptive, flexible and creative in order to encourage the reflection of the children and to transform that reflection into action (Swift, 1997). Of course the disadvantages of this model are in relation to the breadth of its outreach. NGO's as service providers are an alternative to State services; they are established due to the failure of the government to provide for its citizens. An NGO is likely to be less effectual as its resources and power will only amount to a portion of that of the State's.

2. Model Two: Progressive State Action through Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs)

An alternative initiative to poverty reduction that has been adopted by governments through Latin America, and the world are conditional cash transfer programs (CCTs). Conditional Cash Transfer programs aim to reduce poverty by making financial stipends conditional upon the beneficiaries' actions. The government provides monetary transfers to poor families and/or individuals who meet the conditions attached to the transfer, for instance, sending their children to school, getting regular check-ups with a Doctor, or receiving vaccinations. Many Latin American countries have adopted CCT programs into their social policies, as they have proven effective. Although the transfers range in monetary value from country to country, many of the programs include conditions that relate to building the human capital of the children in the family, primarily through school enrolment and attendance. By targeting not only poor adults, but poor children, CCTs work to address the inter-generational transmission of poverty and promote social inclusion of traditionally excluded groups, like women, the poor, and indigenous groups. CCT programs have been praised for effectively targeting and reaching the extreme poor and other excluded groups that generally live outside the reach of government social protection programs that are accompanied with formal employment. According to World Bank researchers Brière and Rawlings (2006), 80% of CCT benefits on average go to the 40% poorest families.

Brazil's Conditional Cash Transfer program, Bolsa Familia, is the largest CCT program around the world, and has attracted significant international attention. Implemented in 2003 under the Lula administration, beneficiaries of the Bolsa Familia

49

program were families with children from zero to five years old, or with a pregnant or breastfeeding woman, and to all poor families, even those without children. Families with a per capita income of less than R$90 (US $45), which was the minimum wage at that time, qualified for the program. Beneficiaries received R$15 (US$7) per month per child for up to a maximum of three children, conditional on children attending 85% of school days. Additionally, family members, including the children needed to maintain regular check-ups and vaccinations throughout the enrolment of the program.

Bolsa Familia has been praised for improving income distribution and reducing poverty levels in Brazil since its nation-wide implementation. Research has shown that Bolsa Familia increased enrolment rates, reduced dropout rates, and increased grade promotion (Brière & Rawlings, 2006). As a program that is effectively targeting the poorest families in Brazil, the Bolsa Familia program is inhibiting the children of poor families from turning to the streets. This program is an example of progressive state action to provide education for both the street children or today and the street children of tomorrow.

3. Model Three: Grassroots and State Partnership

This model represents a culmination of initiatives taken by the State and grassroots organizations to provide education for street children. In this model, the innovative and fluid educational techniques of progressive non-formal education, is provided a space within the already existing formal educational structure (Swift, 1997). This model is captured through the partnership between the municipality of

Salvador, Bahia and Projeto Axe, a non-government organization that is bridging the gap between street children and public school access. Projeto Axe strives to partner the public sector with "innovative pedagogical practices that target marginalized youth" (Wong & Balestino, 2001, pg 613). Through the use of street educators, Projeto Axe makes initial contact with children found on the street through engaging them in non-formal educational activities. After this initial contact, street educators might successfully enrol the children into the "School Monitoring Program." This program works with 60 schools in Salvador to increase enrolment levels of street children, and to train and empower teachers to learn alternative teaching methods (Rossatto, 2001, Wong & Balestino 2001). Once a street educator is able to enrol them in a partnering public school, the child will spend the mornings in formal classes, and the afternoons in complementary classes, like dance, music, theatre, etc…(Wong & Balestino, 2001). This mixture of traditional schooling with non-traditional elements is designed to enrich the students learning experience and encourage them to remain in school.

Because this approach involves both the State and civil society, it offers the greatest potential of survival and scope. Partnering the innovative strategies found in the NGO approach, in tandem with the resources and infrastructure of the State, has a greater chance in integrating street children back into society through education. This partnership also has a greater chance in surviving different government administrations, due to the involvement of the NGO, which can reinforce the State's commitment to this project.

We have reviewed the literature and current debate in regard to education and development, street children and intervention strategies adopted globally and in Brazil. We will now turn to the relevant data required to address the central research question,

which is as follows: What is the most promising approach to delivering education to street

children in relation to the Preventative and Symptomatic approach.

Chapter Three

Empirical Data

The international community has agreed on investments in education as a key strategy in the fight against poverty and achieving development. As a result, new objectives and policies are being established in countries all over the world that increase the accessibility and effectiveness of their education system. As no exception to this trend, Brazil has increased its efforts to improve its education system and make it more accessible to the large number of poor families throughout the country. Both civil society and State agencies have emerged as key actors in this process. As representatives of one of the most marginalized cohort of individuals in Brazil, the street children in the North-eastern region of Brazil have some of the greatest obstacles to obtaining an education, which according to UNESCO, is the most effective strategy for reintegrating them back into society. Two dominant approaches to providing street children with education have emerged in Brazil, with NGO's providing one approach and the State offering the other. On the NGO side is the symptomatic approach, which provides street children with non-formal education through the use of street social educators and NGO programming. In contrast to this method is the preventative approach, adopted by the State. The preventative approach attempts to attack the root of the street child phenomenon by inhibiting creation and growth of this population, and thus the need to educate them once they are on the streets. This approach is articulated by the Bolsa Familia program, a

conditional cash transfer program that provides a stipend to poor families on the condition that their children attend school within the formal system. This chapter will explore the two approaches, as they have emerged in Recife, the capital of the north-eastern State of Pernambuco. But first this chapter will explore the empirical foundations of education as development and street children worldwide and within Brazil.

Background

Virtually no country and no city have escaped the presence of children living and working on the streets. With researchers arguing over the numbers of street children, there is consensus that poverty is the overarching cause of this distressing urban phenomenon. This section will examine how this population of children has been defined, categorized and counted, and what issues have arisen as a result of operationalizing a broad social category.

1. <u>Street Children Globally</u>

The presence of large numbers of children in the streets, unsupervised and unprotected, reflects a deteriorating social fabric suffering from extreme social and economic exclusion (Volpi, 2002). The use of public streets as a permanent dwelling or place of work denotes a state of suffering for millions of children worldwide. Predominately found in the developing world, the problem of the existence of street children is a complex social issue, with no clear solution. Largely viewed by society as a

menace, these children are excluded from the comforts, securities and opportunities of more fortunate children, and many will not get the chance to grow up. Some of these children have a family, but these families likely to be very poor - so poor their children are forced to live on the streets during the day to make a living (UNESCO, 2002). Other children have lost ties with their family completely, and are completely dependent on the streets.

According to UNESCO, out of the 100 million street children worldwide, 60% work on the streets to supplement their family's income, while the remaining 40% are completely homeless. Researcher Rosemary McCarney (2002) contends that street children make up 30% of all children in developing countries. In relation to Latin America, Lewis Aptekar (1994) cites that 90% of street children have contact with their families, while only 10% are completely homeless. The vast majority of street children worldwide are male, with estimates running as high as 70 to 96% worldwide (CSC paper submission, 2009). A reason given for the high (2001) portion of males in relation to females is due to cultural norms, which dictate that female children stay at home, to help with the housework, or to avoid 'shaming' the family by getting pregnant. The CSC (2009) argues that street girls are simply less visible than street boys as they are more likely to be found in brothels and prostitution rings. Thus, current suggested ratios of the sexes of street children are likely to be inaccurate, which is another example of a hindrance to the accurate portrayal of this population.

According to the Consortium for Street Children (2009), the exact number of street children is impossible to calculate, and the 100 million figure has no basis in factual evidence (CSC, 2009). In 1989, UNICEF first published the population of street children

to be 100 million worldwide (CSC, 2009). However, 14 years later, UNICEF published that the global population of street children was likely to be as high as 100 million, alluding to the fact that UNICEF had no real indication. More recently, UNICEF has admitted that the number of street children worldwide was unknown, but it was likely to run into the tens of millions, and that it is likely increasing (CSC, 2009).

One of the most widely cited definitions used by researchers for street children is UNICEF's, which states that "any girl or boy for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, derelict land, etc.) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood; and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults." Within this definition, UNICEF has divided street children up into different categories, to account for the varying degrees of contact with their biological family and time spent on the streets. These categories as identified by UNICEF are a response to the criticism of the broad social category of street children, which will be discussed in the next section. Originally developed by the United Kingdom office of UNICEF in 1988, this model categorizes street children into the following groups (Agrawal, 2003):

a.   *Children on the Street:* This category describes children who work on the street but still maintain regular ties with their family (Agrawal, 2003). They consider themselves apart of the community in which their family lives, and they return home generally after a day of work on the streets. This category constitutes the largest number of street children in Brazil and around the world (UNICEF, 1986). For these children, the family

home still represents their basic group environment for their socialization (Mickelson, 2000). They are considered to have a home, despite the amount of time they spend on the streets.

b.   *Children of the Street*: This category of street children has very distant ties with their family, seeing them only on occasion. The street is their source of shelter, food and companionship (UNICEF, 1986). For these children, their social relationships are restricted to the streets. They may see a few family members on occasion, but they are unlikely to live with family again (Mickelson, 2000)

c.   *Abandoned Children*: This category of street children is also in the category children of the street, but they lack any contact with their biological family and are completely on their own (UNICEF, 1986). The street is their home and family. This group represents the smallest number of street children, but arguably the most in need.

These categories attempt to make the term 'street child' more operational for researchers, by accounting for the varying degrees of contact with their family and through identifying the distinctive relationship each child has with the streets. Although somewhat outdated, these categories are very much applied in the current literature and are assumed to reflect the process of becoming a street child (de Moura, 2002).

Despite differing social and cultural contexts, researchers have generally agreed on the existence of children on the street being a result of several 'push' and 'pull' factors. Factors that may push a child to the street include violence in the home, hunger or material deprivation. Factors that pull a child to the streets include the opportunity to earn an income, and feel independent. Whatever the combination of reasons, researchers concede that all factors leading children to the streets are rooted in extreme poverty (Dybicz, 2005).

2. Street Children and Education

There is no single solution to the problem of street children, but there are numerous collective efforts to rehabilitate and reintegrate these children back into society. Programs working with street children vary in the method they use to either reintegrate the children back into society or to enable them to live better on the streets. Some projects emphasize reintegration through work, instead of education, while others may teach the children how to use the streets more effectively. However, as education is the most traditional means of integrating all children into society, UNESCO has argued that education is the most effective, and long-term method to reintegrate street children into society. This section will explore the general obstacles faced by street children in relation to education found worldwide, and provide an insight into the more important issues alternative education programmes need to address.

The number of street children that exists worldwide is disputed among researchers, organizations and governments. UNESCO has estimated the street child population to be as high as 100 million, and this appears as one of the most quoted figures in the literature. Thus, establishing what portion of street children are not enrolled in public schools is equally disputed. What is agreed upon is out of the 130 million primary-aged children . around the world who are not enrolled in school, street children are likely to make up the majority of them (CSC paper submission, 2009). The longer these children stay on the streets, the less likely they are to receive an education (Kenny, 1999).

Of course educating a population of children that struggles with day-to-day survival requires a very different approach than found in traditional classrooms. The obstacles inhibiting street children from obtaining an education are specific to each country and each child. There is generally no isolated obstacle preventing street children from obtaining an education, rather a number of obstacles, including; fear of authority, money, feelings of inadequacy, health, work and a lack of relevance to their daily experiences. Additionally, street children do not easily adapt to the highly structured environment of public school, as they are accustomed to living in an open, unstructured environment, with very different values and norms than those found in a classroom. Thus, formal school diverges greatly from the day-today experience of a street child. As a result, NGO's working with street children in an educational capacity have emerged as key contributors to educating street children around the world.

3. Education in Brazil

Under more favourable conditions, the street children of Brazil may not be as isolated from the public system, if that system was in good shape. Regrettably, the educational system in Brazil is notoriously among the worst in Latin America (Kenny, 1999). Characterized by favouring elite families, and failing to provide quality education to poor families, the system has worked to the disadvantage of the majority of Brazilians. The argument that education will enable development only holds water if that education system is producing a knowledgeable, and skilled workforce; the education system must increase the human capital of its students. However, the Brazilian education system is characterized by low quality, high drop-out and repetition rates, and favouring enrolment versus completion. This section will explore the poor policy choices made by the government in relation to primary education, and how the education system is failing to educate the Brazilian population.

As the eighth largest economy in the world, Brazil is among the most economically powerful countries in the world. However, if Brazil is to maintain its economic growth, it needs a more highly-skilled and better educated workforce (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). And for the poor to both contribute to market growth and reap some of the benefits, education reform is essential in Brazil. Although primary education has been theoretically free to all citizens since the 1824 constitution, a national policy on education was not created until the 1930's. The government first made some developments in the area of education in the 1950's, and some major reforms were made to primary education

60

following the 1980's economic crisis, which left negative impacts on the education system (Pare, 2004). The democratically reformed constitution of 1988 provided space for the establishment and protection of basic citizen rights, which has in direct contrast to the previous military regime's authoritative rule in Brazil, taken by coup, from 1964 to 1985. The regime left a legacy of elitism, restricted civil liberties, racial discrimination which served to radically polarize the interests of the lower and upper class in Brazilian society. The post-dictatorship constitution provided instruments for the decentralization of the government, allotting more power to the provincial and municipal levels of government. In accordance with these reforms, the new constitution recognized the autonomy of the municipal education systems, which were no longer perceived as subordinate to larger federal-level institutions (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). Thus, the education system was put into the hands of state and municipal level authorities. This reform introduced 5, 000 new actors into the administration of the education system and education debate, rendering the search for equitable and efficient national education policies almost impossible (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). By the mid 1990's, state and municipal governments accounted for 80% of total education expenditures. A positive outcome of these reforms was that the right to education as stipulated in the constitution became actionable for the first time. The constitution held the "relevant public authorities" legally responsible for the provision of educational opportunities for all citizens (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). Of course, the "relevant public authorities" are not easily located in a decentralized system that has dispersed administrative responsibility to several individuals. Thus, holding the government accountable for the responsibility to provide primary education to all its citizens may not be possible in practical terms (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). The dispersion of

61

power and responsibility over the education system to State and municipal powers let the federal government take a back seat to the administration of the largest, and one of the most expensive national institutions.

By the early 1990's, Brazil boasted a 32% increase in enrolment rates in primary and secondary education. However, this increase in enrolment and educational expansion appeared to be at the expense of quality, resulting in increased repetition rates and drop-out rates. Additionally, the inequitable income distribution in Brazil led to significant difference in the quality of schools, depending on how wealthy the region was. If municipalities had more money to spend than others on education, the schools would be reflective of that, making the schools of the Northeast some of the lowest in quality.

Moreover, the allocation of public spending on education favoured tertiary levels of education, rather than primary or secondary levels, which benefited the upper class more than the larger, middle and lower class. This offers another example of government policy favouring the relatively small, but powerful, wealthy elite. Wealthy families were the recipients of the benefits reaped by highly subsidized, uncompetitive, top quality, public Universities (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). Moreover, since the subsidies went to high-income children to go to University, they did little to expand the enrolment levels at the university level, as these children would be able to afford the full cost in any case. By contrast, the relatively low public spending on primary and secondary levels meant middle and lower income children would be relegated to lower quality public schools, making it even more difficult for them to compete for admission to public universities.

Moreover, the quality of the Brazilian schools was deplorable. The lowest quality primary schools found in the poorest districts, harboured teachers who had not completed

62

primary school themselves. And of course, teachers could not teach what they themselves had not learned. As discussed in Birdsall and Sabot, if school quality is low, than children acquire few productive skills, which reduces both the likelihood they will progress to the next grade, and the rate of return to their education. Once the children reached an age where they could be economically productive, parents had little economic incentive to keep that child in school. This decline in quality experienced in the secondary and primary school levels was attributed to the expansion of schooling, rendering the government without adequate resources to support the new schools (Birdsall and Sabot, 1996).

In 2004, UNESCO reported that for every 100 students that started the first grade, 50 would quit within their first year, 37 would finish fourth grade, 17 would finish eighth grade, 9 would finish high-school, and only 6 would make it to university (Pare, 2004). In the North-eastern region, only 20% of students completed primary school, and only 3% did so without repeating a grade (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). In the wealthier, Southern cone, approximately 50% of students completed primary school, and 25% did so without repetition. This illustrates the dramatic difference in educational attainment and quality based on region.

Despite high enrolment rates, it is fair to say that educational attainment in Brazil is low. In 2002, the country had an enrolment rate in primary education of approximately 170%, due to repetition rates and late entry (Pare, 2004). Repetition of grades is also a cause for students to drop-out of school, as they perceive themselves as not being suited for education, and develop a poor self-image (Pare, 2004). Despite these figures, the government has maintained enrolment as its educational priority, and failed to address the

issues of quality, repetition and dropout rates. Bolsa Familia has emerged as the only programme developed to reduce dropout rates, which will be explored further in a later section. In relation to quality, Brazil has been criticized for having very poor teacher training, resulting in children being unable to write and read properly by the end of primary school. Moreover, if the impressive enrolment rates are analyzed in the context of regional differences and differences based on the socio-economic background of the children, it is clear that the educational improvements are not being seen in poorer regions. The educational performance of poorer regions, particularly the Northeast, is markedly different, and the resources available to these schools and teacher training fail to meet basic quality standards. As a result, Brazil has experienced a substantial proliferation of private primary and secondary schools, as even working-class families have opted out of the low quality education system (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996).

Why has Brazil failed to develop its primary education system at a basic level that corresponds with it economic growth? In *Opportunity Foregone: Education in Brazil*, authors Birdsall and Sabot (1996) point to Brazil's social and economic environment that discouraged adequate investment in education. First, the unequal income distribution in Brazil concentrated the wealth in the country among a relatively small number of wealthy elite, who resisted paying additional taxes to subsidize education for the poorer factions of society (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). As mentioned earlier, poor families had a hard time keeping their children in school, as they needed the additional income their children could contribute from working on the streets. However, with such a poor quality experienced in the schools, families had little incentive to keep their children enrolled. According to researchers, the unequal distribution of wealth was coupled with an equal distribution of

64

land which kept the poor in extreme poverty, and greatly impeded their ability to afford education, which reduced the overall demand for it.

Poverty is seen to reduce the demand for education in four basic ways. First, the poor are less likely to be aware of the high economic returns of education, and therefore not see it as a long-term investment. Secondly, the immediate benefits of putting a child through school may be greatly out-weighed by the economic contribution that child can make towards the family's income. Third, the family may lack the capital needed for the direct costs associated with sending a child to school, like uniform, materials, or books. Finally, a family's income if often positively correlated with the quality of the local school. This means that if the family is poor, the school is also likely to be poor, and thus quality is much lower. If poor families can only enrol their children in poor schools, the rate of return to their investment may be low.

Secondly, Brazil adopted an inward-looking development strategy, illustrated through its import-substitution strategy that was attributed to creating the "Brazilian Miracle" growth years of the 1960's and 70's. This economic boom was praised by the international community; however researchers contend that this initial success masked the long-term limitations of this strategy, particularly in relation to human capital. This strategy created a limited demand for educated workers in the protected labour market. Export orientation has shown to increase the demand for skilled labour, thus creating a household demand for education. With these markets absent in Brazil, employers were not demanding highly skilled, and therefore educated, employees (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996).

Thirdly, Birdsall and Sabot (1996) argue that the education system was perceived as more a source of employment than a system administered for children. As the largest employer in Brazil, the party in power has been historically accused of appointing the administration, teachers and other players, in order to maintain their standing in government. Thus, the education structure has reflected a "clientismo" system, used to further the political interests and standing of the government in power.

And finally, although the public spending on education was high in relation to the GDP, the population growth in Brazil was rapid, and the GDP grew slowly, so the portion of public money spent per child fell behind (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). Coupled with the expansion of the public school system at the expense of quality, Brazil saw high drop-out and repetition rates. The slow economic growth, exacerbated by relatively high spending on university education rather than primary education, and the growth of primary-aged children stunted the growth of spending available per child. This forced Brazil to choose between improving the quality of the education system or increasing quantity, and Brazil opted for the latter. Without the resources to meet the costs of increasing quantity, the quality of the schools quickly eroded (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996).

It is clear that the educational system in Brazil does not work in favour of those who need it the most, the poor children. Meeting the educational needs of a growing population, which lives disproportionately below the poverty line, requires policy reform that will promote the needs of the population it is serving the least, the poor. As representatives of one of the most marginalized group of children in Brazil, street children are citizens on the outermost edge of the government's reach. If they are able to provide

this group with education, the relatively larger portion of poor children in Brazil might stand a chance.

4. Poverty, Inequality and Street Children in Brazil

As one of the worst countries in terms of income distribution, Brazil has an incredibly large population living in shantytowns, struggling to meet their day-to-day basic needs. The economic and social landscape in Brazil has shaped a stark class divide, alienating the largely black and racially-mixed poor from education and other basic public services. This section will explore the economic inequality in Brazil and the social discrimination which keeps darker-skinned citizens at the bottom of the economic ladder, and their children on the streets.

They are known as "meninos carentes" (needy children), "criancas abandonadas" (abandoned children), pivetes (knaves), or trombadinhas (scoundrels) (Cubillos, 2002). However they are dubbed, Brazilians can no longer ignore the highly visible number of children on their streets. The proliferation of unprotected children has developed in parallel with a process of rapid urbanization, industrialization and substantial economic instability. In the early 1960's, Brazil experienced substantial population growth (3% a year), and urban expansion (5% per year). It has been estimated that between 1960 and 1980, approximately 40 million rural families either abandoned or were expelled from their land and migrated to urban areas. While 75% of Brazilians lived in rural areas 40 years ago, by the end of 1980's, the same percentage was living in urban centres.

The poverty levels in Brazil are inconsistent with an economy the size of Brazil. According to the data provided by the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA), 30.3 % of the population, or 54 million people, are considered to be poor, and within this group, 20 million, or 11.5 % are considered to be extremely poor. The concentration of wealth in Brazil is revealed by its figures; the richest 1% of the population, or 2 million people, have 13% of all household income. This is similar to that of the poorest 50%, or 80 million Brazilians.

Put in another way, the poorest 50% of the Brazilian population earns approximately 10% of the total income of the country, while the wealthiest 10% earn nearly 50% of it (Pare, 2004). The living conditions of the majority of urban dwellers captures this inequality, as the living conditions of a significant percentage of the urban population are inadequate (Beghin, 2008). According to data provided by UN Habitat, approximately 40% of all urban households were precarious, and access to housing was also documented as being highly unequal from region to region. While approximately 30% of housing conditions in the southern region were deemed inadequate, this figure jumped to 70% in the northern region (Beghin, 2008). Needless to say, this social and economic landscape has impacted the state of Brazilian children, who comprise 50% of the total population and 30% of which live in absolute poverty (Pare, 2004).

Street children in Brazil exhibit all the characteristics typical of a socially marginalized population. The majority are born to rural migrant families who reside in urban squatter settlements, where they live in abject poverty (Wong & Balestino, 2001). They have been victims of abuse, have little or no education and they are over-represented by afro-Brazilians (Rizzini 1995; Impelizieri 1995; Lusk 1992). According to

Impelizieri (1995), 54% of street children are black and 31.6% are of mixed race, which is indicative of their belonging to the lower social class (Pare, 2004). As part of the violence and marginality that characterize their lives, the majority of Brazil's street children have been arrested at least once, they engage in some form of illegal activity, and exhibit substance addiction (Wong & Balestino, 2001). Although comprised of both sexes, research has shown that the vast majority of street children in Brazil are comprised of teenage boys (Rizzini 1999; Impelizieri 1995; Wong & Balestino, 2001).

Approximately 10% of Brazilian street children are girls, which is due to a combination of cultural factors keeping the girls at home to assist in household chores, coupled with their involvement in brothels and prostitution, making their presence on the street more invisible (Rizzini, 1992; Scheper-Hugher & Hoffman, 1994). Irrespective of sex, children in Brazil are on average initiated into street life when they are between seven to twelve years old, with an average age of nine (Lusk, 1992). The majority of children begin spending time on the street to engage in income-generating activities, primarily to supplement their family's income. However, this may change over time as the child increases the amount of time spent on the streets and out of the home, and may eventually break ties with his or her family completely. Approximately 50% of street children between 15 and 17 in Brazil are working on the streets to supplement their family's income, while17.2% of 10 to 14 year olds do (Rizzini, 1999). According to Rizzini and Lusk (1992), approximately 50% of street children come from homes with two parents, 34% come from female-headed single parent families and 10% come from disintegrated families. The remainder lives with other youths or guardians (Rizzini & Lusk, 1992).

In the late 1980's, UNICEF estimated that Brazil is home to 7 million children who spend the majority of their time on the streets and/or sleep on the streets (Pare, 2004). This number, which is widely quoted amongst journalists and organizations, is now recognized as an overestimate (Pare, 2004). In the past few years, a number of studies in Brazilian cities have revealed a much lower number, even as low as fewer than one thousand (Agrawal, 2003). A recent study in São Paulo found that approximately 4, 500 children were scattered throughout the streets during the day, but only approximately 900 slept on the streets at night (Wong & Balestino 1999, quoting Jornal do Brasil, 1995). In Salvador, Bahia, a recent study found 15, 500 children and youth working in the streets and 468 living in the streets (Wong & Balestino 1999, quoting Projeto Axe, 1993). What is clear, that the there exists no figure that is agreed upon by researchers and organizations as to the number of children on the streets of Brazil.

5. Educating Street Children in North-eastern Brazil

This section will explore the poverty and inequality levels in the northeast region. The education system in the Northeast has been documented as being the worst in the country, with high repetition rates and drop-out rates. Among the educationally excluded are the high numbers of street children, which have the greatest hurdles to jump in this region of Brazil.

Poverty has been the highest in the Northeast region of Brazil for as long as records have been in existence; it is larger in terms of absolute numbers of poor and

percentage of the population (Ferreira and Lanjouw, 2001). In 1996, the Northeast was home to 63% of all poor Brazilians, half of whom are employed in the informal sector. The problem of equity may be the most pronounced in the Northeast region of Brazil, as it is comprised of 75% self-identified multiracial or "Brown" Brazilians, which is indicative of belonging to the poorer class in Brazil (IBGE 2009). Mean earnings in the 1990's in the Northeast were at 28% of the national average, and this region generated only 13% of the national product (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). It is clear that the poverty in Brazil has a location and a colour: it is black, urban and is concentrated in the Northeast region. The two-thirds of the poor in Brazil are black, 70% of the total population living in poverty is located in urban centres, and 51% live in the Northern region. In relation to Although poverty is largely an urban phenomenon in Brazil, as this is where the majority of the population resides and therefore the majority of the poor, rural poverty as a percentage of the population is greater. A study on the poverty in the Northeast by authors Ferreira and Lanjouw (2000) revealed that although the population in rural areas throughout Brazil is small relative to urban population, the poverty experienced there is greater. Approximately 20% of Brazilians live in rural areas, however over 42% of that population lives in poverty (Ferreira and Lanjouw, 2000). Thus, the incidence of poverty is much higher in the rural northeast, than in its urban centres (Ferreira and Lanjouw, 2001). The rapid urbanization, coupled with the poverty experienced in the rural areas, led to the mass migration of thousands of families, in search of work and housing, and as previously mentioned, street children are largely the children of rural-urban migrants. This describes the relationship between rural poverty, migration and the proliferation of children turning to the streets to make a living.

Needless to say, this economic landscape is detrimental to educational access for street children and low-income families. Kenny (1999) reports that there are 1.4 million children who do not attend school in the northeast, and street children are likely to make up a large portion of this group. Kenny (1999) reports that 39% of North-eastern residence have less than one year of schooling, compared to 20% of citizens in the rest of the country. Additionally, 39.7% of the population over 15 is illiterate in the Northeast, compared to 21% for all of Brazil (Birdsall & Sabot, 1996). The North-eastern public schools have a reputation for over crowding, lack of resources, low quality and chronic strikes. Kenny (1999) estimates that approximately two-thirds of the educational budget is spent on administration, and teachers on the payroll are reported to be "political appointees" (pg 381). Even if street children make it into school, the likelihood of their continued enrolment is low. Repetition and dropout rates in the northeast are strikingly high compared to the rest of the country, indicative of a deteriorating, low quality school system. As high as 78% of 10 - 14 year olds, and 85% of 15 – 17 year olds in Recife are in grades that do not correspond with their age group, making the Northeast region the highest concentration of older students in school (Kenny 1999). For a summary of repetition and dropout rates, please refer to Table three. Further alienating street children from enrolling in the public school system are the associated costs of mandatory uniforms, and other needed materials that are very likely out of the economic reaches of street children (Kenny 1999).

Table 3. Repetition and Dropout Rates
in North-eastern Brazil and Brazil

Repetition Rate (% of enrolment)	Brazil	Northeast (rural and urban)
1st grade	54	65
2nd grade	33	45
3rd grade	26	37
4th grade	20	32
Dropout Rate (% of enrolment)		
1st grade	2	4
2nd grade	4	7
3rd grade	7	9
4th grade	18	16

Source: Birdsall and Sabot (1996)

Street Children in Recife

Home to over 4,000,000 Brazilians and the capital of the State of Pernambuco,

Recife is fourth-largest metropolitan area in the North and Northeast regions of Brazil. A

case-control study conducted by Rosa et al in 1992 documented an in-depth portrait of

street children in Recife, providing information on who these children were and why they

were on the streets. The study was comprised of 80 street children, and 80 'friends' of the

street children who lived in their immediate neighbourhood, but were not street children

themselves; all participants were male. The study was carried out on children who

attended a local voluntary organization called Organizacao de Auxilio Fraterno (O.A.F), which provided care for some of Recife's street children. OAF provides meals, recreational activities, and has an educational component to it as well, with literacy classes, vocational training and primary school with afternoon and morning shifts.

Comprising approximately 80 street child participants, this study represents one of the only empirical studies conducted on this relatively small population in Recife. According to Rosa et al, the majority of street children remain in contact with their biological family; in Rosa et al's study, 98% of participants slept at home at least every night of the week. As reported in the study, two-thirds of the children were black or mixed, and the average age was 12 years old. The age at which the children went on the street varied from 5 years to 15 year, with an average age of 9 years old. The reasons these children reported for turning to the streets also varied, but the most commonly reported cause was economic necessity, which was given by 82% of the children. For a complete list of the reasons provided by the children as described in a table by Rosa et al, please refer to Table four. Surprisingly, the study found that the majority of the street children in the study were not necessarily new migrants to the city, which is commonly reported in the literature; only 12% of the children reported being born in a rural setting. The street children were nine times more likely than non-street children to come from homes without running water, and four times more likely to come from households without toilet facilities. Most of the children involved in Rosa et al's study were from nearby favelas, but approximately 21% were from distant favelas.

In relation to the structure of the family, the majority of the children came from families where the biological father was absent. Approximately 58% of the children came from household where either the mother or the step father was the head of the family, versus 34% of the children from the control group. The natural father was present in only 29% of the families, compared to 54% in the control group; the presence of a stepfather or male companion of the mother was at least twice as common among the street children's families than the comparison group. In relation to family size, the difference was negligible; street children's families ranged from 2 to 15 members, with an average number of 5, whereas as the comparison group had a range of 2 to 17 members, with an average of 5 as well. In relation to family income, the families of the street children was on average was smaller than the comparison group. This difference in family income was reflected in the lack of amenities the street child's family had, like running water, and a toilet.

In relation to work, all the street children engaged in some form of income-generating activity; three quarters said they liked work because they felt they were helping their families, others reported that it was important for themselves, while others reported it was an opportunity to make friends. The most commonly cited difficulty encountered by the children when engaging in street work was violence, which was perpetrated by police, delinquent children, customers and street gangs. In addition, the street children reported feeling shameful that they had to engage in work at such a young age, and the frustration they felt by working such long hours and earned such low profits. The earnings reaped by the children were very small; the average income was less than minimum wage per month (US $60), while half of the children earned less than minimum

wage. Additionally, the children had to work abnormally long hours to earn this small wage; approximately half the children worked 40 hours to earn one minimum wage per week, and 53% of those children earning less than half minimum wage worked approximately 20 hours per week. All children reported feeling their contribution to the family was very important. The younger of the children contributed a greater portion of their income to their family compared to the older children. The income they contributed to their families improved the family income by approximately 20%.

In relation to education, the mothers of the street children were nine times more likely than the national figures to be illiterate, which according to UNESCO, increases the likelihood of the children of that mother not being educated (UNESCO, 1995). Twice as many street children had dropped out of school than the comparison group. The reason for leaving school as reported by the children was due to starting work on the street, which was cited by 87% of the group not in school. A variety of reasons were provided for not attending school, the most commonly cited ones were lack of time, tiredness, lack of relevancy, and long distance between work place and school. The relatively small number of street children that were attending school reported to appreciate the value of education, although they were at least one grade level behind their peers. Twice as many street children than the comparison group were illiterate, but did better in simple arithmetic, likely a result of working with money.

It is clear from the survey conducted by Rosa et al that the children of Recife who were on the streets were there due to financial necessity. The pressure for the child to be financial independent at such a young age is commonly reported as an attribute of the sub-culture of poverty (UNESCO, 1995). The pressure for the child to contribute to the

76

familial income was even higher in families where the natural father was absent, which

was twice as likely in the families of street children than in the comparison group. The

reason for the family break-up was likely due to economic factors, coupled with the strain

of living in poverty.

In this context, it is easy to see the substantial obstacles preventing street children

from obtaining an education. The burden of needing to work long hours at such a young

age, coupled with the strain of living in hunger and fears of violence make school seem to

far from their everyday experiences. Under these conditions, an adult would find it

difficult to meet the demands of both feeding their family, themselves and attending

school; but for a child, this may be impossible. Nonetheless, non-government

organizations have worked alongside the street children of Recife for at least 50 years,

and over this time they have undoubtedly come to understand the daily needs and

experiences of a child living on the streets. The intimate understanding the NGO workers

have of the children has lead to some of the most progressive programming and efforts to

provide a meaningful education to this destitute population.

Table 4: Reasons for Becoming a Street Child

Reasons for becoming a street child	No. and (%)
Economic	18 (82)
Independence	7 (22)
Liked to work	6 (9)
Violence at home	6 (8)
To Be useful	5 (6)
Orphan	4 (5)
Illness in family	3 (4)

Source: Rosa et al, 1992

Methodology

The reader may recall from the Introduction that my research question is as

follows: *What is the most effective approach, or combination of approaches, to deliver*

education to street children in Northeast Brazil (and by implication, in other developing

societies with significant populations of street children)? Answering this question entailed

that I research the state of street children in Recife, including all information in relation to

their demographics, reasons for being on the street, and level of education. After this

preliminary stage, I researched the current methods and approaches being used in Recife

to educate street children.

The research methodology employed for this thesis was a review of secondary

sources, but all empirical data presented is primary data, which is original and

uninterrupted data. In order to extract the primary data needed from the body of material

on street children in Recife and Brazil, I engaged in detailed and systematic examination

of the body of material in order to identify statistics, patterns, and themes. This review of

secondary sources enabled me to extract primary data on education and street children

statistics and information. The inclusion and exclusion of data is based on the relevancy

of the data in answering my stated research question, and enabling me to draw

comparisons to the two approaches. In order to draw a comparison between the two

approaches, I identified three central questions in order to assess how promising either

approach was in relation to the other. The three questions of comparison were as follows:

a. *Is this approach making effective contact with the children?*

b. *Is this approach meeting the educational needs of the children?*

c. *Is this approach a sustainable solution for providing street children with education?*

These three questions were essential to assessing the approaches for a number of reasons. First, street children are a very difficult population to contact, and particularly to research. Thus, any approach would foremost need to overcome this barrier, in order to provide educational opportunities for the children. Secondly, the approaches had to provide education that was adapted to the unique circumstances of the children, and was going to provide them with the tools to move beyond their current social and economic status. And finally, the approaches needed to be sustainable. Educating is not a one-time service, but rather must be an on-going process in order for that education to be substantial enough to increase human capital. Thus, any approach to providing education for street children must be able to do so for the long-term.

The obstacles I encountered conducting my research were largely in relation to the lack of knowledge on street children in Recife. The street child phenomenon has received substantial research attention in Brazil; however, most research is conducted on more populated areas, like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Additionally, local NGO efforts are rarely researched in relation to service provision, and therefore, it was unclear what services several local NGO's in Recife were providing for street children

The Symptomatic Approach

Regardless of the disputes surrounding the true number of street children in Brazil, what is certain is the growing number of programmes for street children that have proliferated in the country (Hecht, 1998). Likewise, a wide range of new programmes have emerged in Recife, spearheaded by civil society, religious and government organizations (Hecht, 1998). As street children have remained out of the reach of the formal education being provided by the State, NGO's have emerged as key actors in providing education to the educationally excluded, and Recife is no exception to this trend. NGO's play different roles in supporting education service delivery (Rose, 2007). Some NGO's are primarily concerned with advocacy to put pressure on the government to fulfill its education commitments. Others are involved in direct provision of education to the excluded. This section will examine how education is provided by NGO's to the street children of Recife through NGO programming and street educators.

1. NGO Programmes in Recife

The harsh environment of the streets of Brazil for many children is increasingly being softened by the proliferation of NGO's. Many NGO workers are becoming intimately acquainted with the lives of these children, while striving to meet their divergent needs. According to Hecht (1998), who conducted a descriptive anthropological study of street children in Recife, street children are in regular contact with adults from a variety of institutions, using them to meet different needs (Hecht, 1998). Children might

frequent one organization during mealtime if they know food will be provided, and may show up at another organization later in the evening looking for a bed. In Hecht's study, he found that most of the street children had been in at least one live-in program at one time. Recife had four live-in shelters in 1992, and by 1995, it had six, illustrating the speed at which services become available (Hecht, 1998). Of the 26 children Hecht interviewed during his study, at least 19 had lived in at least one shelter, and nearly all the children had been approached by a variety of outreach workers on the street (Hecht, 1998). The programmes accessed by street children may not be programmes offered to street children exclusively, but may cater to a larger scope of individuals in need, like the Community of the Homeless organization, which caters to homeless youth and adults. However, several programmes cater to both street children and children-at-risk of becoming street children, who live in precarious and impoverished households.

The provision of education through NGO's in Recife is available as either a part of a larger intervention program that provides additional services to the children, like food, shelter, and counselling. Or it can be provided through street educators, which will be looked at in the following subsection. What is clear in the literature is that most organization working with street children incorporate some form of educational programming (Swift, 1992; de Oliveira, 2000; Cubillos, 2002). Some NGO's cater to only female children, like Casa de Passagem or Lar Batista Elizabeth Mein, arguably because street girls have different needs than street boys, and thus require specialized services and attention.

For a list of the organizations currently working in Recife that offer educational programmes, please refer to table five. Please note that this list is not exhaustive, and

81

there may be more organizations that have been excluded from the general body of current research available, particularly smaller organizations. Additionally, field offices of major INGO's, like Save the Children and UNICEF have been omitted because the scope of their work is so large and street children encompass only a small part of it. The organizations that have been omitted make table five a very conservative estimate of the organizations working with street children in Recife. Additionally, the programmes have rapid turnover rates, with many closing and opening within short periods of time, so this list may not be current. The NGO's in Recife, like elsewhere, are mainly funded by other charities and foundations abroad. As is the case with most funding, this source of income can be very unreliable. A few of the smaller organizations may operate on the basis of one principal grant, and when that grant expires, it may force the organization to shut down (Hecht, 1998). During Hecht's 13 month stay in Recife, three new programs opened, while others were reported to be on their way to closing down (Hecht, 1998). Additionally, the data obtained for this table was retrieved from Hecht's study, which took place in 1998.

Table 5. NGO's Working with Street Children in Recife

Organization	Number of employees	Observations
Casa de Passagem (Passage House)	20	A live-in shelter for female children only. (Hecht, 1998)
Ruas e Pracas (Streets and Squares)	13	Offers music education
Pequenos Educadores (Little Educators)	5	
Capim de Cheiro	3	There are many more

(Capim de Cheiro farm)		staff, but only 3 staff dedicate all their time to the street children (Hecht, 1998)
Desafio Jovem (Young Challenge)	6	Many more people are involved, but only 6 staff work fulltime with the children (Hecht, 1998)
Oficina de Papel (The Paper Workshop)	7	
Sobe e Desce (Going Up and Down)	10	
SOS Crianca (SOS Children)	1	Only 1 staff works specifically with the children (Hecht, 1998)
Centro de Formacao (Training Centre)	5	
Lar Batista Elizabeth Mein	8	A religious organization for females only. Known for their high quality educational programming (Cubillos, 2002)

In order to illustrate how NGO's are providing education to street children, Lar Batista Elizabeth Mein which is known for its will be looked at in greater detail.

2. Lar Batista Elizabeth Mein

A few blocks off a main street in Recife, Lar Batista Elizabeth Mein has become an important resource for the "forsaken girls of Recife", and has had several thousand girls pass through its doors since its inception in the 1970's (Ligia Lima de Pessoa,

interview by Cubillos, 2002). As a well-known shelter for girls, Lar Batista Elizabeth

Mein strives to provide healthy meals, a secure living environment and a good education

(Cubillos, 2002). Most importantly, the NGO strives to secure the future of the girls,

which according to the director, is what makes their education so invaluable. Due to its

popularity and impressive reputation, Lar Batista has established connections with a

nearby private bible school that has sent students to help the girls in the centre with

hygiene, health and education. The director of the program, Ligia Lima de Pessoa, has

been very pleased with the educational assistance they receive from the private school, "it

was a very good agreement we entered into with that private school" (Ligia Lima de

Pessoa, interview by Cubillos, 2002). According to Ligia, Lar Batista has strived to instil

the importance of education into the younger girls at the center, and provides job and skill

training to the older girls (Cubillos, 2002). Both of these ideas have been inspired by the

education being provided by students from the private school. Ligia has been very vocal

on education being a vital strategy for getting the girls out of poverty, and the fulfillment

of the girls' educational needs has been remarkable. In response to the question "what

kind of education do poor, homeless and street children need?" posed by the interview

Robert Cubillos, during his study on NGO's working with street children in Recife, Ligia

responded as follows: "the first concerns the role of education in lifting individuals from

the mire of their poverty. The second involves the relationship between education and

development" (Cubillos, 2002, pg 139). Because of the assistance Lar Batista receives

from the local private school Ligia claims that "95% of our girls pass their examinations

out of their high schooling" which are an indicator of the success this organization has in

fulfilling the education needs of these children (Cubillos, 2002, pg 138).

As an example of a successful alternative education delivery, Lar Batista has become a model for other local NGO's, striving to provide education to street children. Of course what is missing from this analysis is what education is being provided by this organization, and what is meant by education. Despite the growing body of literature and research conducted on the role of NGO's as alternative education providers, little has been said about what that education is. This will be further explored in the discussion chapter. When street children are not receiving education from a live-in program like Lar Batista, they still have the opportunity to receive educational seminars from the large number of street educators in Recife.

3. Street Education and Street Educators

As a product of the social and political movements in Brazil is the 1970's that led to more focus on the needs of marginalized children, street education emerged as a response to the failed State model of intervention. The state model of intervention during this time was characterized by harsh correctional facilities that likened street children to criminals and deviants rather than children victimized by harsh poverty. Many professionals, activists and scholars who identified with the exploited and impoverished populations rejected this model and sought out alternative solutions. Born out of the desire for practical working models to promote social change and inspired by the new philosophies of Paulo Freire, street education quickly developed into a channel to move forward (Swift, 1991; de Oliveira, 2000).

Street educators begin their day by going out onto the streets and making contact

with the children in their environment. From there, they strive to know the children, and

see what is of value to them, through a process that is intended to be empowering to them

(Swift 1991; de Oliveira, 2000). A street educator in Recife described his experience as

striving to understand and work from the child's reality, securing their participation, and

together try and identify ways to move forward (Swift, 1991).

Street education is part of the wider pedagological and social movement to

promote the rights of children, and has its ideological roots in Freirien philosophies. The

practice of street education is in fact an ideal context for the application of Freirien

principals: the emergence of street children is the result of poverty and is therefore

included in the struggle against oppression. As formal education systems have neglected

to absorb these children, street educators have responded by meeting the children in their

environment and as equals (de Oliveira, 2000). Equality between the educator and the

child is essential in order for the educator to better understand the world of the child, to

identify with them and to establish mutual trust. In this way, the street educator is opening

themselves up to the world of the street child, and joins them in the struggle for their

liberation (de Oliveira, 2000). As Freire recommends:

> [the street social educator must] show himself as person, as agent,
>
> respecting the individuality of the child, his/her values and expectations.
>
> The important thing is to know for whom we are making an option and an
>
> alliance. It is with the oppressed and not the oppressor. We are siding with
>
> the child, with the exploited, with the oppressed. There is an identification

with the interests of the popular classes. (Freire, 1989, pg 13, as cited in de Oliveira, 2000).

In this way, street education has emerged not only a means to bring education to the street level, but also as a political act toward social change in the struggle for social justice (de Oliveira, 2000). It is an education that through its very practice is making obvious the profound social problems which have led to street children. According to de Oliveira (2000), who conducted a study on street education in Brazil, the Brazilian street educators call themselves street social educators, indicating that they not only provide educational intervention to street children, but society as a whole. As one of the only services regularly available to street children, street social education in Brazil has become an important resource in educational opportunities and social intervention for this population. It works on the frontlines of the educational struggle faced by the destitute. In terms of inclusion, there is no intervention service available to street children that are as inclusive as street education. Many NGO programs have some basic criteria for admitting children, which is generally related to if that child is abusing illicit substances. Although this is a necessary criterion for the basic functioning of the program, if the NGO fails to provide rehabilitative services, that child has fewer options. However, street education is a means of reaching children who have been excluded from other programs, and thus is ultimately inclusive.

4. <u>How do street educators offer education?</u>

Street educators may spend a lot of their time just sitting and chatting with a group of street children. According to a street educator interviewed by Oliveira (2000) "I go to the streets everyday...to learn how street children see the world" (pg 182). Sitting down and chatting with the street children appears to be the basic aspect of the job. However, once a street educator has identified a group of children, they are usually able to identify a work routine with them. From this initial "hanging out" phase are born educational projects, and activities (Oliveira, 2000). A trademark of the street educator is creative thinking; street educators must keep the children engaged, and if they present dull or irrelevant educational activities, the children are likely to disappear. One street educator described a mosaic project that he started with a group of children;

> Making the mosaics together and hanging the mosaic on the wall was a
> first step in developing relationships with the children. We were able to
> identify three-well groups of children: the institutionalized, those who are
> in formal schools...the working children...who send the day on the street
> because they contribute to the family income, and the street children-those
> who have no ties and who could come 2, 3 days and disappear. (de
> Oliveira, 2000, pg 183).

The development of informal education in informal settings is the cornerstone of the street educator. A street educator in Recife, Joana describes how she taught children in a very unusual setting:

88

I ended up having a little school under the bridge, and it worked fine. It was a school adapted to their realities. Sometimes we were teaching them to write based on the objects we had around; than a child would daydream, start to sing a song, and the others would follow. Than we followed too and changed the subject of the writing to the song's lyrics (de Oliveira, 2000, pg 183).

Street educators often fluidly use the subject the children are talking about, and begin an educational dialogue on the subject, at times with a critical perspective. An example is of Sandra, a street educator, who began a study group with child and youth prostitutes:

We [began] discussing health from the physical viewpoint. Because, for example, there was one there who was going to have the fourth baby and didn't know how she got pregnant, because she has used a condom. She didn't understand that the condom can break, that she had to use it properly...Than we promoted a class on sexuality with a social worker using a mannequin, and they loved it. (pg 184)

Street educators are constantly using the present moment as a window into an educational lesson, through a thematic-dialogical approach. Frequently, educators must respond to emergency situations or crisis that arises during their time with the children. For example, Sandra, the street educator, describes an incident where the police started attacking a group of children she was working with and how they dealt with it:

We went with [the children] to the police station; we discussed strategies

to deal with the situation in advance; a lawyer worked with us for a little

while. We discussed their rights and found that practically speaking, they

have none; it is all illegal. It is total marginality and we discussed how [the

children] felt about that. Lately we have been discussing citizenship, the

right to vote, to elect representatives...because they read about things, they

want to know everything about it (pg 185).

Street educators are constantly juggling the immediate needs of the street children and

responding to any urgent crisis that takes precedence over an educational activity. Their

work can shift from "educators" to problem-solvers. But as described above, street

educators can incorporate a violent incident involving the police, into an educational

lesson on citizenship and legal rights. By framing the incident as involving issues of

citizenship and marginality, the educator was asking the children to look at the situation

through a critical lens. Which is described by a street educator named Paulo:

The educator must define what it is that he has to do and consciously

establish limits...My job is to challenge the kid so he thinks about his

situation (de Oliveira, 2000, pg 185).

It is important to note that the life of the street educator can be very difficult, and

the line between them and the street is very thin. The salaries for street educators are

generally low, quoted by Hecht (1999) as being in the range of US $50 TO $150 per

month (Hecht, 1999). During Hecht's time spent with street educators, he reported that it

was not rare for an educator to experience hunger, and be unable to afford lunch. Additionally, street educators have reported to work at a gruelling pace; the street educators from Ruas e Pracas describe themselves as street militants rather than employees, and some reported to work as many as 60 hours a week (Hecht, 1999). Working within the context of the street, and the subcultures that exist in this environment are described as challenging and painful, and educators' involvement is usually demanded on not only the professional level, but also the personal and emotional level.

As the formal education system has failed to absorb this marginalized population, it is clear that where there are street children, street educators are needed. Street social education represents an approach which has been highly tailored to the needs and realities of its target population. It has blurred the line between traditionally authoritative educators, and submissive pupils, as it has recognized this relationship will not work to the advantage of these children. Although not as long-term as the formal system, it is the most accessible education available to these children, and therefore is the most practical model of education available. However, due to the lack of standardization typical of non-formal education, it is unclear what education the children are getting access too. This has raised issues as to whether the education provided by NGO's will enable the child to move beyond their existing social status. And the answer to this question remains unclear. Additional research is needed on what education is being provided by the NGO's in Recife, and whether it is effective in increasing the social mobility of the street children.

The Preventative Approach

1. Bolsa Escola / Bolsa Familia

As illustrated above, the difficulties in providing street children with an education are so substantial that it is questionable whether it is even possible. With their immediate needs and short-term survival the most pressing issues, education programs are constantly balancing between satisfying social service needs and education needs, with the former demanding more time and resources. The underlying solution to this dilemma is to prevent the issue from occurring in the first place. A new policy direction for street children with substantial international momentum are conditional cash transfer programs, or CCT's. CCT's are designed to attack the root of a social problem, preventing the problem from fully manifesting itself. Thus CCT's may be the simplest and most effective approach to educating the street children of tomorrow. By providing poor families with transfers on the condition that their children attend school, Bolsa Familia was able to increase enrolment and completion rates in Brazil. This section will examine how Bolsa Familia was able to increase lagging educational indicators in Brazil, and how it is effectively targeting the families of street children of today and the street children of tomorrow.

2. Conditional Cash Transfers

Several studies have shown that conditional cash transfer programs (or CCT's) can be effective in encouraging behaviours that increase human capital, and the quality of life of its beneficiaries. Studies have shown that CCT'S that are focused on enrolling the children of low-income families in school have resulted in higher educational outcomes throughout Latin America and the rest of the developing world (Lindert et al, 2007). Initially created in 2003, Bolsa Familia was created to increase the social assistance to Brazil's relatively large poor population. Through the merger of four pre-existing CCT programs, Bolsa Familia became the largest social assistance program available to the poor in Brazil, and the largest CCT program in the world. Since its launch, the Bolsa Familia program has grown exponentially, expanding to cover 26.6 million people by 2005, and by 2008 it had reached 46 million people, which is a quarter of the Brazilian population (ILO working paper, 2009). The program provided transfers between R$15 to R$95 (US$ 7 – 45) per month to families who met the program qualifications, and had an annual cost of US $4.5 billion, which is equal to 0.4 of the GDP (ILO working paper, 2009). Like most CCT programs, Bolsa Familia (referred to as BFP) sought to reduce current poverty levels and inequality by providing a minimum level of income to poor families. Additionally, the BFP worked to break the vicious cycle of inter-generational transmission of poverty by making these financial contributions conditional on the compliance of the beneficiary to meet certain human capital requirements. As one of the merged CCT programs under the BFP, the Bolsa Escola program provided families with a stipend on the condition that their child or children attend school. This section will

address the nature of the Bolsa Escola program under the umbrella of the Bolsa Familia program, and how it is a preventative approach to the creation of street children, and thus eliminates the need to educate children once they are on the streets.

Bolsa Escola first began as a project implemented by two municipalities in 1995, Brasilia and Campinas. The program provided cash transfer to families below a specific income line, with children aged 6 to 15 conditional on those children enrolling in school and attending at least 85% of school days (Lindert et al, 2007). By 1998, over 50 municipalities had implemented a similar program. As a result of its massive popularity, the government under the Cardoso administration created the federal Bolsa Escola program in April 2001 (Lindert et al, 2007). The federal Bolsa Escola (BE) program was an exact replication of the municipal model, and was managed by the Ministry of Education. The BE program was than merged with other CCT programs, which were grouped together under the Bolsa Familia program umbrella in 2003 under the Lula administration. Benefits were extended to families with children from zero to five years old, or with a pregnant or breastfeeding woman, and to all poor families, even those without children. Families with a per capita income of less than R$90 (US $45), which was the minimum wage at that time, qualified for the program. Beneficiaries received R$15 (US$7) per month per child for up to a maximum of three children, conditional on children attending 85% of school days (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). The maximum number of children was put in-place to discourage high fertility rates. Families with monthly per capita incomes below R$60 with no children, or pregnant or breastfeeding women were classified as very poor, and they received R$50 per month plus an additional R$15 per beneficiary, with a maximum of three.

To enrol in the program, families have to complete an application available at their local municipal city hall. The information provided on the application regarding their income and household consumption determines their eligibility, and is subject to the budget for Bolsa Familia as determined by the Municipality's budget (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). The federal budget for Bolsa Familia is determined by the federal government that is based on the estimation of poor families in each municipality, as reported in the population census (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). The payments are than distributed to the female of the household via a bankcard, as studies have shown that women use additional income to raise their family's well-being (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). Bank cards are used at nationwide local branches and other outsourced agencies.

The families enrolled in the program are required to fulfill three conditions; first, women must attend prenatal and postnatal monitoring; secondly, children must be vaccinated from zero to seven years old and receive a nutritional assessment; thirdly, children must attend 85% of school days (Lindert et al, 2007). The interventions under the BFP target specific phases of the human life cycle, focusing first on nutrition and health care during the pregnancy phase and the early years of childhood and than intervene again once the children reach school age (Lindert et al, 2007). This program design enables the municipality to maintain strong and consistent contact with the families through service delivery, allowing for the authorities to monitor the family's compliance with the conditionalities, as well as progress.

In relation to the beneficiaries of the program, the program has reported to be more effective in rural areas than in urban areas. This may be due to Brazil's relatively large rural population, although the majority of Brazil's low-income families reside in the

urban centres (Schwartzman, 2005). According to Schwartzman (2005), "of the 12.8 million children in families at the lowest fifth income quintile, 35% live in rural areas, but receive 40% of the stipends. Among the rural poor, 39% receive the stipend; among the urban poor, only 30%. The rationale for this bias is not very clear, but it may be related to the fact that, to qualify for the federal programs, the mean income of the municipality should be lower than the mean income of its state" (pg 17). The ILO reported that 54% of recipients were rural workers, comprised mostly of women working in domestic and subsistence jobs. In instances where women failed to meet document requirements, special assistance grants were issued to enable them to cover the costs of obtaining the necessary documents. These instances were particularly high among the indigenous communities in the rural areas (ILO, 2009). In relation to household consumption of the income, a study conducted at the University of Pernambuco, the State of Recife, inferred that 87% of the money from the BFP was used to buy food, which also illustrates the positive impact the program has on increasing the consumer base for local markets and businesses (ILO, 2009).

The impacts of the program have been positive. Bolsa Familia has been praised for improving income distribution and reducing poverty levels in Brazil since its nation-wide implementation. Until the late 1990's, Brazil remained among the top five worst countries in terms of income distribution, with a gini coefficient measurement of 0.6 (a measurement of the inequality of wealth or income), a level similar to some of the poorest African countries. After the nation-wide implementation of Bolsa Familia, the country has seen steady decline in this figure, reaching 0.55 by 2007. The success of Bolsa Familia has largely been accredited to its combination of traditional social assistance with social

investment (ILO, 2009). The conditionalities that are attached to the program ensure that poor households have an immediate increase in income, while simultaneously providing incentives for human capital formation (ILO, 2009). As a result, Brazil was able to celebrate the achievement of the millennium development goal on poverty reduction ten years prior to the United Nations deadline in 2015 (ILO, 2009). Additionally, the BFP has been praised for accurately targeting and delivering to the poorest population. If Brazil's population was ranked into income quantiles (equal groups of 20% of the population, ranked by per capita income), it is clear that the BFP has reached the poorest quantile; 73% of beneficiaries are among the poorest quintile and 94% of beneficiaries are among the poorest two quintiles (Lindert et al, 2007).

3. Impact on Education

As discussed earlier, the principal barriers to poor children's enrolment in school are the direct, initial costs like tuition, books, materials and uniform and the opportunity costs of the time spent in school. The latter barrier refers to the work that a child might engage in if they were not attending school, paid or unpaid. Bolsa Familia removes these barriers by covering the initial costs and reducing the opportunity costs of forgoing labour. Glewwe and Kassouf (2008) examined the impacts of the BFP on children's progress in school by analyzing eight years of school census data. The census is administered to 250,000 public and private schools throughout Brazil, comprised of approximately 53 million students and two million teachers. The census measures enrolment rates, drop-out rates, repetition and grade promotion, but lacks any data on student performance (Glewwe

97

& Kassouf, 2008). Glewwe and Kassouf (2008) created a panel of public school with grades one to four and five to eight. The estimation method used by these researchers compared differences in enrolment, drop-out rates and grade advancement rates across the schools that adopted the program at different times (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). The results of their study showed that Bolsa Familia had increased enrolment rates by approximately 5.5% in grades one through four, and by 6.5% in grades five through eight. In relation to drop-out rates, they found that the programme reduced it by 0.5% for children in grades one through four and by 0.4% for children in grades five through eight. Additionally, the BFP raised grade promotion rates by 0.9% for grades one through four and by 0.3% for grades five through eight. In relation to Recife, the Bolsa Escola program has reached over 17% of the population, as illustrated in table six.

Table 6. Children ages 5 – 17 receiving Bolsa Familia support in Recife and Pernambuco

Area	receive support	enrolled and waiting	do not participate	total	% receiving
Recife	137,097	135,428	512,159	784,684	17.47%
Pernambuco	560,550	317,140	1,200,057	2,077,747	27.0%

Source: tabulated from IBGE, PNAD 2003 as cited in Schwartzman, 2005

The BFP also was more effective in increasing the enrolment rates of black, mulattos and indigenous children than it was for whites, and thus BFP has contributed to equalising enrolment on the basis of race (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). The programme increased the enrolment rates among black students by 13% and by 4% to 15% for mulattos and indigenous children. However, it only increased enrolment rates by 2.6% for

white students (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). As street children are over-represented by these marginalized groups, this is a good indicator that they are receiving the benefits of this program.

Chapter Four

Discussion and Analysis

Symptomatic Approach

NGO's in Recife are playing a crucial role in the lives of street children. Through the use of non-formal education, NGO's are providing street children with education through either programming at the organization or through street educators. It is an approach that is highly tailored to the needs of the children, which is a result of the almost familial relationship NGO workers and street educators build with the children. This approach has demonstrated to be effectively making contact with the children as described in Hecht's study, and remains to be the most accessible education available to street children. However, the delivery of this approach through non-formal education has resulted in a common concern; it is unclear what education is being provided to the children. This lack of knowledge is a result of both a gap in the research on local NGO service delivery, as well as a lack of standardization typical of non-formal education. Thus, it is unclear whether this approach to education for street children will enable them to move beyond their current social status and environment. Additionally, NGOs as education providers is not a long-term, sustainable solution for street children, as NGO's are less financially stable. This

.

section will discuss the symptomatic approach to providing street children with education through the application of non-formal education.

1. Is this approach making effective contact with the children?

The symptomatic approach to educating street children involves the delivery of education through NGO programming available at the organization and through street educators, who visit the children on the street. As NGOs continue to play an essential role in service delivery to street children in Brazil, education has become a central aspect of the burgeoning world of NGOs working with marginalized populations. Arguably, the greatest strength of the symptomatic approach is that it is effectively making contact with the children. Both through NGO programming, and street educators, street children are accessing these programs regularly. As documented in Hecht's study, most of the children who participated in his study had been in at least one live-in program at one time (Hecht, 1998). Out of the 26 children interviewed by Hecht, at least 19 had lived in a shelter, and all had reported to have been approached several times by a variety of outreach workers and educators. In fact, Hecht describes instances of outreach workers and street educators competing for the attention of a street child or a group of street children: "on more than one occasion when I went out with a street educator, we had difficulty finding any street children at all" (Hecht, 1998, pg 152). This may reflect the large number of outreach and educators working at one time, or it may reflect the poor dispersion of the workers. According to Hecht, children who were outside the city centre rarely if at all have contact with a street educator, which is an area that the NGO could improve on.

101

Additionally, the studies by Hecht (1999) and Cubillos (2002) describe the NGO

workers cultivating an almost familial relationship with the children they interact with.

This intimate connection has resulted in highly tailored programming that is very

sensitive to the needs and lives of the children. This kind of attention is not likely to be

given in the formal education system, and acts as another incentive for the children to

remain in care of the NGO's, who are generally very deprived of affection.

2. <u>Is this approach meeting the educational needs of the children?</u>

The Symptomatic approach as defined in this thesis is characterized by non-

formal education, as programming and street educators through NGO's. Although loosely

defined, non-formal education "is any organized systematic, educational activity carried

on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to

particular subgroups of the population, adults as well as children" (Coombs and Ahmed

1974, as cited by Rose et al, 2007). Non-formal education has gained considerable

attention by researchers, education facilities and efforts to reduce poverty as it has shown

to be effective in reaching impoverished and excluded subgroups of the general

population through the use of non-orthodox methods, including street education. However,

as a system with no regulation and systematic delivery, non-formal education has come

under the fire of criticism in relation to its impacts.

Issues with non-formal education, as provided by street educators and the NGO's

in Recife, are characterized by a lack of standardization, lack of regulation and legitimacy

as perceived by employers and formal education administrators. The term 'non-formal' is

often correlated with 'alternative', both of which imply second-best to the formal system (Rose et al, 2007). Thus, education that has been obtained through non-formal programming, like street education or NGO programming, may lack the same legitimacy in the eyes of potential employers. Or if the recipient of non-formal education wishes to continue their education via the formal system, administrators may reject their previous education as legitimate (Rose et al, 2007). This perception of illegitimacy stems from the lack of standardization and evaluation that is typical of non-formal education programming.

Although there is much to be celebrated about the innovation, creativity and fluidity that these programs exhibit, little is known as to what is actually being taught in these programs. This gap in the existing research has serious implications, considering that NGO's are becoming essential education providers to the educationally excluded. Rosa et al (2007) highlights that in some cases, NGO's may be the primary service provide for education, particularly where State capacity or willingness is weak, which is the case in several conflict zones and 'failed' states, thus making the role of NGO's increasingly essential to the provision of education (Rosa et al, 2007).

This is a serious limitation to understanding the implications of non-formal education as the principal approach to educating street children. The lack of standardization and evaluation is likely to hinder the social mobility of the beneficiaries, in relation to employment access in the formal sector and higher education. According to Rose et al (2007), non-formal education rarely goes beyond basic numeracy and literacy, and thus children may not be able to move beyond their existing environment and status

(Rose et al, 2007). Hecht also reported that he has never encountered a street child in Recife who had learned to read or write on the street (Hecht, 1999).

If street children are unable to move beyond their existing environment and status due to the perceived illegitimacy of the non-formal education they have received, the whole notion of providing this programming is questionable. As discussed in chapter two, education as a strategy for development through the human capital approach only applies if tangible skills and knowledge are being acquired. With the lack of knowledge on what constitutes a non-formal education program, it is unclear whether the children are increasing their stock of human capital.

The lack of knowledge of what constitutes the non-formal education street children are getting access to is both a consequence of gaps in the literature, as well as issues with the administration of non-formal education. The lack of standardization, external monitoring and systematic delivery has made it vulnerable to perceptions of illegitimacy. Additionally, the literature has failed to adequately capture what NGO's, and particularly local NGO's, are providing street children with (Cubillos, 2002). Service provision is generally glossed over by vague service lists like food, shelter and education, without any real analysis into what this education actually constitutes. This has both hindered further research, and worked to further discredit non-formal education, as no one is bridging the knowledge gap (Cubillos, 2002).

A solution to both these issues may lie in more research on non-formal education and its providers. With increased knowledge on what education is being provided to street children and excluded groups, service provision can be better tailored to their needs. Additionally, non-formal education as a general movement in education may benefit from

greater accountability of what it constitutes. As State systems are likely to continue to fail to adequately absorb excluded population, NGO's will continue to play a vital role. Thus, the provision of education to street children through NGO's would greatly benefit from increased standardization, evaluating and monitoring.

3. <u>Is this approach a sustainable solution for providing street children with education?</u>

NGO's providing a service that is regularly State provided will never be a sustainable solution to inadequate service delivery. NGO's are providing a service because the State failed too; they are an 'alternative' to the conventional approach, which is the State. NGO's will never compare to the strength and resources of the State, nor the longevity of the State. The future of an NGO is always clouded by questions of funding, and as an unstable resource, they cannot be depended on for the long-term delivery of education. As Hecht had stated, he saw many new NGO's open up during his research and many close due to a lack of funding. What sort of options will children have when the NGO they depended on, closed due to funding? Once established in a particular neighbourhood, NGO's can become a primary service provider for the population they are targeting, and if the NGO is forced to close due to funding, that gap in service delivery will remain. Additionally, as NGO's are playing a vital role in service delivery, including education, the public is likely to become more accepting of State failure to provide adequate services, as they are receiving that service from an alternate provider. However, the lack of financial stability makes NGO as an alternative service provider a less sustainable, long-term solution as a primary education provider for street children.

Preventative Approach

The preventative approach characterized by the BFP, prevents the manifestation of street children through reducing poverty while promoting education. By providing impoverished families with stipends, on the condition that they send their children to school, the BFP addresses the root of the issue creating street children, poverty. The BFP has successfully targeted the population that is characteristic of street children's families: female-headed households, the poorest quantile, and rural workers. The BFP has also effectively increased the enrolment of black and mulatto children, which are overrepresented within the street child population. Moreover, the preventative approach provides education through the State-regulated formal system, which enables a greater chance for street children to move beyond their current environment and social status. However, this approach fails to address the issues of quality of the education the children are receiving, and as discussed earlier, the education system in Brazil is among the worst in Latin America. This section will be analysing how the preventative approach measures up to being more effective approach to educating street children in Recife, Brazil.

1. <u>Is this approach making effective contact with the children?</u>

As the data has illustrated, the Bolsa Familia program has been successful in targeting the poorest quantile of citizens, with 94% of beneficiaries being among the poorest two quantiles, and 74% being among the poorest quantile. As mentioned earlier,

106

82% of street children in Recife cited economic necessity for the reason they are on the streets, and Rosa et al (1992) reported the street children in their study came from poorer households that lacked basic amenities, like running water, and electricity. Needless to say, the families of street children would be among these quantiles, and thus likely be recipients of the BFP. Moreover, the impacts of the BFP have been reported to be greater among the black and mixed race population, and considering that street children in Recife are comprised of two-thirds of these groups, this is another positive indicator that this program is effectively reaching the potential street children of tomorrow. Additionally, the BFP was reported to be more effective in rural areas, which experiences greater instances of poverty in relation to its population. According to Schwartzman (2005), 39% of recipients were rural dwellers, compared to 30% for urban recipients. According to the ILO, 54% were rural workers, largely comprised of women working subsistence and domestic jobs. As mentioned earlier, street children largely come from rural-urban migrant families, who reside in urban squatter settlements, and are more likely to come from single female-headed households. Thus, if the BFP can enable rural families to remain in their rural areas before they are forced to move to urban centres, it will effectively reduce the amount of children forced to work on the streets to supplement their family's income.

However, Rosa et al's (1992) study found that only 12% of the street children in their study reported being born in a rural setting. This finding has contradicted other researcher's findings. It may be due to the small sample size used in Rosa et al's study, or due to misinterpretation of the question by the children. Or perhaps the literature has failed to adequately portray the families of street children, and in fact the majority are not

107

from rural migrant families. This is an area that would benefit greatly from further research; if street children found in urban areas are largely the product of rural poverty, this could have serious policy implications.

2. Is this approach meeting the educational needs of the children?

There have been many studies in the literature that have attempted to assess the impacts of Bolsa Familia on enrolment and dropout rates, and it is clear that the effectiveness of BFP in relation to education is beyond doubt (Lindert et al, 2007; Bourguignon, Ferreira and Leite 2002; Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010; The World Bank 2001). According to a study by Glewwe & Kassouf (2010), the BFP increased enrolment by 5.5% in grades one through four and by 6.5% in grades five through eight. In relation to drop-out rates, Glewwe & Kassouf (2010) found that the programme reduced it by 0.5% for children in grades one through four and by 0.4% for children in grades five through eight.

However, the BFP increases the demand for education, but it fails to address the issues of the supply of education. The underlying assumption of the BFP is that low enrolment rates, and dropout grades and high-grade repetition rates are due to poverty, and the need to work, thus making the solution revolve around promoting attendance (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2010). However, as previously discussed, the quality of education in Brazil is low, and this critical issue is not addressed by the BFP. For this reason, many researchers have questioned whether human capital is really being increased when the quality of education is questionable (Schwartzman, 2005). Therefore, it is unclear whether the children's educational needs will be met through the formal education system.

108

If Brazil is sending its children to low quality schools, is the country positively investing in their children's future? This is a very crucial consideration, as low quality schools may do little to improve the future of these children, particularly the most marginalized. However, as the BFP's objectives are focused on increasing enrolment and attendance, the quality of the education system has not been incorporated into its policy framework. Further research is needed in order to provide additional policy reforms that deal with the quality of Brazilian schools, in tandem with the BFP

3. <u>Is this approach a sustainable solution for providing street children with an education?</u>

The strength of this approach is that it attacks the very root of the problem that results in street children, which is poverty. By providing impoverished families with an economic stipend, the BFP eliminate the immediate expense of sending their children to school, and through the conditionalities, the BFP promotes the long-term enrolment of the children as it eliminates the need for the families to send their children to the streets to work.

Additionally, as the State is the primary provider of education to the public at large, it should be the primary provider to children from impoverished families as well. The formal system has greater regulation, includes external monitoring, and has been professionally developed. Once admitted into the formal system, the children have a great chance of continuing within it, and graduating to higher levels. Moreover, formal education has greater perceived legitimacy in society, as not only is it more established

but also it has always been the conventional system of transferring skills and knowledge to the new generation. This may be a problem for those children who have participated in non-formal programs, which only provide a very basic education, and is perceived to be less legitimate. Thus, the formal system is the most sustainable route for street children to move beyond their current social status.

However, a serious issue with this approach is that it fails to address the issue of quality. As mentioned earlier, the education system in Recife is characterized by over crowding, chronic strikes, and low quality instruction (Kenny, 1999). Thus, The Preventative approach may be more effective in keeping children off the streets and in the class room, but it fails to address the quality issues in the education system.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Symptomatic approach has effectively made contact with street children, but it is questionable whether it is effectively educating them. Due to both the lack of knowledge in the current literature on what NGO's are providing street children with, including education, as well as the lack of standardization characteristic of non-formal education, the symptomatic approach is less effective in providing the street children in Recife with education. Issues with non-formal education, as provided by street educators and the NGO's in Recife, are characterized by a lack of standardization, lack of regulation and legitimacy as perceived by employers and formal education administrators. Additionally, NGO's as a long-term service provider of education is less sustainable, due to the financial instability perpetually threatening the closure or re-location of an NGO. Additionally, as Hecht indicated, he never encountered a child who had learned to write or read on the street (Hecht, 1999).

Despite the serious shortcomings of the symptomatic approach, it is nevertheless essential to providing education to those who remain on the streets. Although there is less of a guarantee that this education will enable the child to leave the streets, it still offers a sense of self-worth and an important outlet for social interaction with adults and peers in a supportive environment.

The Preventative approach through the Bolsa Familia program seeks to prevent the creation and growth of street children by addressing poverty. By providing poor

111

families with financial stipends on the condition that they send their child to school, the families of the street children of tomorrow are able to keep their children off the streets and in the formal school system. The formal system is a more promising approach to education in that it is sustainable and has a greater perceived legitimacy within society, thus improving the chance of social mobility of poor children.

Although the Bolsa Familia program offers the greatest chance of reducing the number of children on the street, and thus the need to provide them with an education, it is an approach that cannot guarantee complete eradication of the problem. Addressing the poverty that is sending children to the streets is a major step forward in decreasing the number of children on the street, but it is unlikely to completely rid the streets of Recife of street children. Thus, as long as there are street children, the delivery of education through NGO programming and street educators must continue to be available. However, the symptomatic approach might be more effective if instead of working alongside the formal education system, it strived to integrate the children into the formal system and connected these children and their families with Bolsa Familia. A few NGO's in Brazil are currently using this approach, like Projeto Axe in the northeast state of Bahial. Projeto Axe is an example of an intervention strategy that draws together both state and non-state actors. This NGO works in partnership with the schools to train teachers to address the specific needs of street children, and offers alternative programming in the school for these children. Additionally, the success of Lar Batista may be due to the affiliation with the local private school, although it is unclear what is being taught by the private school students. But according to the director of Lar Batista, this relationship has had positive effects on the street girls, as 95% of them pass their examinations out of high school.

Thus, fostering a relationship with the formal school system may be the best direction for NGO's providing street children with education.

Another issue with the preventative approach is that it fails to address the issues of quality within the Brazilian education system. CCT programs like Bolsa Familia only increase the demand for education, but fail to address the issues related to the supply of that education. The quality of education in Brazil is among the worst in Latin America, and without addressing this issue, it is unclear whether human capital is being developed within the current formal system. Sending children to low quality schools is not investing in their future, and thus street children may not be able to move beyond their social status. Thus, it is imperative that the quality of education be addressed through additional policy reforms that work in conjunction with Bolsa Familia.

Despite these shortcomings, Bolsa Familia offers the most sustainable method of providing the street children of today and tomorrow with an education. It has been demonstrated to be effectively targeting the families of street children, and effectively increasing enrolment and decreased drop-out rates of racially marginalized groups. The formal education system has increased perceived legitimacy in society, and therefore offers the greatest chance of social mobility for poor children.

1. Recommendations and Future Research

Both approaches are addressing the educational needs of street children, but through the use of different methods. The PA is attacking the root of the street child problem by addressing poverty, while the SA is addressing the symptoms of a greater

113

problem; poverty. Once the problem of street children has been created as a result of poverty, it necessitates society's response. Thus, the PA is the simplest approach to educating street children, as it prevents the street child population from manifesting itself, and therefore, eradicates the need to educate this scattered population. Of course, the PA will not be able to prevent the manifestation of street children completely, which will inevitably create the need for the SA.

The most promising solution for Brazil to address the educational needs of the street child population is to combine the strengths of both the SA and the PA. By strengthening the relationship between Bolsa Familia and street child focused NGO's, Brazil is likely to see a lessening of children on the streets, and more in classrooms. NGO's working with street children need to develop a relationship with the Bolsa Familia administration, and act as a mediator between street child families and the program. Additionally, these NGO's should also strengthen their relationship to the formal education system in order to provide education that is more likely to result in social mobility for those children who will not qualify for BF, as exemplified with Lar Baptista. Street children who are accessing the NGO's should be assessed in terms of their likelihood to be recipients of Bolsa Familia. This assessment would involve establishing the level of contact the child has with their family, and whether the child has other siblings who are also on the streets. By connecting the families of the street child with Bolsa Familia, the NGO's may decrease the amount of children they are providing services for, and enabling more resources to be focused on the children who are completely street dependant and without a family.

Needless to say, strengthening the involvement with BF would entail added work to an already overwhelming workload for these organizations. As discussed in chapter three, NGO's working with street children are financially stretched thin as their clientele is in need of almost everything. In order for NGO's to provide this added service, the Bolsa Familia administration should develop a system of grants to organizations that assist in the connection between families and the program. This partnership between NGO's and Bolsa Familia would work to strengthen the service delivery for both organizations, to the benefit of the street children. This policy recommendation should be applied on a federal level, with accompanying provincial and municipal administrative structures to carry out the policy adjustments that will be needed.

The strengthening of the relationship between NGO's and a CCT program could be applied on a global level. The proliferation of children on the streets is a phenomenon that no country is excluded from. As education is the most effective means for integrating street children back into society, it is this strategy that should be at the centre of every society's efforts. The PA and SA are widely used in countries around the world, and thus are likely to benefit from the strengthening of the relationship between CCT's that address family poverty and NGO's that work with street children and education.

Future research is needed on the local level of cities experiencing higher than average numbers of street children. Most research to date has focused on documenting the extent of the street child phenomenon and the interventions that are needed. Relatively little research has been conducted on evaluating the effectiveness of the programs available to street children. Without proper assessment on the impacts of programs available, strategies for the children's reintegration will be ill-informed and potentially

115

misguided. With extensive research now available on the extent and nature of the street

child problem, coupled with the increase of programs available, policy-makers

everywhere have never had such an opportunity to curb the proliferation of children on

the streets through effective intervention strategies.

Bibliography

Agrawal, R. (1999). *Street children: a socio-psychological study*. Delhi: Shipra Publications. Print

Arends-Kuenning, M., & Amin, S. (2001). Women's capabilities and the right to education in bangladesh. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, 15(1)*. Electronic

Aruda, Marcos and John Cavanagh and Daphne Wysham. (1994). *Beyond Bretton Woods: Alternatives to the Global Economic Order*. Londres: Pluto Press. Print

Aptekar, L. (1994). Children in the developing world: a review of their condition. *Cross-Cultural Research , 28(3)*. Electronic

Barrette, M.J. (1995). *Street children need our care*. Pretoria: Kagiso Print

Bastos, E, Barretto, S., Strath, A., Dellagnelo, L., & Fuller, B. (1999). How to raise children's early literacy? the influence of family, teacher, and classroom in northeast brazil. *Comparative Education Review , 43(1)*. Electronic

Becker, G. (1975). *Human capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis with special reference to education (3rd edition)*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Print

Beghin, N. (2008). Notes on Inequality and Poverty in Brazil: Current Situation and Challenges. *Background Paper: Oxfam International*

Bellemy, C. (1999). *The state of the world's children*. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Electronic

Birdsall, N., & Sabot, R. (1996). Opportunity foregone: education in brazil. Washington: Inter-American Development Bank. Print

Borges, A. (2008). State government, political competition and education reform: comparative lessons from brazil. *Bulletin of Latin American Research , 27(2)*. Electronic

Bourguignon, F., Ferreira, F., & Leite, P. (2002). Ex-ante evaluation of conditional cash transfer programs: the case of bolsa escola [World Bank Working Paper No 2916]. Electronic

Brière , B., & Rawlings , L. (2006). Examining conditional cash transfer programs: a role for increased social inclusion. *Social Protection the World Bank Discussion Paper NO. 0603*. Electronic

Brink, B. (1997). Guidelines for the design of centres for street children. *Architecture for Education, UNESCO*,

Brink, B. (2001). Working with street children: reintegration through education. *Support for Learning, 16(2)*. Electronic

Cardoso, A., & Verner, D. (2007). School drop-out and push-out factors in brazil: the role of early parenthood, child labor, and poverty. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4178*. Electronic

Coombs, P. & Ahmed, M. (1974). *Attacking Rural Poverty: How non-formal education can help*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press. Print

Coombs, P. (1976). Nonformal education: myths, realities and opportunities. *Comparative Education Review, 20(3)*. Electronic

Cubillos, R.H. (2002). *Braving the streets of brazil: children, their rights, and the roles of local NGO's in northeast brazil*. California: Faculty of the Graduate School University of Southern California. Print

de Moura, S. (2002). The social construction of street children: configuration and implications. *British Journal of Social Work, 32(3)*. Electronic

Dimenstein, G. (1991). *Brazil: War on children*. London: Latin American Bureau. Print

Diversi G., Filho, N., & Morelli, M. (1999). Daily reality on the streets of Campinas, Brazil. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 85*. Electronic

Dybicz, P. (2005). Interventions for street children: an analysis of current best practices. *International Social Work, 48(6)*. Electronic

De Janvry, A. & Elisabeth Sadoulet. (2005). Conditional Cash Transfer programs for child human capital development: Lessons derived from experience in Mexico and Brazil. *World Bank Development Economics Research Group*. Electronic

de Oliveira, W. (2000). *Working with children on the streets of brazil: politics and practice* . New York: Haworth Press. Print

Epstein, I. (1996). Educating street children: some cross-cultural perspectives. *Comparative Education, 32(2)*. Electronic

Fernandes, G., & Vaughan, M. (2008). Brazilian street children. *International Social Work, 53(5)*. Electronic

Freire, Paulo. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The Seabury Press; New York

Freire, P. (1985). *The politics of education: culture, power, and liberation*. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group. Print

Ferreira, F. & Lanjouw, P. (2000). Rural non-agricultural activities and poverty in the brazilian northeast. DEPARTAMENTO DE ECONOMIA PUC-RIO, TEXTO PARA DISCUSSÃO No. 428. Electronic

Gadotti, M., & Torres, C. (2009). Paulo freire: education for development. *Development and Change, 40(6)*. Electronic

Gerhardt, H. (1993). Paulo Freire (1921 - 1997). *Prospects: the quarterly review of comparative education*, XXIII(3/4). Electronic

Giroux, H., & McLaren, P. (1994). *Between borders: pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies*. New York: Routledge. Electronic

Glewwe, P. & Ana Lucia Kassouf. (2010). The Impact of the Bolsa Escola/Familia Conditional Cash Transfer Program on Enrollment, Drop Out Rates and Grade Promotion in Brazil. *Proceedings of the 36th Brazilian Economics Meeting: ANPEC - Associação Nacional dos Centros de Pósgraduação em Economia [Brazilian Association of Graduate Programs in Economics]*. Electronic

Glewwe, P. & Ana Lucia Kassouf. (2008). What is the Impact of the Bolsa Família Programme on Education? *Internatioanl Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth, One pager No. 107*. Electronic.

Glauser, B. (1997). Street Children: Deconstructing a Contrast. In A. James and A. Prout (eds) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood (pp 135-156)*. London: Falmer. Print.

Green, D. (1998). *Hidden lives: voices of children in latin america and the caribbean*. London: Wellington House. Print

Harris, M., Johnson, K., Young, L., & Edwards, J. (2010). Community reinsertionsuccess of street children programs in brazil and peru. *Children and Youth Services Review*,

Hecht, T. (1998). *At home in the street: street children of northeast brazil.* Cambridge University Press: New York.

Hill, M.A, & King, E.M. (1993). *Women's education in developing countries.* Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press. Print

Horkheimer, M. (1982). *Critical Theory.* New York: Seabury Press. Print

ILO. (2009). Bolsa Família in Brazil: Context, concept and impacts. *International Labour Office.* Electronic

Impelizieri F. (1995). *Street Children and NGOs in Rio,* (Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, Amais).

Jurema, A., & Kempner, K. (2002). The global politics of education: brazil and the world bank. *Higher Education, 43* .Electronic

Kenny, M. (1999). No visible means of support: child labor in urban northeast brazil. *Human Organization , 58(4).* Electronic

Kavazanjian, L. (2009). Addressing gender disparities: an investigation of nonformal. *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard, 7.* Electronic

Le Roux, J. (1996). The worldwide phenomenon of street children: conceptual analysis. *Adolescence, 31(124).*

Le Roux, J., & Smith, C. (1998). Causes and characteristics of the street child phenomenon: a global perspective. *Adolescence, 33.* Electronic

Levenstein, S. (1996). Educating street children: innovative ideas and programmes in Brazil. *South African Journal of Education, 16(1).* Electronic

L'Homme, C., & Henriquez, C.J. (2010). Education, youth and development: UNESCO in Latin America and the Carribean. *Proceedings of the World Youth Conference, Leon, Guanajuato, Mexico.* Electronic

Lindert, K., Linder, A., Hobbs, J. and Bénédicte de la Brièr. (2007). The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program: Implementing Conditional Cash Transfers in a Decentralized Context. *World Bank Social Policy Discussion Paper No 0709.* Electronic

Lochner, L. (2004). Education, work, and crime: a human capital approach. *International Economic Review, 45(3).* Electronic

Luiz De Moura, S. (2002). The social construction of street children: configuration and implications. *British Journal of Social Work, 32.* Electronic

Lusk, M.W. (1989). Street children programs in Latin America. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 16.* Electronic

Lusk, M. (1992). *Street children of rio de janeiro.* International Social Work, 35(3). Electronic

Mawhinney-Rhoads, L., & Stahler, G. (2006). Educational policy and reform for homeless students: an overview. *Education and Urban Society, 38.* Electronic

Mickelson, R. (2000). *Children on the streets of the Americas: homelessness, education, and globalization in the united states, Brazil, and Cuba.* London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

O'Cadiz, M., Wong, P., & Torres, C. (1998). *Education and democracy: paulo freire, social movements and educational reform in sao paulo.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. Print

Pare, M. (2004). Educating marginalized children: the challenge of the right to education in brazil. *The International Journal of Children's Rights, 12.* Electronic

Psacharopoulos, G. (1994). Returns to investment in education: a global update. *World Development, 22(9).* Electronic

Psacharopoulos, G., & Patrinos, H. (2002). Returns to investment in education: a further debate. *World Bank, Latin America and the Caribbean Region, Education Sector Unit.* Electronic

Rizzini, Barker, Cassaniga. (1999). *From Street Children to all Children. Improving Opportunities of Low Income Urban Children and Youth in Brazil,* (Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Santa Úrsula, Instituto Promundo)

Rizzini, I. and Lusk, M.W. (1995). Children in the streets: Latin America's lost generation. *Children and Youth Services Review* 17(3). Electronic

Robeyns, I. (2006). Three models of education : rights, capabilities and human capital. *Theory and Research in Education, 4(69).* Electronic

Rosa, C., Borba, R., & Ebrahim, G. (1992). The street children of recife: a study of their background. *Journal of Tropical Pediatrics, 38.* Electronic

Rose, Pauline. (2007). NGO Provision of Basic Education: Alternative or Complementary Service Delivery to Support Access to the Excluded? *Compare 39(2).* Electronic

Scheper-Hughes, N., & Daniel Hoffman. (1994). *Kids Out of Place.* NACLA Report on the Americas. Electronic

Schultz, T. (1971). *Investment in human capital: the role of education and of research.* Chicago: Free Press. Print

Schwartzman, Simon. (2003). The Challenges of Education in Brazil. *Oxford University, Centre for Brazilian Studies, 3.* Electronic

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Consortium for Street Children. (2009). *Submission from the Consortium for Street Children.* DFID Consultation on Education Strategy 2010, London. Electronic

Saito, M. (2003). Amartya sen's capability approach to education: a critical exploration. *Philosophy of Education, 37(1).* Electronic

Soares, F., Soares, S., Medeiros M., & Rafael Guerreiro Osório. (2006). Cash Transfer Programmes in Brazil: Impacts on Inequality and Poverty. *International Policy Center working Paper No 21.* Electronic

Swift, A. (1991). *Brazil: the fight for childhood in the city.* Florence : UNICEF ICDC. Print

Swift, A. (1997). *Children for social change: education for citizenship of street and working children in Brazil.* Nottingham, UK: Educational Heretics Press. Print

Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Urban children in distress: global predicaments and innovative strategies* . Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers. Print

Tarabini, A. (2010). Education and poverty in the global development agenda: emergence, evolution and consolidation. *International Journal of Educational Development, 30(204–212).* Electronic

Thompson, E. (2001). Successful experiences in non-formal education and alternativeapproaches to basic education in Africa. *Paper prepared for the 2001 Biennial Conference of The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA).* Electronic

UNESCO. (nd). *Education for all.* Electronic

UNESCO Office in Brasilia. (2010). *Education for all in Brazil.* Electronic

UNESCO. (2010). *Education of children in need.* Electronic

UNESCO. (2000). *Dakar Framework for Action. Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments.* Electronic

UNESCO. (1995). *Working with street children: selected case-studies from Africa, Asia and Latin America* [UNESCO Publishing International Catholic Child Bureau]. Electronic

Volpi, Elena. (2002*). Street Children: Promising Practices and Approaches.* Working paper. World Bank Institute. Electronic

Weyer, F. (2009). Non-formal education, out-of-school learning needs and employment opportunities: evidence from mali. *Compare*, 39(2). Electronic

Williams, C. (1993). Who are "street children?" a hierarchy of. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 17.* Electronic

Wong, P., & Balestino, R. (2001). *Prioritizing the education of marginalized young people in brazil: a collaborative approach.* Journal of Education Policy, 16(6). Electronic

Wong, P. (1995). Constructing a public popular education in são paulo, brazil. *Comparative Education Review, 39(1).* Electronic

World Bank. (2011). *Education and development why is education important to development.* Electroni

World Bank. (2010, October 25). *Education.* Electronic