

Bolsa Família's educational condition and educational inequality in Brazil

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Tiivistelmä

Sosiaalipolitiikan Pro gradu-tutkielmani käsittelee brasilialaista vastikkeellista tulonsiirto-ohjelmaa Bolsa Famíliaa ja siihen liittyvän ehdon, lasten koulutukseen osallistumisen, arviointia sosiaalisen tasa-arvon näkökulmasta. Bolsa Família on köyhille perheille suunnattu vastikkeellinen tulonsiirto, jonka saamiseksi perheiden täytyy täyttää tietyt ehdot: Perheiden lasten täytyy osallistua koulutukseen, odottavien äitien ja lasten käydä terveystarkastuksissa ja perheen tulojen täytyy alittaa ohjelmalle asetettu minimiraja, joka on noin puolet Brasilian minimipalkasta. Tuen määrä riippuu perheen tulotasosta ja lasten määrästä. Bolsa Famíliaa saa noin 14 miljoonaa perhettä Brasiliassa.

Brasilian noin 200-miljoonaisen populaation sosioekonomiset erot ovat valtavat. Brasiliiaa kuvatankin usein ristiriitojen maaksi ja sosiaalisen epätasa-arvon rakenteet ovat syvälle yhteiskuntaan juurtuneet. Työni taustoittavassa osuudessa käyn läpi brasilialaisen sosiaalivaltion historiaa ja teoreettisessa katsauksessa käsitelen sosiaalista epätasa-arvoa köyhyyden ja tuloerojen, työn ja syrjäytymisen sekä brasilialaisen koulutusmaailman kautta.

Tässä työssä olen keskittynyt koulutukselliseen tasa-arvoon ja Bolsa Famíliaan merkitykseen inhimillisen ja kulttuurisen pääoman lisääntymisen mahdollistajana. Tutkimuskysymykseni on: Miten Bolsa Famíliaan koulutuksellista ehtoa on arvioitu ja mikä on sen merkitys sosiaalisen epätasa-arvon vähentämisen näkökulmasta? Aineistoni kattaa 15 ohjelman koulutusehdon evaluaatioraporttia ja metodologia on laadullinen sisällön analyysi.

Olen analysoinut aineistoani luokittelemalla evaluaatioissa käytetyt indikaattorit kolmeen kategoriaan, jotka ovat koulutuksen saavutettavuus, koulutukseen osallistuminen ja koulumenestys. Olen analysoinut näiden kategorioiden kautta, miten evaluaatiot tunnistavat sosiaalisen epätasa-arvon ja koulutuksen yhteyden. Päätulokseni on, että huolimatta siitä, että Bolsa Famíliaan edunsaajat ovat menestyneet näiden kolmen kategorian valossa paremmin kuin verrokkiryhmät, on taustalla kuitenkin muita ilmiöitä, joihin ohjelma ei suoraan tarjoa ratkaisua. Ylisukupolvinen köyhyys aiheuttaa paitsi esimerkiksi syrjäytymistä virallisilta työmarkkinoilta, myös huonompia oppimistuloksia. Toisaalta huono laatu erityisesti julkisessa, maksuttomassa peruskoulussa pahentaa kierrettä, sillä huonot oppimistulokset estävät jatkokoulutukseen pääsyn ja sitä kautta sosiaalisen luokkanousun.

Johtopäätöksissä reflektoin tutkimustani paitsi Brasilian nykyiseen poliittiseen ja taloudelliseen todellisuuteen myös Suomen ja Euroopan vaikeaan tilanteeseen, jossa hyvinvointivaltion menoja

halutaan leikata ja tehdä suuria rakenteellisia uudistuksia. Hyvinvointivaltion kehityksessä tulisi päättäjillä olla malttia ja pitkäjänteisyyttä. Vaikutusarviointeja on parempi tehdä ennemmin kuin myöhemmin, vaikka vaikutukset näkyvät vasta kymmenien vuosien kuluessa. Tämän valossa olisi tärkeää, että myös Brasilian sosiaalipolitiikan kehittämisessä katsottaisiin syvemmälle yhteiskunnan rakenteisiin ja etsittäisiin syitä hyvinvointierojen ja epätasa-arvon olemassaololle.

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO
Yhteiskunta- ja kulttuuritieteiden yksikkö

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Abstract

In this master thesis of Social Policy I have studied the Brazilian conditional cash transfer program Bolsa Família (PBF) and its educational condition's contribution to the reduction of social inequality in Brazil. PBF is a conditional cash transfer targeted to poor families who have to fill certain conditions in order to be eligible to receive the financial aid. The families have to make sure their children attend education, and pregnant and breast-feeding mothers and children must receive health check-ups and take part in vaccination programs. The families' income must remain under the minimum wage. The amount of benefit depends on the number of children and the total income of the family.

There are around 200 million people in Brazil, and the country is often described as a land of contradictions. The socioeconomic disparities are huge and social inequality is deeply rooted in many societal structures. I will give an overview of the development of the Brazilian social state and welfare services, and how they were constructed in different political eras. I will explain also the causes of social inequality through concepts of poverty and income distribution, work and exclusion and unequal education universe of Brazil.

In this study, I have focused on educational inequality and PBF's contribution in reducing inequality by strengthening the human and cultural capital of the beneficiaries. My research question is: How the condition of education has been evaluated, and what is the importance of this condition in terms of reducing social and educational inequality in Brazil? The data used in this study is 15 evaluation reports on the educational condition of PBF and the methodology is qualitative content analysis.

I have analysed the indicators used in the evaluations and formed three different categories which these indicators formed. The categories are Access to education, Attendance in education and Educational performance. Through these categories, I have analyzed how social inequality and its relation to education was recognized in the evaluations. The main result of my thesis is that in spite of the good results when compared to control groups, there still remain other structural causes of educational and social inequality. Intergenerational poverty not only causes exclusion from the formal labor market but also influences the learning outcomes of the children. Bad performance in assessment, on the other hand, prevents access to further education, which also leads to lower-level occupations in the labor market. On the other hand, the low quality of public education also causes

bad results in the assessment, and the cognitive skills and human capital of these children remain low. All this leads to a lack of social mobility.

In the conclusion chapter, I reflect my study to Brazil's recent political and economic reality, but also to the political actions driven in Western Europe and Finland. The economic crisis in Europe has caused extreme austerity measures to public expenditures and especially in Finland we are facing big changes in the welfare structures. The development of the welfare state is slow and the consequences of different political actions might be visible only after decades. When planning certain policies, the decision makers should make estimates about the consequences these policies might have. I hope that in the case of Brazil and its welfare policies, the policy makers won't focus too much on the direct impacts, but also look deeper into the structures of society and search for the causes for structural inequality that still remain strong in Brazilian society.

Key words: Social inequality, education, Brazil, conditional cash transfer

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1. INTRODUCTION

The study is about the Brazilian social policy program, Program Bolsa Família PBF¹ (family grant), one of the world's biggest Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT)² programs, and its impact on educational inequality in Brazil. Bolsa Família has been in the centre of Brazilian social policy and social assistance³ since 2003, when it was launched by the first government of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula), the first working-class president in the country.

Bolsa Família is a direct, conditional cash transfer targeted to people living in poverty or extreme poverty. It is a part of the larger governmental program, Brazil without misery⁴, launched in 2011. PBF is targeted to those who live with less than 70 Reals per month (25€), which is the official line of extreme poverty (1/4 of the minimum salary) in Brazil. The program has three principal objectives: Cash transfer will immediately bring relief to poverty, the conditions reinforce the access to basic social rights as healthcare, education and social assistance. The actions of the program are aimed to allow families to overcome the vulnerability they are facing in their everyday life. (MDS 1⁵.) The benefit is paid to the woman of the household and it varies by the income and the number of children of the families. In 2014 there were around 13.8 million families benefitting from PBF, half of them living in Northeast Brazil. (IBGE 2014, 187). The number of beneficiaries has increased steadily since its implementation.

Brazilian governmental programme Bolsa Família has gained a lot of positive attention in terms of reducing poverty and extreme poverty, especially in the rural poor areas in Brazil. The program has been evaluated widely and the success of reaching its objectives has been recognized by prestigious organizations such as The World Bank, The United Nations and OECD⁶. By 2014, PBF benefitted around 14 million Brazilian families. (OECD 2014, 5; MDS1 2014).

This study's focus is on one of the conditions of the program, education, which is the most obvious structural cause of social inequality in Brazil. There are deep historical roots for this, and educational policy during the whole 19th century has caused a weak access to quality. Even though the enrolment rates show that practically all Brazilian children go to school, the quality of the schools varies hugely, and by the enrolment rates alone it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the real level of education

¹ Programa Bolsa Família

² Vastikkeellinen tulonsiirto

³ Assistência social means non contributational social benefit

⁴ Brasil sem miséria

⁵ O ministério de desenvolvimento social e combate a fome
= The Ministry of social development and fight against hunger

⁶ Organization for Economic Growth and Development

(Schwartzman 2004 3; Araújo e Oliveira 2004, 41). Inequality is visible in the socio-economic and ethnic background of university students. Most of the students in higher education are white and middle class, and on average, years of schooling differs by the socio-economic background of population. The poor receive much less education in the second and third level than the middle class and elite. (Ribeiro 2003 146; Schwartzman 2004, 5; IBGE. 2013.)

The program has been monitored, evaluated and analyzed by the federal agents, the academic community, and multinational organizations like OECD, The World Bank and United Nations. It has gained lots of positive attention in discussions on poverty reduction, economic growth and social equality. The evaluation of the public policies and social programs is necessary for several reasons. When public money is used, the process should always be transparent. The citizens (tax payers) should have the right to know if the public policy has filled the objectives set. In case of PBF, evaluation of impacts has been prominent and regular comparing the previous evaluation of social programs.

Brazil is often described as a land of contrasts. It can be seen in the rich ethnic variety of the citizens and its extremely diverse culture, but unfortunately also through huge differences in socioeconomic conditions and the quality of life of its people. Social inequality in Brazil is deep-rooted. Colonialism and slavery have left their mark on every level of Brazilian society and many obviously unequal social structures still remain. The opportunity gap between the rich and the poor is wide and geographical differences in Brazil are also extreme. Poverty still remains high, educational opportunities are unequal and the labor market polarized. (Ribeiro 2007, 71; World Bank 2008, 12-16.)

PBF is a milestone for Brazilian social policy since through this program, the whole focus of the social services and public policy has changed from privileged middle class benefits to the poor population and those in the risk of misery. In terms of poverty reduction, it has no doubt made a big change, but has it been able to tackle the structural reasons behind the social inequality in the country?

I have been in Brazil three times, and every time I find new signs of the unequal social relations. One of the visible things is that in almost every Brazilian home there is space for a servant, usually an outdoor area combined with a small bedroom and a bathroom. Sometimes there is a separated door and probably even a small alley to the street. These alleys were common in the era of slavery but they still exist. Many buildings have separated elevators, but nowadays there is a signboard with a reminder that all kind of discrimination is illegal. Illegal or not, racial discrimination still exists, as does cultural elitism and domination. I have practiced capoeira (Brazilian martial art invented by the African slaves) and many middle-class white Brazilians have been quite surprised at how this “black

culture” is well-known basically all around the world but not highly valued in Brazil. I learned Portuguese through Capoeira and started to study the language in the university.

I did my exchange studies in Brazil, Recife from September 2014 until March 2015. I studied the Brazilian social security system and evaluation of the social programs (Segurança social no Brasil and Avaliação de programas sociais). These studies opened my eyes to the inadequacy of basic social security especially within the poor population. While I lived in Brazil and told people about my thesis I often faced a question: “Is your perspective positive or negative?” I found this question a bit strange, since I’ve learned that it is quite clear that PBF has had an enormous effect on poverty reduction, especially in rural areas, but the actual reasons behind inequality are something else. Bolsa Família is obviously a political program. The first leftist president President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, Lula launched it and it has been in the center of the social policy of the worker’s party, PT⁷. In October 2014, Brazilians re-elected Dilma Rousseff as president for the next four years. She represents the same workers’ party, PT, as the former Lula. While writing this paper, Dilma⁸ has lost her support because of the political and economic crises in Brazil (The guardian 8.10.2015). During the past ten years Bolsa Família has however gained a lot of positive attention not only among the beneficiaries but also as a totally new approach in Brazilian social policy.

Even though Brazil has developed economically and socially, millions of poor people have gained better income and there is even “a new middle class” in Brazil, critical voices towards these kinds of social programs also exist. The critics say that it is not sustainable to instruct poor people to live with the government’s money and raise the kids of these families to live in the same way, when the social structure of the country still remains the same. The basic public services like health care and education still lack a lot in quality compared to private institutions, and a big part of the population is excluded from the formal labor market and work-related social security. Because of the criticism on the incapability of PBF to change social structures, I will focus on social inequality, which I find a more complicated concept of social structure than poverty. The Brazilian education system is also often debated and raises a lot of harsh opinions within the Brazilians. This is the reason why I want to focus on education as one of the conditions of PBF.

This study contributes to the discussions about Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes and their possibilities to combat the educational inequality through their conditions and requirements. Conditional Cash Transfers, and especially Bolsa Família, are not broadly studied in Finland or even

⁷ PT: Partido dos trabalhadores

⁸ In Brazil it is common to call the politicians by their first name or nickname

in Europe, and this study will give an overview on how the program's conditions have been evaluated in terms of reduction of social inequality. The conditions of the program are often under debate and, I will also analyse how the evaluators see the importance of the educational condition.

The theoretical fundamentals of this study refer to theories of Human Capital Theory by Gary S. Becker (1964), Cultural Capital from Pierre Bourdieu (1970) and Inheritance of Education by Gosta Esping-Andersen (2006). I wanted to have more than one perspective on educational inequality and I hope these different paradigms will be visible in the analysis of this study. These theories will be presented more profoundly in the third chapter. I have used several papers from Simon Schwartzman, a Brazilian sociologist who has researched the Brazilian education system especially from the perspective of quality of education.

The research question of this study is *how the condition of education has been evaluated and what is the importance of this condition in terms of reducing social and educational inequality in Brazil*. The data of this study consists of evaluation reports about the educational condition of PBF. All the reports are written in Portuguese and were found online. The method used to analyse the reports is content analysis. I have studied Portuguese at the university and learned to speak it during my trips to Brazil. It was an interesting experience to analyze the text that I haven't been able to use fluently before.

The second chapter of this paper is a historical overview of the Brazilian social (welfare) state and the rise of the targeted cash transfers that revolutionized the whole concept of social welfare in Brazil. The third chapter is the theoretical framework. I will describe the main theoretical concepts of my study. In the fourth chapter I introduce the data, the methodology and the research questions of the study. The fifth chapter includes the analysis. In the final chapter, I go through the results and discuss them in terms of further research opportunities and also reflect the limits of this study.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW ON SOCIAL SECURITY IN BRAZIL

In this chapter I will summarize the development of Brazilian social security from the 1920's until today. At the same time it will be a summary of important political periods and processes of Brazilian history in the context capitalistic and neoliberal development of the country. It is important to understand the causes of different regimes and policies in terms of broader socio-economic perspective. I will focus on those political changes and structures that have had an impact on actual Brazilian societal relations.

Nancy Birdsall has proposed that there are four “generations” in the development of social policies in Latin America. The first, the golden period, took place between post–World War II and the end of 1970 's, and was characterized by the expansion of middle class and it' s benefits. The second period in the 1980's was the time of cuts and weakening of social services. The third phase is the period of elaboration and reorganization of social services in 1990's, when the recourses are redistributed for those most in need. In the fourth phase from early 2000's, recourses are redistributed to support human capital and to support the most needy to achieve their basic needs without too much of a dependency of governmental benefits. (Birdsall & Szekely 2003, 12-13.)

2.1 Modernization and the beginning of the Brazilian social state

Like in many Western countries, the roots of the development of social policy in Brazil are also linked to the capitalistic construction of production and the working class' demands for better working conditions. The first steps in terms of citizens' social rights can be found in 1923 when the law Eloy Chaves was accepted. By this law, the first retirement pension funds, known as CAPs ⁹were created. These funds secured the labor force from risks of work like accidents and they were organized by the employer with the employees' contribution. The CAPs, however, served only some formal sector workers and the majority of rural workers were left outside this security. (Boschetti, 2006.) The important feature here is that the roots of social protection in Brazil are in the protection of labor and especially formal labor. The definition of *social* state comes from the translation of *estado social*. In Brazil, this Portuguese concept is used to describe the phase where the country accepted the basic social rights for its citizens. Boschetti has defined Brazilian welfare state as half Bismarckian and

⁹ Caixas de Aposentadorias e Pensões

half Beveridgean. Bismarckian welfare model is work based and Beveridgean model's principal objective is to conquer poverty of the citizens. (Boschetti 2014.) In European context the common concept is welfare state. In this context, it is valuable to note that it wasn't too long ago that slavery was still legal and basically half of the population didn't have even basic human rights.

The year 1930 was a watershed in Brazil's history; it has been considered the beginning of democratization, political participation and modernisation of social security (Schwartzman 2011, 1). It was the year of the election of president Getulio Vargas, who governed the country for fifteen years, first as a president and then as a dictator until 1945 when he was forced to resign. However he returned to the presidency five years later, governing until committing suicide in 1954. (Chaffee, 2011 400-401.) During the Vargas period, the agenda of social policy, especially in terms of securing the formal labor force, was implemented and played a remarkable role in Brazilian social policy until the constitution of 1988. The most remarkable achievements were in the conditions of labor force. The laws on minimum age of labor, protection of female labor force, 8 hour working day, and gender based anti-discrimination were proposed and implemented. The public social security funds (IAP¹⁰) were also created during the Vargas period. One of the most defining features was the workers' card¹¹, which guaranteed rights and access to social security services at that time. (Boschetti, 2006 19-21.)

The minimum salary, that should guarantee the basic conditions in alimentation, housing, medical services and education, was introduced in 1934 but actually implemented in 1940. This was again in favor of the formal working force, while the majority of workers in rural areas and informal positions were excluded from minimum salary. (Silva, Yazbek and Giovanni, 2011, 33.)

After Getulio Vargas' period, Brazil's economic, social and political life was in turbulence. The communist party became legal again and the Brazilian bourgeois faced fragmentation because of the new political parties. Vargas had introduced the Import Substituted Industrial Policy (ISI) dependent on the imported goods. Brazilian capitalism developed quickly and during Vargas period the working class unity got stronger and questions about the lack of social services in the rural areas rose. The public university education was also developed. All in all, this time still did not have many dramatic changes in Brazilian social policy, and it continued to develop in a very selective sense. (Behring & Boschetti 2009, 109-110.)

¹⁰ Instituto de Aposentadorias e Pensões

¹¹ A carteira do trabalho profissional

2.2 Military Dictatorship 1964-1985 and polarized social security

On March 31st, 1964 the Military junta took power and began a 20-year dictatorship. This conservative and nationalist era in Brazil's history has left its mark in Brazilian society ever since. The main characteristics in this period's social policy were the focus on middle class' benefits and privatizing social services such as health care and education. The question of social protection was seen more as a technical question of administration than a question of social problems. There were some improvements in the conditions of rural workers and poor elder people, but they were only modest. The heritage of this period was that the social security services were harshly divided between public and private, those who can afford quality and those who cannot. (Behring & Boschetti 2008 137.)

The education level of the population grew during this period. The important reform in education, however, happened before the military regime in 1961, when public education was expanded. Governmental funding was still given to religious institutions as well and the prestige position of elite Catholic schools still remained. In 1971, basic level compulsory education was expanded from 4 to 8 years of schooling. The level of schooling was also divided to primary and secondary. However, because of the high level of drop outs and repetition, a large number of young people never reached the compulsory level of schooling. Between 1960 and 1991, the number of population with less than four years of education dropped from 75% to 42%. (Ribeiro 2007 83-85.)

2.3 Lost decade and neoliberalism in Brazil

The Expansion of Brazilian urban-industrial based economic growth lasted until the late 1970's. This development of capital accumulation and expansion of urban-industrial work strengthened the privileged position and social security services for the workers of the big enterprises, but on the other hand, the gap between the middle class and the precarious workers deepened. (Mota 2008, 139.) The international economic crisis in 1980 hit especially hard the Latin American countries. It is for a reason called "the lost decade": huge inflation rates, mass unemployment, urbanization and the rise of extreme poverty, hunger, illiteracy, crime rates and health issues all over the continent. The international financing organisations like IMF¹² and World Bank drove the policies where social costs and taxes should be reduced while the private and third sector's role in producing social services should be expanded. These policies made room for the multinational and national corporations

¹² International Monetary Fund

especially in the markets of health care, pensions, education and habitation with the help of federal governments' bureaucracies. (Mota 2008, 119.)

The 1980's were a dark time in terms of economic, political and social development in Latin America. However, the problems raised also new social questions and demands and in Brazil, it was also the decade of social movements. Little by little, the trade unions got back their power which was lost during the military dictatorship. The era of the military dictatorship came finally to its end in 1985 and the new constitution was introduced in 1988. (Behring & Boschetti 2009, 138-139.)

2.4 Constitution 1988 and social policy in the era of democratization

The Federal constitution 1988 is a cornerstone in Brazilian social policy. It universalized the social rights of the Brazilian citizens and the concept of social security was defined for the first time in this constitution. (Mota 2008,149; Bochetti 2006, 142-143; Silva et. al. 2011, 27.) The social rights include rights to education, healthcare, work, leisure, security, pensions and maternity and infant protection. The social security is divided into three main categories which are healthcare, pensions and social assistance (Brazilian Constitution 1988.)

In the beginning of the 1990's Brazil faced very similar conditions as the rest of Latin America: high rates of poverty and misery, illiteracy, crime, informal work and also very corrupted governance in every level. It was obvious that the social policy until that time had actually fed social inequality, benefitting the middle class but leaving huge proposition of workers in rural areas and the informal sector outside of the social services.

The first initiative to every citizen's basic income, the Minimum Social Protection Law was presented by the federal senator of São Paulo, worker's party's Eduardo Suplicy in 1991. This has been seen as a first step towards later cash transfers like Bolsa Família. In 1993, the minimum social protection law (LOAS: Lei Organica da assistência social Lei n. 8.742 1993) was introduced. This law was important step because it defined the social assistance as non-contributional (universal) social security and the minimum social parameters for these policies. (Silva et al. 2004 36-37.)

During this time, the Brazilian economy suffered extremely high rates of inflation and the public policies' only goal was to restart the economic growth. There wasn't much space for the poverty alleviation debate since poverty was seen as a result of the instability of the currency and lack of economic growth. In the early 1990 's, the social services were still in many way in the hands of NGO's and religious organisations, but the public opinion started to change and poverty alleviation

was seen as a tool for economic growth as well. The focus should be not only on poverty reduction, but also on preventing future generations from ending up in as miserable living conditions as their parents. Education was now seen as a key to social mobility, and therefore it should be coupled with the income distribution. (Silva et al 2004 97-98.)

2.5 Conditional Cash Transfers and Bolsa Família

By the late 1990's, there were several conditional cash transfer programs in Brazil. Probably the most known was the Bolsa Escola, the cash transfer to families with the attached condition to take their children to public school.

Since the late 1990's, many developing countries have introduced Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (CCTs) in order to reduce misery and extreme poverty of their citizens. The idea behind CCTs is simple: to receive a monthly benefit, beneficiaries have to fill the conditions of program, usually related to children's schooling or health care as in the case of PBF. (Hall 2012, 5-6.)

Program Bolsa Família is widely studied and analyzed especially in the fields of poverty alleviation and social policy. The results and impacts of the program have been widely evaluated, and the success in reaching its objectives has been recognized by prestigious organizations such as The World Bank, UN and OECD. By 2014, Bolsa Família benefited around 14 million Brazilian families (IBGE 2013 MDS 2014; OECD 2014a, 5).

The Program Bolsa Família is a direct, conditional cash transfer targeted to people living in poverty or extreme poverty. It is one part of the larger governmental program, Brazil without misery (Brasil Sem Miséria). PBF is targeted to those who live with less than 70 Reals per month (25€) which is the official line of extreme poverty in Brazil.

Bolsa Família's principal objectives are: Cash transfer will directly bring relief to poverty, the conditions reinforce the access to basic social right as healthcare, education and social assistance. The actions of the program are aimed to allow families to overcome their everyday poverty and vulnerable position in society.

Every month the federal government deposits a cash transfer to the electronic card of the family. The amount of money depends on the family's income, quantity of children and their age. The benefit is targeted especially to the families with children under 17 years old and pregnant or breast feeding mothers. Even though the whole family is benefitting from PBF, the electronic card, through which the benefit is received is always on the name of the mother of the family. (MDS1.)

The conditional requirements of Bolsa Família are intended both for the beneficiaries but also for the government. The beneficiaries have to fill the conditions to receive the monthly payment, and the government is responsible for guaranteeing all these public services, like public health care, education and social assistance, through which the conditions actually work.

In the field of health care, the families are committed to follow the vaccination program and take part in health check-ups for under 7 year old children's development. For women aged 14 to 44, health is also controlled and if they are pregnant, there should be pre-natal check-ups also.

In education, all the children and adolescents between 6 and 15 years have to be matriculated in schools and they must have attended at least 85 % of the lessons. For 16-17-year-olds the frequency is 75%.

The government is committed to identify the reasons if the conditions are not met. These families are considered to be at greater social risk, and special actions are taken into account. These families should be delegated to special advisors working in the municipalities. The objective is to help these families overcome their difficulties. If the conditional requirements are not filled even after consultation and chances to remedy the situation, the benefit can be blocked, suspended or cancelled. The information related to conditions of all the families is collected and can be found in one place called System of conditions of Bolsa Família (Sicon¹³).

The Ministry of social development and fight against hunger follows the conditions of PBF in coordination with the Ministries of Health care and Education. The municipalities work inter-sectorally between Health care, Education and Social assistance.

The objectives of following the conditions are to monitor the commitment of the families in terms of the legislation of the program, and to identify the families in the most vulnerable positions and make the government take responsibility to search and help them. (MDS2.)

The administration of the program is established by the law 10.836/2004 and is regulated by the decree n 5.209/2004. The administration of Bolsa Família is decentralized and divided between the Federal, the states, Federal district and the municipalities. The federal agents work together to improve, expand and oversee the execution. The selection of the families participating in PBF is based on information collected by the municipalities in the Federal Government's single register for the social programs, an instrument to collect data to identify the possible beneficiaries with low income.

¹³ Sistema de Condicionais do Programa Bolsa Família

With this data, MDS selects automatically those families that could be entitled to receive the benefit. However the register does not automatically enter families into the program. (MDS3.)

Brazil is often called “the land of the future”. The country is referred to have all the opportunities and resources, but somehow it never succeeded in being part of the big Western countries like USA or Western Europe. In this chapter, I wanted to explore the historical reasons and the results for this, especially in terms of development of the social welfare state of Brazil. The next chapter is about the theoretical context of this study, and I will also give an overview about the educational universe in Brazil.

3. SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN CONTEXT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION, EXCLUSION AND UNEVEN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

This chapter is the theoretical framework of this study. I will define the key concepts which are *Poverty and income distribution, Work and exclusion and Educational inequality*. Social inequality refers to the uneven distribution of goods and capabilities in society. Social inequality causes humanitarian crises, but it also one of the barriers to macro-level growth and development of countries. The whole society suffers from social inequality, not only those in the vulnerable position. Inequality causes poverty, crime and other social problems. Societies with low levels of inequality are more prosperous and people are usually happier. In this chapter I will explain the concept more profoundly through the mechanisms of poverty and income distribution, exclusion from the formal labor market and unequal educational system.

The concept of social inequality is defined as a theoretical basis of this study, and it is elaborated through the concepts of poverty and income distribution, work and education. Education is in the centre as a key to social development and better living conditions. On the other hand, formal education reproduces social class through social and cultural capitals (Bourdieu 1970). The school enrolment rate in Brazil is almost 100%, but looking at the latest PISA¹⁴ report, we can see that Brazil lacks in many levels comparing to other OECD countries. Many Brazilian and international scholars have argued that the problem with the Brazilian education system is no longer just in access, but also in the bad quality of education which causes social inequality (Schwartzman 2004a; Ribeiro 2009; Ribeiro 2007).

3.1 Poverty, Income distribution and Inequality

Poverty has existed in human societies virtually always. There have always been those who have and those who do not have access to quality life or the autonomy to choose their life style. Poverty as a social question emerged at the same time with the industrial development, especially in England and Western Europe. (Schwartzman 2004a, 14; Hall & Midgley 2004, 46-47.) Until then, poverty had

¹⁴ The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a triennial international survey which aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. To date, students representing more than 70 economies have participated in the assessment.

been seen as a natural condition of life and poor people were usually seen as immoral, lazy and responsible for their own condition. The solution to poverty would be if poor people just stopped breeding and reproducing the poverty in this way like Malthus (1798) suggested. Another point of view on poverty was that it was an inevitable part of the development of capitalism and that an industrial market reproduces social structures that reproduce poverty. (Schwartzman 2004a, 14.)

The massive economic depression in 1929 left many people in the industrialized countries unemployed. Until then, the industrial sector had offered jobs to almost everyone who wanted one, and unemployment was seen as a negative attribute of an individual and always his own fault. The economic depression, however, changed this perspective, strengthening the trade unions and the development of organized social policy. Worker's insurances and pension funds were created especially in industrialized countries. (Schwartzman 2004a, 92.)

The definition of the concept of poverty is not simple. Poverty can be measured in different ways, with qualitative or quantitative indicators. Poverty can be absolute or relative. Absolute poverty is the case when the income remains under the line of absolute survival minima. Absolute poverty lines continue to be useful in Southern, developing countries. On the other hand, in the North, where absolute poverty barely exists, the concept of relative poverty is more useful. The concept is defined in terms of relative criteria based on social expectations and the standards of living that most people in the country enjoy. The World bank (WB) and the United Nations (UN) and Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) use the "one dollar a day" poverty line to measure and estimate the incidence of global poverty and to set targets for poverty alleviation policies. (Sen 2001; Hall & Midgley 2004, 48; Hulme & Lawson, 2010.)

Income poverty lines are a useful tool for measuring poverty, but they don't tell much about the actual living conditions of these people. The Human development Index, constructed by the United Nation's development program, is perhaps now the most widely-used composite indicator which consists three different aspects of quality of life: literacy rate, life expectancy rate and standard of living measured by the natural logarithm of GDP per capita. (Hall & Midgley 2004, 49.)

Over the past ten years, extreme poverty has reduced significantly in Brazil and the first Millennium Development Goal (half the extreme poverty from the level of 1990) was reached in 2007. In 2003, 12% of the population in Brazil lived under the extreme poverty line (less than 1.25 \$/ day). In 2013, the number was less than 1%. (MDS) Social programs like Bolsa Família have no doubt had an impact on this decline. Despite the fact that Brazil has enjoyed a strong economic boost and was the 7th biggest economy by GDP in the whole world in 2012, the inequality of income distribution within

the country still remains high. According to World Bank data, the richest ten percent in Brazil held 41,7% of all the GDP while the poorest held only 1 % in 2012. The share of the lowest 10 % has not changed since 2009, from where the data was available. (World Bank, 2014.)

To understand poverty, one must understand the causes of poverty and their relation to inequality in society. Inequality was originally defined in terms of income distribution, but today it is understood in terms of wider social construction. Poverty and inequality are connected, however, and it has been shown that countries with high rates of inequality also have high rates of poverty (Kuznet 1955). Today the widely used Gini coefficient represents the income distribution within the population. The highest value is 1, when all the income is gathered to one person, and the value is 0 when all the citizens gain an equal amount. (ibid. in Hall & Midgley 2004, 50.) In the case of Brazil, the Gini coefficient has been declining over the past 10 years. In 2003 the Gini coefficient varied by region in Brazil but according to the data PNAD¹⁵/IBGE¹⁶ (HDI¹⁷ report) the income distribution has declined in all regions from 2001 until 2012. The biggest change has been in South East from 0.54 to 0.48, and Mid-West from 0.57 to 0.51. The value still shows a relatively high level of inequality comparing to other countries. (ibid 17.)

Income distribution, however, does not tell much about the social relations in the society and it shows just one form of inequality. Inequality is also culturally and socially reproduced in social structures. The Brazilian society is defined as one of the most unequal in the world, where the elite and upper middle-class live in conditions equal to Belgium and the rest of the population in poverty like India (Ribeiro, 2007 71). The history of colonialism, slavery, land property rights, division of labor force into formal and informal workers and the fragmentation of social security have all their role in the construction of social inequality in Brazil. Ethnic discrimination and racism still remains and has deep cultural and social roots.

3.2 Work and exclusion

In terms of social inequality, it is necessary to have a look at it in relation to work and unemployment. The Brazilian federal constitution defines a right to work as one of the social rights of the citizens (Brazilian Constitution 1988). However, the labor market in Brazil is divided into formal and informal work and the majority of poor people do not have access to the formal labor market. There are several

¹⁵ The National Household Survey: Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra domicilios

¹⁶ The National Institute of Geographics and Statistics: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica

¹⁷ Human Development Index

causes for this, such as weak supply in the rural areas and lack of quality education. The problem of the informal labor market is that the informal workers don't contribute to social insurance funds or pay taxes, which leaves them out of pensions and unemployment benefits. (World Bank 2008, 14.) The informal labor market is huge, it is everywhere and usually it is the only chance to earn some kind of income for those who cannot find a job.

In popular parlance, an unemployed person is understood as someone who does not have a job. "Unemployed" in statistical jargon however means a person who is part of the "active population" and temporarily out of work. "Active population" is also a statistical term and means the part of the population responsible for the production of goods and services in society, bringing the welfare for the inactive part like children, the elderly and those not participating in the labor market. (Schwartzman 2004, 5). Even though during the 2000's the creation and growth of formal jobs has been impressive (Souza & Ferreira 2012), the informal sector is huge. According to IBGE data from 2012 43% of the workforce was in the informal sector, working without worker's card. The regional differences are high: in some areas of the Northeast, rates reach almost 75 % while in the South and Center-East Brazil, the proportion of the informal sector is around 27%. (IBGE 2013, 145.)

The informal sector in Brazil is everywhere and it is very visible. It is actually quite hard to imagine the streets without small tents selling snacks, water, fruits, coffee, pencils, sun glasses or actually whatever you can imagine. Car washers and Xerox-shops (copy and printing services) are part of everyday life and everybody uses these informal services. Child labor in Brazil is a big problem and kids working as street vendors or cleaning tables in lunch restaurants is a very common scene. It is pretty easy to understand that even though the people in the informal sector do not contribute by paying their pension insurance, they still work hard and the work they do contributes to the overall economy in the country. Without official worker's cards, however, these workers are excluded from many social services and in case of sickness or accident, they still do not have any unemployment security.

A bigger problem than street vendors, however, is the informal labor force in formal enterprises – so-called so-called "off-the-books" employees. These workers consist the majority of the whole informal sector and they are more of them than the formal and informal self-employed entrepreneurs combined. (Jackson 2011.) The division of labor market in Brazil reflects the social relations of the population. The majority of informal workers are non-white women, living in north or northeast

Brazil. The mean years of schooling of this group is lower than the average and the monthly income is logically lower as well. (Schwartzman 2004a 180-181; IBGE-PNAD 2013.)

David Byrne has argued that social exclusion is a crucial contemporary form of exploitation in terms of contradiction of labor and capital. Social exclusion is not self-chosen. For Byrne social exclusion is not domination but rather it has to do with specific economic relations. The term “social exclusion” includes enormous power. The way it is used in political discourse, policy formation and implementation creates the power. The power of the phrase is also enhanced in the language of social science and academic practise. (Byrne 2005, 51-52.) Byrne argues that political and social scientific discourse cannot be separated. (Ibid. 66).

3.3 Brazil' s unequal education universe

Education is widely recognized as one of the best tools to social development (Hall & Midgley 2004). Literacy rates and school enrolment rates are often used as an indicator of social development. In developing countries especially the girls' school enrolment plays a big role (Stromquist in Lauder et al. 2006, 966-967). One of the United Nations' millennium Development Goals is to universalize basic education everywhere in the world.

In Brazil the public, tuition free and universal basic education exists, at least in theory. Basic education in Brazil is mandatory for the citizens. The constitution defines free education as a basic civil right and it is accessible also for those who did not go to school in the proper age. (Brazilian Constitution 1988 article 208). The educational system in Brazil is divided into "basic education", comprising the 8 years of fundamental education for 7-14-year- old children, and three years of "middle education" for the teenagers from 15 to 17. The higher education is divided into professional bachelor's degree (3 to 6 years of education) and post-graduation which means the master's and doctor's degrees (Schwartzman 2004b, 1). The basic education is divided in public and private institutions. At the public level, there are federal, state or municipal institutions and the private sector includes commercial and non-profit institutions (Akkari 2001, 175).

School enrolment in Brazil nowadays is high but according to Schwartzman (2004b), the problem in Brazil is not in the quantity of schools but more in the quality of education and especially public education, usually utilized by the people with lower socioeconomic backgrounds. The public institutions often lack in qualified teachers, books and other infrastructure, which causes poor results in learning and leads to a socioeconomically polarized student body in higher education. In Brazil, it

is hard to enter universities from the public primary and secondary schools. (Schwartzman 2004b, 5-6) Stromquist points out that in many developing countries, even if the schools don't have tuition fees, the costs of books, uniforms, transport and other school-related costs are often a big investment for poor families. Even if the families think that education is important, it is always a trade-off, usually between going to school and buying food. When the quality of public education remains poor, the investment isn't worth it. (Stromquist 2006, 969-970.)

According to statistics of the secretary of evaluation and management, SAGI¹⁸, the mean years of education within the poorest 20% of 25 years old or older Brazilians in 2013 was 5,62 years when the richest 20% in the same age group the mean of 10,51 years of schooling. The illiteracy rate was 8,5% in whole Brazil, but the geographical differences remain. In Northeast almost 17% of the adult population was illiterate. (SAGI 2015). In 2010 only 55% of the adult population had completed the basic education and there were 3,5 million children out of education in 2013. (IBGE 2013)

The Brazilian government has put a lot of effort into improving the access to education, and there are plenty of different scholarship programs and other social projects to enhance the quantity and quality of education. Still, on many levels using different indicators, Brazil is behind the averages of OECD countries. According to OECD's report Education at Glance 2012¹⁹, which gives broad information about the educational sector in OECD countries, Brazil has increased public expenditure on education from 10,5 % to 16,8 %, being rated as 4th in this measure of the 32 countries where the data was available and actually above the OECD average (13%). However, Brazil's overall educational budget from GDP (5,55%) is still below the OECD average (6,23%). The public expenditure per student lacks in all the levels but is closest to the OECD average in tertiary education, which shows that the educational policies and especially funding favors higher education and thereby the Brazilian elite.

Especially secondary and tertiary enrolment rates are rising, but compared to the OECD average Brazil is still far behind. In the primary level (7-15 years) enrolment rate is equal to the OECD average, 96%. One in five Brazilian youngsters (15-29) was neither in education or employed (NEET). The proportion of women in this position is bigger, probably indicating still quite traditional gender roles in Brazil. (OECD 2014b: EAG-Brazil 2012, 2-5)

¹⁸ A Secretaria de Avaliação e Gestão da Informação= A Secretary of Evaluation and Administration of Information

¹⁹ Education at Glance is published by OECD, using broad data and different indicators and is widely recognised in political decision making

In PISA²⁰ Brazil lags behind not only the OECD averages but also other Latin American countries. The latest PISA report shows that Brazilian students lack in reading, mathematics and science skills. Grade repetition rates are relatively high: more than one third of students repeat one or more years. The drop-out rates also remain high. (OECD 2014c, 5)

3.31 How education policy has reproduced educational inequality in Brazil?

There plenty of academic research about the Brazilian education system and especially its role in reproduction of social inequality. (Akkari 2001; Abrahão de Castro 2009; Ribeiro 2007 & 2009, Schwartzman 2003). Akkari has defined the four most important periods in Brazilian education policy's history which have caused the current unequal structures of the education system in the country.

The first period is 1932-1962, the liberal era. At the era of Getulio Vargas, the new public education movement "Nova Escola" was born. The most important characteristic of this period was the battle between Catholics and laics, defenders of private or public education. The roots of the private schools in Brazil are in the Catholic Church and the defenders of this system argue for freedom of choice of the parents. The Catholics "won" when public funding for the private institutions was implemented. The seed of the highly fragmented school was planted. The first period ended with promulgation of the complete education legislation in 1962. Even if this law enforced the public education, it could not help the fact that rural population and the vulnerable groups were exiled from mass education.

The second period was the time of the popular pedagogue, Paulo Freire and his pioneer work with the Basic Education Movement (MEB²¹). The most debated issue was the adult illiteracy and education's importance in the context of social movements and struggles. The third period began with the military regime in 1964. The main concerns in education policy at this time were efficiency, rationality and productivity. Large literacy campaigns were established, but the educators and academic pedagogues were against the authoritarian government and policies. The fourth period began in the early 1980's when the era of democratization slowly took place. The discussion at this time was linked to social rights of the citizens and the access to education also for the poor and

²⁰ The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a triennial international survey which aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. To date, students representing more than 70 economies have participated in the assessment. LINK: <http://www.oecd.org/education/PISA-2012-results-brazil.pdf>

²¹ Movimento Educação Basica

vulnerable children. In the contemporary discussion especially neoliberalism, privatization and decentralization have enforced the unequal structures in education. (Akkari, 2001, 163-166)

3.32 Education to enforce Human Capital or reproducing inequalities?

There are various theories about education's role in social mobility and reproduction of the social class or existing inequalities. Gary S. Becker's classic work on Human Capital theory is discussed here with the theory of different Capitals by a French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. When Becker's view is more in the equality of opportunities, Bourdieu argues that family background and cultural and social capital plays a big role in individual's life and the reproduction of the class position is mainly done through the formal education. Then I will shortly present ideas of Danish sociologist Gosta Esping-Andersen to bring a perspective of inheritance of education and inter-generational poverty. Free, public and quality education has a great role in the Nordic welfare model and this has been explained to cause social mobility between the social classes and also enforce social equality.

Human Capital refers to the economic return caused by the education of an individual. The original work was based on analysis made by Gary S. Becker in 1964. Becker's theory argues that there is a correlation between the level of education and salary of the individuals. (Becker 1964.) Since then, the Human Capital theory has been used to describe more generally the skills, ideas, knowledge and health of individuals, usually achieved through formal education. Education produces a skilled labor force and skilled educated individuals can sell their work at a better price in the labor market. In other words, individuals get better-paid jobs when they are educated. We are living not only in a capitalist but more in a human capital world, Becker argues. (Becker.2006, p 292.) The Human Capital theory is often used in debates for public, accessible basic education. The logic is that eventually the returns of education benefit the whole society, not only the individual and by this logic, the state should offer a quality education to its citizens. According to the theory, individuals will invest in their education in terms of future economic returns. In the real world, where the quality of education depends of the status of the institution and in many cases the funding, those people with low economic resources are not able to make same kind of investment as the middle class or the elite.

Human capital accumulation, like with other forms of capital, depends on social relations. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's work is based on a division of different Capitals which are economic, cultural or social capital. Cultural capital and especially its institutional state refers to education, knowledge and information. Cultural capital accumulation depends partly on an individual's social capital, which can be certain status, network or family background. (Bourdieu 2006, 105-115)

Socioeconomic background has a crucial role in the further educational status of individuals. Educational attainment is generally weaker for those coming from the lower socioeconomic groups. Usually those families with low levels of both economic and cultural capital do not manage to invest in their children's education or offer support to achieve more than the minimum. This leads to inter-generational poverty, where people stay in low, precarious jobs, caused by inheritance of education. In the Nordic countries, the inheritance of education is relatively low. There has been a lot of different analysis on this topic and it seems that the combination of public quality day care and primary education and the high level of working mothers seems to cause a low level of education inequality. (Esping-Andersen. 2006, 405)

Education is always related to existing societal relations and the education system is always a part of the bigger picture. That is why it is difficult to determine what could be the best way to organize education and if the same model would work in another society. Nonetheless it is a generally-accepted fact that poor quality in public education causes problems if at the same time there is an opportunity to receive quality, privately-funded education for those who can afford it.

Robert Putnam, American sociologist, has made pioneering research on social capital. He argues that the growing division of the social classes narrows the pool of opportunities and especially education plays a big role here. Putnam has made a broad analysis about the educational background of Americans and argues that the parents' educational status and especially a college degree has a crucial role in people's life opportunities. People whose parents have a college degree, have generally better chances in their life (Putnam 2015.)

Human Capital accumulation happens through other forms of capital, which are cultural and social capital. The unequal starting point with the capitals in the field can be smoothed out through social policies like encouraging mothers to enter the labor market through universal day care services. This has reduced child poverty at least in Nordic welfare states (Esping Andersen 2006, 405).

4. DATA, METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this chapter, I will describe the data of this study and discuss the role of evaluation research in the field of social policy and as an administrative tool of policy making. The data consists of the evaluations of Program Bolsa Família and especially its educational condition.

The condition of education means that in order to receive the monthly benefit, the beneficiary families have to send their children to school and the kids have to take part in at least 85 % of the classes. This requirement was created to strengthen the human capital of the beneficiary kids and improve their chances for a better quality of life in the future. (MDS3.) To evaluate the condition of enrolment, the simplest way is to measure the number of children who filled this condition. However this actually does not produce very interesting information about the requirement in terms of education inequality. That is why I wanted to go deeper into the evaluations and make a more profound analysis in how the condition was evaluated and how the aspect of social inequality was recognised in these evaluations.

The research problem of this study rises from the structural social inequality caused by the unequal education system in Brazil. I will focus on the educational condition of the biggest conditional cash transfer program in Brazil. I want to see how this condition has been evaluated and how (if) the aspect of inequality makes part in these evaluations. I will also raise questions if this condition has achieved its objectives and what the importance of this condition is in order to reduce educational inequality in Brazil.

4.1 What is evaluation?

According to Freeman and Rossi “*Evaluation research is the systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualization, design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programs.*” Therefore evaluators (the researchers) use the methodology of human and social sciences to judge and improve the ways in which social services are carried out, from the early stages of defining, planning, developing and implementing. (Freeman & Rossi 1993, 5.)

Evaluation research in social science uses the same scientific paradigms as other research methods. Evaluation study should always be systematic, planned and managed. It identifies, offers and obtains valid, reliable, sufficient and relevant information for the judgment of merit or value of the program

or political action. It proves the extension and the level of the results. It gives the fundamentals for rational political decision making. The important questions regarding evaluation studies are when, where, for whom, what, why, for what, who and how evaluate (Silva e Silva 2001, 49.)

As scientific research, evaluation is a relatively young approach. The first evaluations of social policies can be found prior to World War I, when some educational and health care programs were evaluated. By the 1930's, more social scientists took part in evaluative studies and developed the methods of monitoring and evaluating. Post-World War II was real boom period of evaluation studies. During this time, larger scale social policies also emerged both in industrialized and less developed countries. The public expenditures of social policies were large, and evaluation also responded to the demand of "knowledge of the results." (Freeman & Rossi 1993, 9-10.)

During the 1960's and 1970's, evaluation studies took a stronger place in the field of social policy. This was accompanied by the rise of PPBS²² (Planning, Programming and Budgeting System) in the United States and many Western societies. These plans were part of the bigger ideological vision of President Lyndon Johnson to create a good and just society and welfare state. The evaluations of the policies were part already in the planning of them. This was the first wave of evaluation research. The second wave of evaluation research can be found in the 1980's and the governments of Margaret Thatcher in England and Ronald Reagan in United States, both of whom were inspired by the neoliberal economic model and wanted to decrease the role of the government and increase market-based service production, decrease the size of governance and administration and run down the public expenditures. Since then, these kind of reforms are known as *New Public Management* (Uusikylä 1999, 20-21)

Evaluation is not only methodological application in research; it is also political and managerial activity, a part of the complex picture of designing, planning, implementation and continuance of social policy programs. Development of evaluation research is an important part of the development of social policy and public administration movements. Evaluation research in social science is always affected by the society, its cultural, ideological, political and economic environment. (Rossi & Freeman 1993, 15-24.)

Another question of evaluation research when comparing it to basic research rises from the assumption that evaluations are always made and used for some particular purpose. Evaluation's stakeholders always have a role in evaluation. Their role might affect the way evaluations are made and how the results are utilized. Ways to utilize the evaluation research's results can be dissemination,

²² Lyden & Miller 1982

diffusion and application. (Rajavaara 1999, 33-35.) The question of utilization of social science research results is actual and relevant in current science policy discussions worldwide and in Finland. There are challenges that concern evaluation research more than basic social research, such as funding, political pressure, unclear and contradicting expectations of results, and quick research schedules. (ibid, 41).

Evaluation research can also be seen as a democratic approach. In Brazil, the rise of evaluation studies was accompanied by the rise of democratization and collapse of the military dictatorship finally in 1985. The social movements demanded universal social services as civil rights and the critics claimed that the public resources were not spent to benefit the neediest ones. The multinational funders such as the World Bank and the Inter-American development bank adopted the criticisms demanding focusing, decentralization and privatization of the social policies and demanded evaluations as conditions for their investments. This development did have an impact on evaluation research as a tool of control of the governments in revealing the use of public goods and the results of these social policies. In Brazil, however, evaluation research is still developing and unfortunately still often seen as an instrument of punishment and therefore creating a culture of fear against evaluations. Evaluation research has developed as an interdisciplinary approach. In the beginning it was very economically and quantitatively orientated. Nowadays evaluation studies use all kind of methodology from quantitative and qualitative paradigms. (Silva & Silva 2014, 46-47.)

Social programs and public policies can be evaluated in terms of their efficiency, efficacy and effectivity. Effectivity can be understood as the relation between the implementation and impacts or results of the program. To make a relevant evaluation of effectivity, the causal relation should be proved. In other words, the impacts and results should be caused by the program. This relation is often hard to prove. Evaluation by efficacy can be understood as a relation of objectives and explicit instruments of a program and its results. This type of evaluation is very common since it is reliable and usually inexpensive to produce. The evaluation of efficiency is understood as a relation of the costs of human resources used in the implementation of the program and the results achieved. This type of evaluation is important especially in terms of public resources used for a specific program, and it can be seen as a democratic instrument for the tax payers to guide the policy makers to use public resources fairly, especially in countries like Brazil where political corruption remains deep in many levels of the society. The necessity for good, transparent governance is also the reason why the evaluations of public policies should be executed by external agencies. (Arretche 1996, 31-38.)

There are also critical perspectives on evaluation research and especially its role in the governance of social services. Rajavaara²³ has argued that impact evaluation as a tool of evidence-based policy does not necessarily recognize the needs and voices of those that are the objects of the impact evaluations. Impact evaluations might serve only the political elite and simplify the problems into numbers. (Rajavaara 2007, 122.)

4.2 Evaluation of Program Bolsa Família

Like mentioned before, Bolsa Família is a well-monitored and evaluated program. The evaluation is done mostly by Ministry of social development and fight against hunger (MDS), but also the academia and international organisations have shown strong interest towards the program especially in the field of development studies.

As evaluation research in general, evaluations of Bolsa Família have same kind of advantages and disadvantages. Since 2004, MDS has executed many evaluations regarding only PBF. Especially the impact evaluations have shown great success in terms of poverty reduction, education, health care and gender equity in Brazil (Fiszbein, & Schady et al. 2009). These results legitimize the continuity of the program and in the past presidential elections in November 2014 none of the candidates considered cancelling the program. In spring 2015, the political discussion in Brazil became heated because of a huge corruption scandal in the state owned oil company Petrobras, and there was relatively large social movement against President Dilma Rousseff. Slowing economic growth that led Brazil to an economic depression, added to a deep corruption scandal, displeased especially the white middle class, demanding Dilma to resign and new elections (The Guardian 8.10.2015). Transparency is more important than probably ever in Brazilian politics.

Convincing results of Bolsa Família's impact evaluations have been a big part in the discussion of Conditional Cash Transfers in academia, especially in the field of Social Science, Economics and Development studies. (For example World Bank and UND) In Finland, Bolsa Família is not well known but is sometimes referred to when discussing citizen's basic income. (Perkiö & Suopanki 2012, 8)

²³ Rajavaara, Marketta (1999) Arviointitutkimuksen hyödynnettävyys in Risto eräsaari, Tuija Linqvist, Mikko Mäntysaari & Marketta Rajavaara (toim.): Arviointi ja asiantuntijuus. Helsinki, Gaudeamus, 31-53

4.3 Describing the data

The data of this study consists of 15 evaluation reports about the educational requirement of Bolsa Família. Even though my data is compact it is quite representative in order to show the universe of evaluations in terms of educational condition of PBF. All of the evaluations are in Portuguese and this is why I did not take any samples from my data to show how it is: I decided that because of the nature of my data, showing the discourse or linguistic specifications was not as relevant as summarizing the main findings from these evaluation reports. The data was collected online from December 2014 to February 2015 while in Brazil.

I decided to concentrate on evaluation studies since I took part in a course about social program evaluation in the Brazilian university. I wanted to focus especially on the evaluations of the educational condition of the program, since this was the whole context of my thesis. I wrote my bachelor's thesis about PBF in 2011 and the interest especially in relation between PBF and education remained ever since. I did online searches from the www-pages of SAGI²⁴ (The secretary of evaluation and management of MDS programs) and MDS²⁵ (Ministry of social development and fight against hunger). I used three different word combinations (Bolsa Família + education +evaluation, Bolsa Família + education + inequality and Bolsa Família + impact + education) when doing the online search, but I still had to go through several documents to find the relevant ones. I did not use any temporal limitations because I wanted to see also the possible temporal changes in the evaluations. Therefore the data used in this study represents the whole time scale of the program Bolsa Família. Finally I chose 15 published evaluation reports or articles for analysis. I found six different publications where the reports were published: *Revista Brasileira de Monitoramento e Avaliação*²⁶ (3 articles), *10 anos de inclusão e cidadania*²⁷ Ipea/2013 (5 articles) *Bolsa Família 2003-2010 avanços e desafios vol 2*.²⁸ Ipea (1 article), *Evaluation of MDS Policies and Programs-Results: Bolsa Família Program and Social Assistance- Results, MDS 2007* (1 article), *Cadernos de estudos Síntese das pesquisas de avaliação de programas sociais do MDS*²⁹ 2011-2014 vol 16 (4 articles) and vol. 5 from 2006 (1 article). To work with the online data I used a special software called Mendeley, which made it easier to handle the big amount of PDF-documents. I started analyzing my data by doing an excel table, where I collected all the articles.

²⁴ <http://aplicacoes.mds.gov.br/sagi/portal/>

²⁵ <http://www.mds.gov.br/gestaodainformacao/disseminacao>

²⁶ Brazilian review of monitoring and evaluating

²⁷ Ten years of inclusion and citizenship

²⁸ Bolsa Família 2003-2010 advances and challenges vol 2

²⁹ Study Notebooks, synthesis of evaluations of the programs of MDS

4.3 Qualitative content analysis and organising the data

Traditionally the research methods of social sciences have been divided into quantitative and qualitative methods. Nowadays the division is not that fundamental as it used to be, but different paradigms have special features and are suitable to study different things. To decide whether to use qualitative or quantitative research methods, the researcher should first look at the research questions and the data collected and think about what kind of tools s/he needs to answer the questions using the data available. (Alasuutari 1993, 23.)

In this study I ask: *How the condition of education has been evaluated and what is the importance of this condition in terms of reducing social and educational inequality in Brazil?* The theoretical context of social inequality defines the methodology. Using evaluation studies as data also defines the context. Most of the results of these evaluations are achieved through numeric, quantitative methods. My purpose in this study is to go beyond the numbers and actually study the concepts formulated from the specific indicators from the reports. The methodological paradigm in this study is qualitative, based on the content of the texts collected.

Organising of data was done by typing, summarising, highlighting, and searching for similarities and differences. The analysis and interpretations are based on reflection in terms of the research problem and questions. Since all the material used in the analysis was searched online and was found in PDF form, I used the software called Mendeley to work with the data. It was easy to search the relevant words from the documents to see the frequency of different key words. I started to “play” with the data to have an idea about it by using key words as “frequência” (frequency), “abandono” (abandon), “desempenho” (performance) and “matrícula” (enrolment).

It is worth to notice that all these publications are actually published by Brazilian government, the MDS or SAGI. Therefore this analysis gives an overview of the evaluations of PBF by the Brazilian government during the existence of the program. This is an interesting detail in terms of the reality of evaluation research, as I could not avoid wondering whether these evaluations were fully “objective”. Evaluations as a tool for evidence-based policy are used broadly all over the world. Evaluations have become an important part of the “new public management” and in Brazil this doctrine seems to be adopted in the governance of social policy. One of the flaws of evaluation research is how the fundamentals of social welfare are argued in the reality of an evaluation-based pragmatic world. The impacts and efficiency in terms of bureaucracy and the funding of social services are displacing the discussion about what is good and just for the citizens of the state. (Rantala & Sulkunen 2007, 160).

After organising the data by publication, I organized all the articles in another Excel sheet and started to scan them through quickly looking for different indicators used in the evaluations and simply marking the indicators in Excel. I used a green colour to symbolize the positive impact and red if the results of the evaluation were negative. The colour yellow was used to mark a neutral effect or impact. At this point I realised that there were also few articles that were not actually relevant in terms of the problematization of this study. I noted these papers “irrelevant” to separate them.

Social policy is used to solve social problems, and social programs are created to respond to some social demand of society. When constructing some social programs, general and special objectives should be defined. (Silva e Silva 2001, 39.) In the case of PBF, the general objective is to reduce poverty and inequality and special objectives are defined in terms of different conditions of the program. The educational objective of the program is to increase the access to basic and second level education for the beneficiaries. To measure if the objective was reached, evaluators use *indicators*.

Indicators are the key tools in evaluation research. Indicators are used to measure the societal change in the context of the research problem, especially in impact evaluation research. Indicators can be direct or indirect. Direct indicators are derived from the objectives of the program. Indirect indicators are constructed by the researchers. To measure abstract concepts, the researchers must transform the concepts into smaller, measurable variables to draw the picture of complex, social phenomenon. (Chapter 9³⁰, 152-153.) Direct educational indicators in this case could be frequency, enrolment and drop-out rates. Indirect indicators in terms of education could be educational inequality or heritability

Figure 1: From Social problem to program evaluation.



³⁰ : Material for the course: Avaliação de programas sociais, Ana Cristina Brito Acroverde. Autumn 2014 Federal University of Pernambuco)

The figure 1 explains basically the process how the indicators are formed. First the social problem has to be identified. The objectives and special objectives of the program define what eventually should be evaluated. I have now introduced my data and methodology of this study. In the next chapter I will show how this data was analyzed and what are the main findings and results of the analysis.

5. RECOGNISING THE CAUSES OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN TERMS OF EDUCATION CONDITION OF BOLSA FAMÍLIA

In this chapter I will present the analysis, how it was performed, and the main findings of this thesis. The condition of education in PBF was evaluated by different agents but published by the Brazilian ministry of social development and fight against hunger (MDS). The purpose is not to focus only on the actual impacts of the educational requirement, even though the impacts were analyzed in many evaluations. More important here is to identify and recognize the most important indicators used in the evaluations and reflect the importance of the evaluation, but also the condition itself in terms of educational inequality.

Before analysing the data I started to reorganize it. The first reading process was not very profound. It made me understand that there are different perspectives to measure or evaluate the educational condition. I also started to take notes and highlight the most relevant parts of the reports. In qualitative social research this process is called *open coding*. (Esterberg 2002, 158). I noticed that most of the evaluations were impact evaluations. This was clear already when starting the research process. There are plenty of expectations towards this program and its impacts are discussed widely. I noticed that almost in every evaluation, the positive impacts of the program were obvious. Impact evaluation is common but in an academic sense it is not the most reliable way to prove the causalities between the program and impacts. In the perfect world, evaluations could offer valuable information for policy makers but unfortunately in the real world and especially in social science it is often quite hard to prove the causalities between the impact and the program. (Rantala & Sulkunen 2006)

When evaluating a social program, the indicators are probably the most important part of the process. The indicators might have a strong effect on the results and the evaluator has significant power in this part of the study. At this point I started to collect the indicators used in the studies to another Excel sheet and coded the impacts with different colours. Green was a positive and red a negative impact. All the impacts found in the evaluations were: frequency, enrolment, drop-out, scores in the tests and the assessments and completion. These indicators were combined with different variables and factors.

The next step in the analysis was to collect different indicators together and analyze them as a group of indicators separated from the actual evaluations. In this step, I wanted to see the indicators without a context set in the evaluation reports. I wanted to have an idea of the reality behind these. This typing would make it easier to analyze what kind of perspectives the different evaluations had. At this point, I started a more profound and structured work with the data. I started to search words frequência

(frequency refers to attendance), *acesso* (access) *desempenho* (performance) and *infraestrutura* (infrastructure) to actually see if these categories appeared in the text. While playing with the data and searching for different key words, I also realised that using these words as my evidence for the frequency of different indicators was not enough. This was because different indicators and concepts were used differently in different studies. I needed to formulate general categories which could show the main phenomenon evaluated. I created three categories which were *attendance* (frequency, enrolment, drop-out), *access* and *performance* of the students. These categories would be the basis of my analysis. This research is especially interested in social inequality and these categories would be reflected through this perspective. In the analysis I'm searching for an answer not only to the question "what has been evaluated" but also how social inequality is taken into account and what is the purpose or importance of the condition according my data.

Table1: Evaluations by Publications

Brazil, IPEA 2013: 10 anos de inclusão e cidadania	Brazil, MDS 2013: Revista Brasileira de monitoramento e avaliação	Brazil, IPEA 2010: Bolsa Família 2003-2010: avanços e desafios	Brazil, MDS: Cadernos de estudos Síntese das pesquisas de avaliação de programas sociais do MDS vol 5 2006	Brazil, MDS 2014: Cadernos de estudos: Síntese das pesquisas de avaliação de programas sociais do MDS 2011-2014 vol 16	Brazil, MDS 2007: Sumário Executivo Avaliação de Impacto do Programa Bolsa Família
Craveiro, Clélia Brandão Alvarenga & Ximenes, Daniel de Aquino: DEZ ANOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA: DESAFIOS E PERSPECTIVAS PARA A UNIVERSALIZAÇÃO DA EDUCAÇÃO BÁSICA NO BRASIL	Fahel, Murilo Cássio Xavier; França, Bruno Cabral & Moraes, Thais: O Efeito da condicionalidade educação do Bolsa Família em Minas Gerais: uma avaliação por meio da PAD/MG 02/2011	Neto, Raul da Mota Silveira: IMPACTO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA SOBRE A FREQUÊNCIA À ESCOLA: ESTIMATIVAS A PARTIR DE INFORMAÇÕES DA PESQUISA NACIONAL POR AMOSTRA DE DOMICÍLIO (PNAD)	Eduardo Rios Neto (Coordinator): AVALIAÇÃO DO IMPACTO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA	Agatte, Juliana Picoli & Antunes, Marcos Maia: CONDICIONALIDADE DE EDUCAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA: CONCEPÇÃO E ORGANIZAÇÃO DO ACOMPANHAMENTO	SUMÁRIO EXECUTIVO: AVALIAÇÃO DE IMPACTO DO PROGRAMABOLSA FAMÍLIA
Jannuzzi, Paulo de Martino & Pinto, Alexandre Rodrigues: CAPÍTULO 10 BOLSA FAMÍLIA E SEUS IMPACTOS NAS CONDIÇÕES DE VIDA DA POPULAÇÃO BRASILEIRA: UMA SÍNTESE DOS PRINCIPAIS ACHADOS DA PESQUISA DE AVALIAÇÃO DE IMPACTO DO BOLSA	Simões, Armando Amorim: A CONTRIBUIÇÃO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMILIA PARA O DESEMPENHO ESCOLAR DAS CRIANÇAS POBRES NO 04/2012			Fernandes, Flávio Cireno; Viana, Iara & Alves, Cecília Brito: ENSINO BÁSICO E TRAJETÓRIA ESCOLAR DE ESTUDANTES DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA Cecília Brito Alves	
Oliveira, Luís Felipe Batista de & Soares, Sergei S. D.: BOLSA FAMÍLIA E REPETÊNCIA: RESULTADOS A PARTIR DO CADÚNICO, PROJETO FREQUÊNCIA E CENSO ESCOLAR	Simoes, Armando: OS JOVENS QUEM NÃO TRABALHAM NEM ESTUDAM NO BRASIL: UMA ANALISE DE PERFIL, DETERMINANTES DA CONDIÇÃO E EFEITOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMILIA 6/2013 a 6/2013			Flávio, Cireno & Fernandes Iara Viana IMPORTÂNCIA DOS FATORES INTRAESCOLARES E EXTRAESCOLARES NA COMPREENSÃO DOS RESULTADOS DA PROVA BRASIL DE 2011: UM ESTUDO COM ESCOLAS QUE ATENDEM BENEFICIÁRIOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA	
Cireno, Flávio & Silva, Joana Proença, Rafael Prado: CONDICIONALIDADES, DESEMPENHO E PERCURSO ESCOLAR DE BENEFICIÁRIOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA				Macedo, Juliana Matoso POLÍTICAS PARA A INCLUSÃO NA EDUCAÇÃO BÁSICA EM CONTEXTOS DE DESIGUALDADE: CONSIDERAÇÕES A PARTIR DA EXPERIÊNCIA DA PARCERIA ENTRE PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA E PROGRAMA MAIS EDUCAÇÃO	
Campolina, Bernardo & Silveira, Fernando Gaiger & van Horn Ross: IMPACTOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA NA ALOCAÇÃO DO TEMPO ENTRE ESCOLA E TRABALHO DE CRIANÇAS E ADOLESCENTES DE 10 A 18 ANOS					

5.1 Three approaches to measure educational inequality: Access to education, Attendance in education, and Educational Performance

First step to start the actual analysis was to formulate broader categories from the indicators used in the evaluations. Indicators are usually constructed by the researchers and their purpose is to dissect an abstract concept to smaller, measurable units. For example, social inequality is often measured by the Gini coefficient, which is an indicator for the income distribution in society. In this case I wanted to define the mechanisms and features in education that might be the reasons for social inequality and caused by the unequal educational system in Brazil. When evaluating a social program, the evaluator must think how s/he could measure a social change in a society. In this case, where my data already contained the indicators, I wanted reformulate them into bigger categories to see what actually was the phenomenon needing to be measured or evaluated.

I found out three indicator categories that I interpreted to represent different paradigms or phenomena in the universe of educational inequality. These categories are Access, Attendance and Performance. The data was analyzed by using these top categories in the context of educational inequality. It is valuable to mention that in the impact evaluations these categories were green; in other words, Bolsa Família's impact in Access, Attendance and Performance was positive. However I thought it would be interesting to go beyond these impact evaluations and reflect these categories in the context of previous research and the challenges that the Brazilian education universe is facing. The final results and recommendations are based on this analysis.

Table 2 contains the indicators used in the categories of Access, Attendance and Performance. As visible in the table, there have been same indicators used in different categories. For example frequency was used to measure access and attendance and drop-out was used to evaluate performance and attendance. The context and theoretical framework of the evaluations eventually define how the results of the evaluations were interpreted.

Table 2 Indicators		
ACCESS	ATTENDANCE	PERFORMANCE
PHYSICAL ACCESS	FREQUENCY	LEARNING ASSESSMENT
FAMILY BACKGROUND AND CULTURAL CAPITAL	ENROLMENT	COMPLETION
FREQUENCY	DROP OUT	DROP OUT

5.11 ACCESS TO EDUCATION

Access to education is widely recognized as one of the main causes of social development. (Souza 2000 9). But what does it actually mean when we talk about access to education? Does access to school and education even mean the same thing? Definitely not if school is seen as a part of infrastructure, as a building, just a place to spend time and education, rather than as a social structure which is a combination of different social relations and networks and not executed just by professional educators, but also through family and society in a broader sense. Access can mean very different things in the urban city and rural countryside. Around half of the Bolsa Família beneficiaries live in rural areas where it might be physically hard to get to school. It means also different things for those who can choose from various options and for those who have only one possible option. This means considering the variety of different institutions and the wide division between public and private school. All PBF-beneficiaries go to public school. In some areas these schools are also good, but unfortunately they rarely compete in quality with private institutions.

It is sure that access is not a simply measurable indicator, but includes many different factors. Access to education can be considered as a right to education. Theoretical access is not enough, but it has to be emphasised through other inter-sectoral elements such as transportation, adequate infrastructure like buildings and classrooms, and also books, pencils, libraries and qualified teachers and a safe environment to study. The most relevant thing in this case is to analyze what this concept of *access to education* tells about the universe of education and especially the inequality in it.

Bolsa Família contributes to other public policies through its conditions. The commitment to fill the conditions is not only for the beneficiaries - municipalities and states have to guarantee the access to those services that beneficiaries need to fill the condition. This way there is an impact especially in health care and education. (Evaluation 11.) These kinds of policies have been important in developing countries where the public welfare system is weak.

Transportation is a big problem not only in rural areas where the distances might be long, but also in the big cities where traffic jams are an everyday problem. Public transportation is a common issue in the political struggles in Brazil, and in the past years there has been a lot of political frustration against poor public infrastructure. For minimum income workers, the prices are very high and the system is ill-working. It is common that people spend 2-3 hours in traffic jams every day.

As mentioned before, education doesn't mean only schools and other equipment enabling teaching and learning. Education is a social process and the actors are both learners and teachers. The pedagogical qualifications are a key to quality education. As argued in many studies of education

policies in Brazil, the main concern is the lack of quality and a very deep gap between institutions. The learner or student instead becomes a passive actor in the educational process.

Historically, Brazil has succeeded excellently in the expansion of primary education. In theory access to education is secured. However, the drop-out rate still remains very high and it is highly more probable that a poor kid drops out or does not enter the secondary level than a middle class or rich kid. Drop-out rate can be seen as an indicator of access, but the reasons to quit school are ambiguous. Usually the drop-outs are already adolescents and might start working, get pregnant or get involved in criminal actions. (Evaluation 4.)

Half of the poor people didn't finish basic education In the same report, the authors discuss the access to education for the poor. It is not only that people cannot physically reach the school; the obstacles may remain deep in the family's culture or traditions. For example, there might exist expectations to start working already as a young child in order to contribute to the income of the family. Those families expecting their children to work probably don't value the higher education since the results of this education, such as better jobs and higher salaries, are not accessible either. (Evaluation 4.)

The international concept of NEET (neither in employment nor in education or training) fits well those kinds of young drop-outs that do not study or work. In this case the NEETs can also represent the parents of the beneficiary families. In Brazil, the definition is a 15-24-year-old who is not in secondary or higher education and does not work. The data contains one article about NEETs and plenty of criticism is levelled towards the problematic definition. What if these people are taking care of their kids or elders, are searching actively for a job or are sick? Should they be defined as a social problem called NEET? In Finland, in the same context, we talk about the excluded people The definition is problematic since it creates a discourse where many social problems like unemployment, poverty, sickness or substance abuse problems are not seen; instead the only label that people have is the stigma of a marginalized person. (Evaluation 3.)

One thing worth discussing in the case of Bolsa Família is that should there be some conditions of education to the parents of the families as well. What if they are an 18-year-old school drop-out and do not have one day's experience in the formal labor market? This might be the reality of many of the beneficiaries. The majority of the Brazilian NEETs are women from the lowest income quintile. To present one interesting character of the profile of the NEETs, 28% of them are black women who have always been discriminated in the Brazilian labor market.

Like mentioned before, Bolsa Família faces a lot of criticism also. There are critics saying that it is immoral to give money for people who just stay home and do nothing. Criticism always exists, but

these voices are not familiar with the racial discrimination of the labor market and the inheritance of education in Brazil. These “immoral lazy people” who get this financial support without doing anything are actually poor black women for whom a formal, qualified job is a lot harder to get than the white, educated and middle-class people. One interesting notion of the NEET article writers was also the lack of kindergarten. The lack of pre-school pedagogical activities has an interesting connection to the learning outcomes and the assessment scores that I will have a look at later on. (Evaluation 3.)

The education level of the teachers and the infrastructure of the schools are important in terms of access as well. More educated and experienced the teachers are, better scores their students got in the assessments of Prova Brasil. The infrastructure of the schools also vary a lot. Some schools might not have running water or proper sanitation, separated class rooms and teachers’ offices, libraries, computers or other basic equipment. This has an impact also on learning outcomes; weaker infrastructure produce weaker results on the tests. (Evaluation 12.)

5.12 ATTENDANCE

School attendance in this research refers the specific indicators used in the evaluations of PBF’s educational conditions. I found different indicators used to measure the school attendance of the beneficiary children. They were *frequency*, *drop-out* and *enrolment*. The most used indicator seems to be frequency. This is a logical choice of the evaluators, since frequency is already defined in the conditions of the program. The beneficiary children should attend 85 % of classes.

The most common angle used in the reports was simply to measure the frequency which in this case means how frequently the pupils attended the classes. To fill the condition, the children of the beneficiary families have to attend 85% (children) or 75% (adolescents) of the classes. The schools and municipalities are also responsible for monitoring the attendance rates and collecting information about the beneficiary children. This data gives the officials important information about the social risks these children and families may be in.

Attendance especially in developing countries is a common indicator to measure the level of schooling. In the UN’s Millennium development goals, one target was to achieve universal primary

education³¹ and this target is filled in Brazil where the enrolment rate is high, 98% according to the latest data of SAGI. The problem is not that kids do not go to school, but rather what they learn there and how the education benefits their further life. One of the traditional problems since expansion of primary education in Brazil has been the high rate of repetition causing even “over-enrolment”, when the rate of kids in the schools is higher than the existing age group (Souza 2000, 9-10; Soares 2004, 69).

The positive impact on school attendance of the children of beneficiary families is widely recognised in the evaluations. When comparing the frequency rates, all the evaluations analyzed here show that those children receiving Bolsa Família attend class more frequently than the average children in the public schools.

Simon Schwartzman has criticized the educational condition in PBF, since the quality of education still remains very low especially in public institutes, which is one of the most crucial reasons causing the educational inequality and can be fixed only through decent education policy, not with social programs like PBF. He actually suggests that all the conditions should be removed in order to guarantee the execution of the social right to minimum income of the beneficiaries. (Evaluation 1.)

Repetition may also cause boredom and low self-esteem to the pupils and eventually lead to dropping out, leaving people without basic education. Inadequate education marginalizes people from the formal labor market and leaves them in a vulnerable place without social security. Also, measuring frequency in the last grades of schooling gives relevant information about the actual development of the education level of the people in most vulnerable position, since those people have already passed the lower grades. (Evaluation 1.)

To evaluate the attendance in schooling presumes that their presence in class automatically guarantees that children learn the skills they will need in their further life. Unfortunately, there is a big variety in the quality of Brazilian education, especially between public and private institutions, and the PBF beneficiaries automatically go to public schools because they are free. In many of the evaluations, the Human capital theory is taken as one of the justifications of the condition. It is certainly accepted that education and schooling enforces the human capital, but in this case where the only accessible education is weak quality, there should be other indicators than just attendance in the schools. A serious problem in Brazil is functional illiteracy: people might technically be able to read and write

³¹ Goal2: Achieve Universal primary education: Target 2a: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling

but do not understand what they are reading or cannot express themselves in written form. Some estimates assume that 75% of Brazilians were functionally illiterate in 2000 (Araujo e Oliveira 2004, 41 in Brock and Schwartzman). This is a huge disadvantage in the context of other civil rights. For example, Brazilian bureaucracy is very complicated and corruption of the civil servants is deep-rooted. It might be hard to be able to promote one's interest even when being highly educated. When being practically unable to read and write and without a social network, it is basically impossible.

In some evaluations, attendance was analyzed in a deeper sense. For example, one of the evaluations evaluated the time between school and work. Child labor in Brazil is reality. Kids work often in the streets where they are predisposed to get involved with criminal actions, drugs or even prostitution. Unfortunately, in the particular evaluation, the results showed that the time between work and school did not change much between the beneficiaries and not-beneficiaries. (Evaluation 14.) This theme, however, is very important and there should be further research about child labor and if Bolsa Família could have an impact on the decrease of child labor. There are also social programs to reduce child labor in Brazil. PBF is not the only way to fight against this problem.

Attendance is a logical indicator, since the frequency is already defined in the terms of the program and of course it has to be monitored and evaluated. However, instead of glorifying only the achievements based on increase in numbers, the critical analysis of the learning outcomes and the actual benefits of the education should be evaluated also. The most significant burdens of real Human Capital development of the beneficiaries are the bad quality of the education and insufficient income; parents are not able to invest in their children's education even if they wanted to and valued and prioritized education. The division between public, free and unfortunately low-quality education private, for-profit and high quality education is a fundamental problem in the Brazilian education system.

In the next chapter I will analyze the performance of the students and quality of education more deeply.

5.53 PERFORMANCE

Academic performance of the beneficiary children was one of the widely-used indicators in the evaluations analyzed (9 mentions). Academic performance is also an indicator of the quality of education. The performance or test results are usually weaker in the public schools and those schools with high a rate of people with a lower socioeconomic background.

Many countries use special tests to measure the academic skills of a certain age cohort. There are two main national evaluations of education in Brazil: A Prova Brasil (Brazil Exam) and the National System for Basic Education Evaluation. In many evaluations, Prova Brasil was used to show the development in performance of the beneficiary children. The objective of these evaluations is to evaluate the quality of Brazilian education by the learning assessment in Portuguese language and mathematics. The test includes also questioners about the socio-economic background of the students. The tests are done in 4th and 8th grades. Also the teachers and school managers answer the questions to collect information about demographic data, professional profiles and the working conditions. Using a combination of this data, the ministry of education and the secretaries of the states and municipalities should define the actions to improve the quality and equality of the education. The data is also open and accessible for everyone who wants to use it for research or political actions. (MEC ³²– prova brasil)

The beneficiary children perform weaker in the Prova Brazil than average pupils in Brazil. The data shows that there are multiple reasons for this. First, the PBF beneficiaries often go to public, rural schools where the quality of the teaching is weak and the infrastructure of the schools is poor. Another reason for the weak performance is that family background has an influence on how children succeed in school. Many of the parents might be practically illiterate or functionally illiterate without basic education. It is hard to get any encouragement or help with homework, for example. As mentioned before, access to kindergarten could be one solution to enforce these kids' cognitive skills already before primary school. Pre-school could improve the ability to learn, but it would also facilitate the mothers of the children to get a job and in this way combat their precarious situation.

The geographical and socio-economic differences in Prova Brasil are obvious. Those schools with a high rate of poor students perform weaker in the tests. Castro, Alves & Neto have studied the performance of the beneficiary children to see the impact of PBF on learning outcomes. The indicators used in this study were categorized in intra-educational and extra-educational indicators. For example frequency (attendance), enrolment and performance were intra-educational indicators and family background, income, race, gender, professors' education and experience, the school administration and infrastructure were categorized as extra-educational indicators. (Evaluation 12.)

This approach is important, since the quality of the education is not a very simple concept. The learning environment has an impact, but the students and their socio-economic background also have

³² <http://portal.mec.gov.br/prova-brasil-sp-1699645092>

an influence on quality. The problem is that poor people are often isolated in their own communities and do not interact with other socio-economic classes. Being poor doesn't automatically mean that the learning outcomes will be weak, but it most definitely has an influence on how these students and the families are committed to the education. The authors, however, argue that when the infrastructure of the school is being improved, the results in the tests (Prova Brasil) are getting better. Their result is that those schools with a high rate of poor students need extra attention to the infrastructure and the training of the teachers. For example, the size of the school does matter and in smaller schools, the test scores are better.

There is proof that the time and the amount of the benefit has an impact on educational performance of the beneficiary children. The results of Armando Amorim Simões show that this kind of conditional social policy can improve learning outcomes, but it cannot be the only solution. These families are suffering from various social problems that need special attention. The quality of schooling is one thing that should be taken into account so that the beneficiary kids would have the same opportunity to quality education as everyone else. (Evaluation 2.)

5.2 Intergenerational poverty and lack of quality in education cause social and educational inequality and social exclusion

Educational inequality recognized in the data was connected to two bigger phenomena causing the inequality. These themes are *intergenerational poverty and quality of education* (or lack of it). I found these by highlighting the similarities from my notes and repeated mention of Intergenerational poverty and quality appeared. When analyzing attendance, access and performance I bumped into intergenerational poverty or quality (or lack of it) or both constantly. The categories are linked to each other also in the sense that usually those coming from the lower social classes (poor people) do not have the opportunity for quality education. Without quality education (or formal qualifications) it is quite hard to gain a quality job, which leads to lower income, and the vicious cycle is ready.

To cut this cycle, the schools should have a broader understanding of plurality and heterogeneity of the pupils and see the challenges that the socio-economic background brings. The diversity of the pupils should not be considered something that must be dissolved, but rather seen as a strength. A famous Brazilian pedagogue and pioneer of the critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire's (1971) work "pedagogy of the oppressed" argues that traditional school reproduces the existing societal position of the excluded or oppressed population. Freire believed that to be able to struggle against their

oppressor the oppressed should learn critical literacy, to be able to question their oppressed societal position in the context of race, gender and class. This is a way to revolutionary empowerment of the oppressed and the only way they can achieve their dignity and power. (McLaren 2009, 212-215)

The lack of quality is a huge problem in Brazilian education and it was also widely recognized in the data. Quality is linked to performance. In the national tests, the public schools often score lower than the private institutions. Infrastructure in the public schools is usually weaker. The class size is big and teachers are not well paid. All this combines with the fact that the socio-economic background at the macro level correlates with learning outcomes; poor and uneducated parents' role in their children's education is a lot less than with the children of educated families. The social and cultural capitals are in a key role here. To be able to study and succeed in the studies, children need to have time for the school and the parents need to invest their time and money also. Even if the school is a free public institution, the children will need other equipment like uniforms, books, pencils, money for transportation etc.

Esping-Andersen has highlighted the meaning of mothers' employment and access to day care services in eradicating child poverty. He thinks that the education policy's role is actually often exaggerated when it comes to inheritance of social class. He argues that actually an education policy's aim could be only to make sure that the education system does not reproduce the existing social class. (Esping-Andersen 2006, 405) This might be adequate in Scandinavia where all children go to public school, but in the case of Brazil, education policy might have lot of innovative possibilities to enforce the human and cultural capital of the excluded population such as the poor.

5.3 What is the purpose and importance of the condition regarding these evaluations?

Bolsa Família's purpose is to narrow the gap between different social classes and bring relief to those families living in poverty. The intergenerational poverty and broader misery such as lack of education weakens the opportunities of the poor for social mobility. Intergenerational poverty is also seen as a burden for the universalization of basic education. The poor are a lot less educated than the middle class or rich. Majority of the school drop-outs are poor. On the other hand, low levels of education cause poverty when people enter only the informal labor market or stay in less qualified jobs.

There are different perspectives on requirements and conditions among scholars and critics. Some think that absolutely there have to be conditions and the conditions probably have a greater impact than the actual cash transfer and are the instrument to guarantee social rights and by that reduce intergenerational poverty. Some think that the conditions are absolutely necessary and the

government should supervise them even more strictly. Others think that it is against universal social rights that some groups have to fill certain conditions to earn the very minimum standards of living and that this is not fair since these families are the ones in the most vulnerable situation, who probably have other difficulties as well and even stricter rules would be too hard to fill. (Evaluation 1.)

In many evaluation reports, there is a mention of Human Capital (4 mentions) accumulation as one of the reasons to include an education requirement in PBF. It is hard or impossible to have a quality job without basic education and basic cognitive skills. Unfortunately, a bigger problem than access to education is the low quality of the public schools. Basically all the PBF beneficiary children go to public schools. This is why it is not so simple to make interpretations of Human Capital increase of the PBF. It would be interesting to follow some beneficiary groups to see how they success in their further life, for example what kind of jobs will they get in the future.

In some evaluations other indicators to make more profound interpretations were used. Evasion, progress (performance) and allocation of the time between work and school were also studied. The interesting result for the time used to study or to work was that those children benefitting from Bolsa Família seem to work less. Other social programs like PETI³³ and Bolsa Escola (ancestor of PBF) are probably affecting this issue as well. The better earnings of the family probably reduce the need for the kids of the family to work and contribute to the family's economy. (Evaluation 5.)

Bolsa Família has had an important influence on Brazilian social policy. It has put the family in the centre of the social protection which means that instead of looking at an individual's income or rights to social benefits, the whole family forms a unit and by following the conditions of the program, the quality of life should be improved especially for the mothers and the children of the families. At the same time, the families commit to follow the "rules" of the program which makes them more like subjective actors than just targets of the actions of the authorities. It has also simplified the social service sector by combining different services and it connects the actions of the federation, the states and the municipalities.

The educational condition of PBF was also seen as a tool to follow the beneficiary children together with the schools. Another reason given was to make the educational policy more inter-sectoral and more inclusive for those in a vulnerable situation. There are many problems in quality in public schools where the PBF beneficiaries go. The scholars, however, see that the challenges with quality are not simple to overcome. This is because the socio-economic situation of the pupils also reflects

³³ o Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (PETI)
Program for eradicate child labor

on their learning outcomes. Serious social problems like lack of sanitation and malnutrition still remain, and these problems cannot be solved through education.

Craveiro and Ximenes argue that to measure frequency is important because through that it is easy to

- 1) Identify those who are out of school and bring the access to school to them
 - 2) Evaluate the appearance of low frequency and mobilize the protection network to eradicate the violation of rights to education
 - 3) Fortify the network of the partners to contribute in improvement of the actions - for example by rotation of the municipal technicians to monitor the necessity of strategic programs for continuity.
- (Evaluation 4.)

According to data the principal objective of the educational condition is to help inclusion, permanency and progression of the education of the poor families' children. The condition should work as a warning light for the public authorities to enforce the equality of the educational path of all the children regardless about their socio-economic background. The condition should bring attention to all the society working with the educational issues.

When the condition of education is carefully monitored, it bring relevant information about the challenges these children are facing. By recognising the challenges the social workers are familiar with the different reasons and motives for dropping out, for example. This information makes it easier to notice other social risks these children may face in their lives. Many poor children are at risk to get involve with drugs and other crime, for example. The authors will be also able to create more inclusive, inter-sectoral educational policies which include perspectives of multicultural and other aspects of social dimension combined with inclusive pedagogical approaches.

The educational condition of Bolsa Família affects attendance in primary and secondary level and the abandonment in both levels has decreased. In this way, the condition has reached the objectives of the program. Evaluations of performance, however, have revealed the problems in the quality of education. This is an important notion and there have been several initiatives to improve the quality of education and take the socio-economic background of the children more into consideration. (Evaluations 4 & 5.)

Parent's educational level has a correlation on educational performance. If the parents' don't have many years of education or probably are functionally illiterate, they might not value or prioritize the education of their children. Another issue is that they are probably not able to help their kids with

homework or other school related issues. The results of Bolsa Família's contribution to lower drop-out rates, approval of the basic and secondary education and the capacity improvement of the public sector are impressive. (Evaluation 4.)

The educational condition of PBF was also seen as a strategic tool to overcome social vulnerability. By taking more responsibility of their children's education, the parents might change their own attitude towards education also. It is not just seen as a mandatory phase of life but an instrument to guarantee a better future for their offspring.

5.4 What are the challenges of the condition, especially in terms of social mobility and educational inequality?

Despite the convincing results of Bolsa Família's impacts on access and attendance in education and the improving performance, there are some challenges that were recognized in the evaluations. One thing that is clear is that PBF has succeeded in changing the Brazilian social policy to a more targeted, family oriented one. It is targeted to the poorest of the poor and there is a perspective to help not only the existing poor but also to cut the circle of inter-generational poverty which causes social inequality and exclusion on many levels.

There are several conditions and requirements in Bolsa Família and their purpose is to guarantee access to basic social services, and also to give an incentive to the states and municipalities to make sure that relevant infrastructure and services exist so that the beneficiaries are able to fill the conditions. However, there are few challenges that these conditions and especially the educational condition have in terms of the program's objectives.

1) The cycle of inter-generational poverty

Robert Putnam has argued that the family background and especially parents' educational status has a strong impact on opportunities of their children's life. Brazil is a very different country than for example USA since it never had a wide middle class as in USA. The majority of the people in Brazil have always been, if not poor, at least living a very low-standard life. But I still dare to argue that the same mechanisms work in Brazil as well. During the 2000's, the social policy changed radically, but the important question is, did it change the structures behind the modest life of the majority. Actually we cannot even see the impacts of the educational condition in terms of social mobility or social inequality. Now it could be actually possible to start the evaluation of the first beneficiaries from 2004 and see, for example, if those kids went to school longer than their parents. Even if they did, it would be quite difficult to prove that it was because of the conditional cash transfer their parents got.

2) The quality of education

The poor quality of public education was widely recognized in the evaluations analyzed in this study. Bolsa Família cannot improve the quality of poor education or pay better salaries for the teachers. But it is certain that the program has revealed the problems in the quality of public education. The poor quality is a major cause for such inequalities in education and it blocks the children's and adolescents' educational path to secondary and higher education.

The condition of education could have impacts on structural causes of discrimination. The prejudices about lazy, poor people still remain strong. Education reproduces discrimination and prejudices and the ideal situation would be that in spite of the socio-economic background the children from different social classes would go to the same schools. In Brazil's case this is rather utopistic since the education system has been so polarized during the past hundred years. Before this ideal situation, the only way is to guarantee that there is access to quality, free public education. The quality of public primary schools should improve a great deal so that the privileged middle class could even imagine to enrol their kids in public schools also.

3) The multiple social problems and exclusion.

Bolsa Família has had an important role in participating the citizens and involving them in public policies. The registration to a single registry is an important step, but on the other hand, only those with a permanent address can register. There are millions of families living in the streets, in unofficial shanty towns and in rural areas where they do not have an address. All these are automatically excluded from the PBF. Bolsa Família works best for the families in the risk of misery but who are not totally excluded from society. There are still multiple serious social problems such as malnutrition, lack of sanitation and housing, drug abuse or mental problems, and these problems need special actions of social workers and other civil servants.

For example, the city I lived, Recife, is just one example of the bad housing policy and violation of the rights of the residents of the favelas³⁴. At least until now, the Brazilian economy has been booming and there is a huge business of elite real estate. This combined with the summer 2014 Champions league and 2016 Olympics has led to huge renovations of the biggest cities in Brazil. Unfortunately the need for infrastructure is often planned by the politicians and business elite, and the communities that are the targets are not involved in the process. Whole neighbourhoods are torn down and people living there are forced to move to other, probably more expensive areas. Sometimes these people end

³⁴ Favela is a Portuguese word for a poor neighbourhood in the cities. In the biggest cities like Rio de Janeiro and Salvador da Bahia, majority of the inhabitants live in Favelas.

up living in the streets because they cannot afford to rent or buy a house. In Recife, there was a social movement called Ocupe Estelita and Coque (r) existe³⁵ protesting against the housing and construction policies overtaking the poor neighbourhoods. In Rio de Janeiro, many favelas are pacified by the military police which is fighting the drug traffic and other criminal gangs that are ruling these neighbourhoods. Unfortunately these actions have caused thousands of civil victims (usually black boys) that do who have anything to do with the criminal leagues. The residents of these favelas are worried because the violence that used to be caused by the criminals is turning into violence caused by the police.

Poor people in Brazil might suffer from many different kinds of social problems which might cause low learning outcomes. Brazil is a huge country, and political projects like providing a house for everyone is a huge task and cannot be achieved easily.

4) Discrimination: race, gender, malnutrition, sanitation problems, housing,

Despite the reputation of being a melting pot of different races, ethnicities and colours, Brazil is a racist society. The racism in Brazil is different from the racism that Western Europe is facing in terms of the biggest amount of refugees and asylum seekers since World War II. Brazilian racism is quiet and structured. The Latin macho culture, sometimes even misogyny, is also still very common. In the most vulnerable position in Brazilian society are the black women who are the majority of the poorest, they are generally discriminated in the labor market and often face sexual harassment and abuse.

There is evidence that Bolsa Familia has had a positive impact on women's empowerment. The Cash Transfer is paid to the mothers of the families, which has increased their economic autonomy over their husbands. When the women of the families are raised to be the managers, taking the responsibility of filling the conditions, the women have gained more power than ever before. This enforces their civil rights through better understanding how public policies work and how to deal with the officers and bureaucracy.

Bolsa Família's educational condition is widely evaluated. The perspective of inequality is well recognized and the multiple causes of it identified. The data of this study shows that the most crucial causes of inequality in education and in a broader social sense are inter-generational poverty and the poor quality of education. These are the main issues that should be combated in the current and future social policy in Brazil. Bolsa Família has changed the focus of Brazilian social policy towards the neediest. By focusing on the whole family and especially on the children and their education and

³⁵ Occupy Estelita and Coque (r)exist. Estelita and Coque are poor neighbourhoods and the city of Recife is planning to build tower buildings and other facilities for the elite.

health care, the objective of the program is really to overcome the unequal social structures and break the cycle of inter-generational poverty.

In the evaluations of PBF, the poor people are often defined as *vulnerable*. The definition of vulnerable easily refers to some kind of disability which could be physical or mental. Defining the poor and socially excluded population as vulnerable, almost as sick, made me wonder about the difference between vulnerability and exclusion. At least I interpreted vulnerability as something probably inherited, as a natural life condition, whereas exclusion refers more (Byrne 2006) to social relations and economic structures that are causing unequal positions in the society. In Brazil, the structural exclusion is extremely strong because of the history of colonialism and slavery which still have their visible influence in the society. There are multiple political action and social policy models that can slowly change these positions. For example, equal access to quality education could be one.

Human capital was clearly recognized as one of the keys to social development in the data. Human Capital refers to skills, knowledge or education that leads to better income not only for the individual but also for the whole society when the labor is more educated and qualified for the higher productivity occupations. (Becker 1964) Increasing human capital therefore promotes economic growth of the country. Economic growth has been one of the main objectives of Brazilian politics during late 2000's. The Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) was launched in 2007 and even though the program contains many social elements, the focus is in the economy. Brazilian Social policy's fundamentals are rooted in neo-liberal basis. This has been the story even under leftist government. (Kulta 2013, 43-44)

Strengthening the human capital of the beneficiaries have been one of the objectives of the program but in terms of social inequality I argue that the cultural capital is even more relevant than the human capital. This is because it seems that cultural capital which in this case refers to family's socio-economic situation or cultural capital seems to have a crucial effect on the learning skills of the beneficiary children. Brazilian primary and secondary education universe is highly polarized basically on wealthy middle class private institutions and poor public schools. In this light the education policies should focus to improve the quality of the public schools but also to pay attention to the special needs of the students from low-income and low-educated families.

6. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes the main findings of this study and discusses its limitations. The problematization of this study was to find out how Bolsa Família's educational condition was evaluated by the federal agents, especially MDS, in Brazil and how the aspect of social and educational condition was taken into account. The theoretical basis of this study lies in the theories of Human Capital by Gary Becker, Cultural capital by Pierre Bourdieu and the theories about inheritance of socio-economic conditions by Gosta Esping-Andersen.

The condition of education is widely evaluated, and the aspects of social inequality and the program's contribution in reducing inequalities and enforcing human capital were clearly identified. In most of the evaluations, the methodology of the research was quantitative and the indicators used in the studies were numeric. I think that this was partly because of the limitations of the data set in the first place. The data consists mostly of impact evaluations where the paradigm of quantitative research is common. The data collected by the federal and state agents of the BF beneficiaries is huge, since there are around 14 million families benefitting from the program. There is of course qualitative research with smaller samplings, but it was understandable that in the evaluations the focus is in the bigger masses. The monitoring made by municipalities and different authors in public policy offers interesting data about the beneficiaries.

The quantitative paradigm is actually widely used, especially in impact evaluation research. There are some limitations that the evaluator or researcher should remember in terms of credibility of this scientific research. The social reality is diverse and to prove if some consequences were caused by some specific policy is difficult. For example, the school attendance rate of the Bolsa Família beneficiaries has increased, but was it only because of the policy, we cannot quite say.

The registration into the single register (for social services) has been a remarkable improvement for the beneficiaries in terms of their civil rights. This has been an important step for Brazilian civil society and the social security infrastructure of the country. It has also pointed out the fact that many poor people do not have a house. To register into the single register one must have an address. Therefore the people living in the streets do not basically have civil rights.

6.1. Three approaches to educational inequality in the evaluations of Bolsa Família's educational condition

I found three main categories for the several indicators used in the evaluations of educational condition of Bolsa Família, the most important current conditional cash transfer program in Brazil. These categories were Access to education, Attendance in education and Performance of the beneficiary children. I analyzed all these approaches in the context of (educational) inequality. When analyzing my data I asked questions like “How is the aspect of inequality taken into account, what is the definition of inequality here or what is the social problem behind this particular indicator or what kind of social change was measured?”

Attendance in education tells how people take part in formal education. In Brazil, the attendance in basic education is at the level of OECD average and the average educational level or the years of schooling has increased in the past 15 years. Still there is a huge gap in the average years of schooling between the rich and poor. The poor people are more likely to drop out or skip secondary education. I realized that when talking about *access to education*, we have to take into account many other aspects than just the physical barriers like lack of schools or transportation or books and pencils. The access is not only a physical but also a mental and social concept. Especially the poor and those at risk for poverty might have a completely different idea and expectations about formal education and the possible benefits of it.

The phenomenon of inheritance of education is global and it exists in every society, even in the most equal ones like Finland. Pierre Bourdieu has argued that cultural capital has an impact on the education level of the people. The middle class and elite's children enter higher education more probably than working class. In countries where the education level is high, where everyone finishes basic education, inheritance still remains in higher education. Robert Putnam has showed that the educational status effects not only to the children's cognitive skills and educational level but also many other opportunities in their life. In countries like Brazil, where the majority of the workers are low skilled, inheritance exists even in basic education.

Performance was the third main category of the indicators used to evaluate the condition of education. It was clearly seen that there is a great difference in progress between different socio-economic classes. The BF beneficiaries are obviously the poorest of the society and this also led to weak performance in assessments. The BF students, however, performed a bit better than the average of those in the same socioeconomic situation. The more committed attendance in the class might have had an influence. Performance and assessment results have a connection to educational inequality also. It is widely recognised that poor children going to public schools do weaker in national tests

like Prova Brasil. The quality of the schooling is no doubt a big part of the problem but there are also social and cultural differences in the life styles and habits of the poor and rich. Like Putnam has researched the social capital and its importance in education in the United States. He argues that rich parents invest not only more money but also more time in their children's lives and this impacts their cognitive skills. This is seen already in the lives of middle class and working class. (Putnam 2015.) We can only imagine what kind of effect a parents' educational history has when talking about extremely poor, probably illiterate people.

Access, attendance and performance in this case represent the bigger categories of the indicators used in these evaluations. After formulating these I went back to the social phenomenon behind these indicators and asked from my data how was the social inequality taken into account. I realised that all these categories formulated had a connection to two broader phenomena which were inter-generational poverty and the quality of education. I found out that they were the strongest causes of the inequality. One of the objectives of BF is to combat the inter-generational poverty and it was also recognized in the evaluations. Lack of quality in public education instead is something that BF wasn't planned to struggle against. However, the evaluations of performance of the BF children have showed the poor quality, and the politicians and public officers are forced to face the problem. Inter-generational poverty and the poor quality of public education can be therefore said to be the main issues in current social policy in Brazil.

Increase of Human Capital of the beneficiaries was seen as tool to broader human development. Human capital is strongly linked to economic growth and individual's better position in the labor market. I noticed that the discourse differs from for example Nordic discussion where the objective of social policy often rises from the social rights of the citizens. In Brazil the current constitution also defines universal social rights but social development is basically always seen through economic development. Neoliberal regimes has brought these kind of discussions to Finnish debates of social policy.

6.2 The significance of this study

This study brings a simple overview about the program Bolsa Família and its evaluation, especially in terms of educational and social inequality. Even though PBF is a huge initiative in Latin America, it is not very well known in Finnish or European Social policy research. In this light I find it important to introduce new, not-known social policy program in the Finnish social policy discussion. For

example the discussion about the significance of the conditional requirements of social welfare programs could bring interesting perspectives to ongoing debate.

In Finland we are facing many challenges in welfare policies. The current government is passing hard austerity measures in order to cut public expenditures and create employment. At the same time, there is much discussion about social assistance: should we reform the social security system more toward conditional than universal social security, which has been the case in Finland and other Nordic countries during many decades? The government wants to cut unemployment benefits in order to activate the unemployed or abandon the universal right of the child to day-care. On the other hand, the government is introducing a trial for non-conditional basic income. This would be a huge reform in Finnish social policy. (Ratkaisujen Suomi: Prime Minister Juha Sipilä's Government's Program.) I realise that Brazil may seem to be a bit far away to an example of a benchmark country. It is true that the basis of social policy is different when such a big part of the population is poor. But I think that even the welfare states like the Nordic countries should be open to new ideas and reflect the policies of the different societies also. I found the time I spend in Brazil, really inspiring since they are building their welfare state when in Finland it rather seems that we are tearing down ours.

This study introduces a perspective to evaluation studies not only in Brazil but in a broader sense. Rantala & Sulkunen have argued that the role of evaluation research is growing fast. The knowledge-based policy is something that is often referred to, but the question lies rather in the details of the evaluation: who has ordered, who planned and who executed the evaluation? All these questions matter when the results are used to judge or justify political actions. While in Brazil the evaluation studies are often seemed as revealer of the truth, I realised that in Finnish discourse we often refer to power of the consultants and might see the evaluations rather as a tool to shut down discussion and hurry up decision making processes when there is "an objective evaluation" behind the political and often clearly ideological decision. It is important to realise that such a thing as objective political choice or even evaluation doesn't exist.

6.3 Possibilities for further academic investigations

I see that there might be many paths to go on for further researcher in the context of Bolsa Família and educational inequality. There is huge amount of data collected of the beneficiaries and it is an interesting question how this data is going to be used in the future.

One of the interesting perspectives could be the development of the social capital of the beneficiaries. Also to follow the further life of the families would be interesting. What happens, for example, to the educational level of these kids whose families gained from the BF compared to other poor kids? Of course the whole concept of inequality in Brazil is a complex one, including also the race, gender and geographical differences. One perspective to improve the BF could be to focus to the parent's education also. Especially, there are many young women who had babies as teenagers and probably are school drop-outs themselves. As we know that educational status impacts the children's educational progress also, it might be worth trying to offer a chance to go back to school for the drop-out parents and offer a possibility to take their children to day-care.

An educational policy's results are not seen immediately and it takes a while to see the impact of different initiatives. Education affects many levels of the society and the "ship turns slowly". It would be interesting to investigate the education level of the PBF children and compare it to the average years of schooling within the poorest population in Brazil. The welfare state project is however slow. For example in the early 1990's there was a huge economic depression in Finland and many cuts in public expenditures were made. These cuts hit education, public health care and families with children. After almost 25 years, we can see that the age cohort born in 1987 has suffered hard because of these policies. For example, rates of criminal actions and mental problems are relatively higher in this age group than average Finnish young adult. (THL — Raportti 52/2012). It would be interesting and valuable to do the same kind of macro-level age cohort research about the children receiving Bolsa Família

Brazil is facing big economic and political challenges at the moment. The country is suffering from the deepest and longest economic recession since the great depression of the 1930's (Helsingin Sanomat 30.8.2015). The current president Dilma is facing extremely harsh criticism and millions of Brazilians are demanding impeachment of the President. (The guardian 8.10.2015) While writing this thesis, Dilma visited in Finland. Finnish education system is well-known abroad and this was a main reason to Brazil's President's visit also. (Helsingin Sanomat 20.10.2015.) It might get complicated to finance all the public services when the economy is not growing. Bolsa Família has gained lots of positive attention and the results and the impacts of the program are impressive. Hopefully the program won't turn into *o projeto* (a project) like many other initiatives in the field of social policy in Brazil. It should rather be the fundament for the Brazilian welfare state.

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MDS 1: What is Bolsa Família?

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MDS 2: How does it work?

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MEC: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/prova-brasil-sp-1699645092> (read 11.10.2015)

United Nations's Millennium Development Goals:

<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/education.shtml> (read 11.10.2015)

Appendix 1

Data: The evaluation reports analysed in this study

Revista Brasileira de monitoramento e avaliação:

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2. Simões, Armando Amorim: A CONTRIBUIÇÃO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA PARA O DESEMPENHO ESCOLAR DAS CRIANÇAS POBRES NO 04/2012
3. Simoes, Armando: OS JOVENS QUEM NÃO TRABALHAM NEM ESTUDAM NO BRASIL: UMA ANÁLISE DE PERFIL, DETERMINANTES DA CONDIÇÃO E EFEITOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA 6/2013 a 6/2013

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5. Jannuzzi, Paulo de Martino & Pinto, Alexandro Rodrigues: BOLSA FAMÍLIA E SEUS IMPACTOS NAS CONDIÇÕES DE VIDA DA POPULAÇÃO BRASILEIRA: UMA SÍNTESE DOS PRINCIPAIS ACHADOS DA PESQUISA DE AVALIAÇÃO DE IMPACTO DO BOLSA FAMÍLIA II
6. Oliveira, Luís Felipe Batista de & Soares, Sergei S. D.: BOLSA FAMÍLIA E REPETÊNCIA: RESULTADOS A PARTIR DO CADÚNICO, PROJETO FREQUÊNCIA E CENSO ESCOLAR
7. Cireno, Flávio & Silva, Joana Proença, Rafael Prado: CONDICIONALIDADES, DESEMPENHO E PERCURSO ESCOLAR DE BENEFICIÁRIOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA
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9. Neto, Raul da Mota Silveira: IMPACTO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA SOBRE A FREQUÊNCIA À ESCOLA: ESTIMATIVAS A PARTIR DE INFORMAÇÕES DA PESQUISA NACIONAL POR AMOSTRA DE DOMICÍLIO (PNAD)

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Brazil, MDS: Cadernos de estudos: Resultados, avanços e desafios das condicionalidades de educação do Programa Bolsa Família (Ximenes, Daniel organizer)

11. Agatte, Juliana Picoli & Antunes, Marcos Maia: CONDICIONALIDADE DE EDUCAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA: CONCEPÇÃO E ORGANIZAÇÃO DO ACOMPANHAMENTO
12. Fernandes, Flávio Cireno; Viana, Iara & Alves, Cecília Brito; ENSINO BÁSICO E TRAJETÓRIA ESCOLAR DE ESTUDANTES DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA
13. Flávio, Cireno & Fernandes Iara Viana: IMPORTÂNCIA DOS FATORES INTRAESCOLARES E EXTRAESCOLARES NA COMPREENSÃO DOS RESULTADOS DA PROVA BRASIL DE 2011: UM ESTUDO COM ESCOLAS QUE ATENDEM BENEFICIÁRIOS DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA
14. Ximenes, Daniel de Aquino Moll, Jaqueline: POLÍTICAS PARA A INCLUSÃO NA EDUCAÇÃO BÁSICA EM CONTEXTOS DE DESIGUALDADE: CONSIDERAÇÕES A PARTIR DA EXPERIÊNCIA DA PARCERIA ENTRE PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA E PROGRAMA MAIS EDUCAÇÃO

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15. SUMÁRIO EXECUTIVO: AVALIAÇÃO DE IMPACTO DO PROGRAMA BOLSA FAMÍLIA