

ILO/IPEC Mid-term Project Evaluation

Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Brazil – Support to the Time Bound Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour

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1. Evaluation Background and Coverage

As part of the commitments assumed by the International Labour Organization (ILO) funded by the United States Department of Labour (USDOL), the project of support to the Time Bound Programme (TBP) for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in Brazil is subject to a mid term evaluation in order to point out developments and difficulties, as well as identify lessons learned so that those responsible for the implementation of the program may introduce adjustments and improve the effectiveness of the programme.

On reaching the mid term of the implementation period, two consultants were contracted to conduct the evaluation, with the main objective of identifying lessons learned and propose suggestions and recommendations so that the programme's actions and processes may be adjusted and improved, thus increasing the chances of attaining the targeted goals and results.

This evaluation focuses on the developments and contributions of the project **“Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Brazil – Support to the Time Bound Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour”** with regard to national efforts aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labour, especially within the national TBP framework.

Thus, the evaluation will not only address the results obtained at the national level, but will also include the developments of the action programmes that took place within the scope of the project which, in spite of being part of an overall strategy, represent interventions oriented by specific goals and results, for different realities.

The analyses of each action programme (AP) should consider the respective time frames and goals, and well as consider the role that each ILO constituent played in the process. The evaluation should also include the Addendum which was drawn up and approved for this project, which was specifically aimed at :

- Evaluating the validity of the project's design and strategy, including its relevance to the national context;
- Evaluate the current stage of implementation of the project, considering the necessary strategy changes brought about by current experience;
- Evaluate the existing implementation capacity and institutional structure;
- Evaluate the level and the nature of the contribution for support of the project within a favourable environment in the country;
- Evaluate the strategies and intervention models used, as well as documents produced and lessons learned;
- Propose adjustments to the IPEC project strategy, where necessary.
- Make recommendations for the management and implementation of the Addendum phase which shall help the project team become familiar with and manage the goals and objectives of the project more efficiently.

Given IPEC's key contribution towards the TBP with regard to the promotion of a favourable environment and the advancement of the TBP's national framework, the evaluation shall also consider relevant factors related to the developments in the national process. The focus, however, shall remain on the IPEC project as a component of the National Plan.

2. Methodological Considerations

Time and resource limitations with regard to the mid-term evaluation made it necessary to take into account a series of methodological considerations during the evaluation process, which had repercussions on the evaluation process and its conclusions. These are:

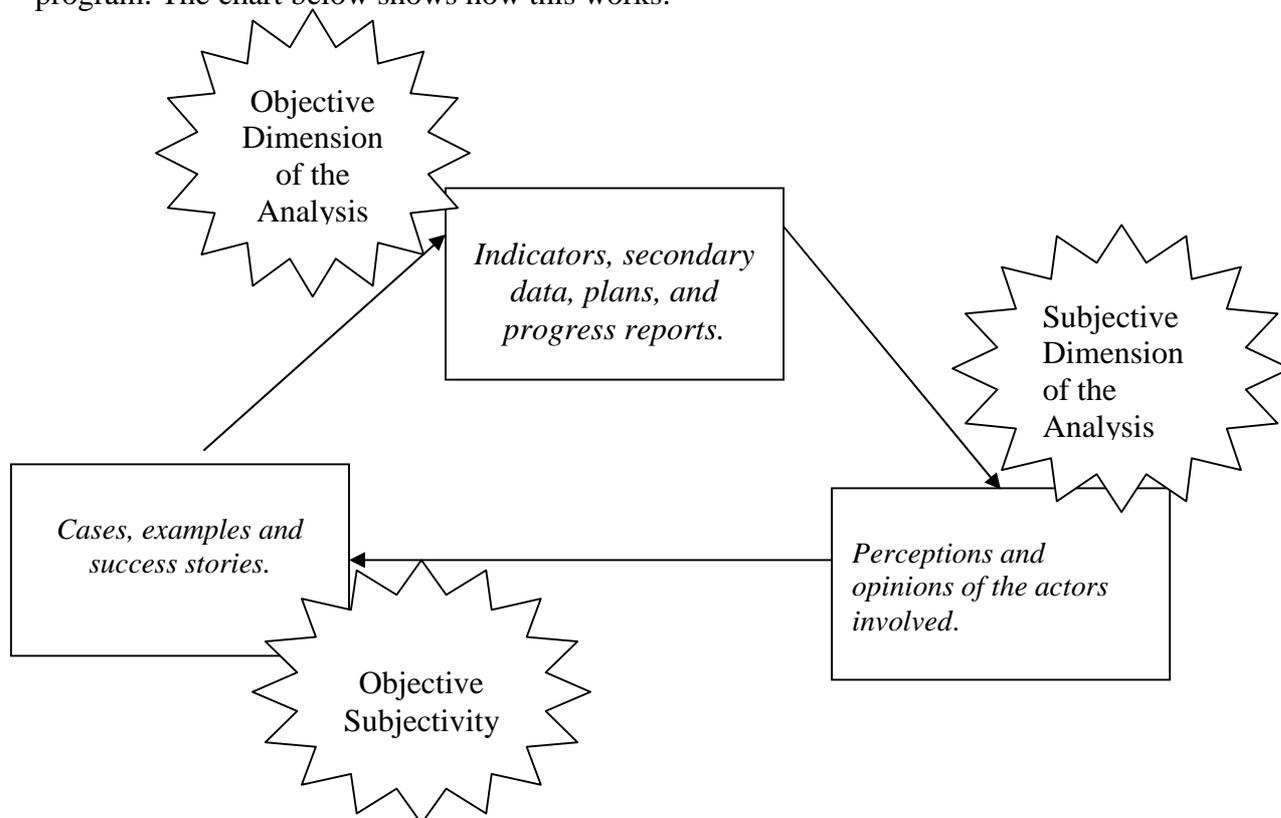
- a. To ensure that field visits took place in all the municipalities where the program is being implemented, due to the impossibility of establishing a representative sample of the universe studied;
- b. Toward this end, it became necessary to separate the evaluators during the field visits and work under serious time restrictions for visits to the municipalities;
- c. Thus, interviewees were selected much more according to availability than to preference, and only those who were present and available when visits took place were interviewed; and,
- d. To reconcile agendas with the agencies involved in program implementation in order to make it possible to be in those municipalities where a previously scheduled event was being held (mobilization or training).

Evidently, these choices affected the procedures and results of the mid-term evaluation, implicating the following associated risks:

- i. The coverage of the studies and surveys conducted in each location is expected to be restricted, due to the limited time available for each municipality;
- ii. The increase in the risk of bias with regard to the selection of individuals to be interviewed, since there is no way to ensure beforehand who would be available in the municipality when visits were made;
- iii. The risks of contradiction in the analyses and observations of the interviewees, due to separation when conducting surveys in the municipalities; and,
- iv. Limited time available to confirm (or refute) all information contained in the reports produced by the parties involved.

In order to reduce these risks and ensure greater consistency of the analyses and conclusions reached by the mid-term evaluation report, we intend to adopt a data

triangulation model that will allow the evaluators to work with various evaluation methods and instruments; different analysis perspectives; and, different approaches and perceptions of the various actors and stakeholders involved in the implementation of the program. The chart below shows how this works:



In order to produce the results and analyses that support the mid-term evaluation, the following sources of information were consulted:

- Document sources:
 - o Project and AP diagnosis and planning documentation;
 - o Progress reports produced by the implementing agencies and by the ILO Office in Brazil;
 - o Material produced during the implementation of the program; and,
 - o Studies, proposals, conventions and all other documentation used to formulate the program, and all other related initiatives.

- Information obtained from relevant actors:
 - o Children supported: from interviews and group talks;
 - o Families supported: from in-depth and group interviews;
 - o Professionals supported, such as educators, monitors, teachers and directors, based in on in-depth interviews, group interviews, and group discussions on topics of interest;
 - o Professionals involved in the program, such as state and municipal authorities, technical staff of partner and implementing NGOs, and the technical staff of the implementing agencies (ILO, MTE, FNPETI, CONAETI, etc;), based on in-depth interviews, group interviews, and occasionally, questionnaires.

- Information from field observations:
 - Training and evaluation activities developed by the program;
 - Success stories and cases;
 - Follow-up visits and activities conducted by the programme's projects and implementing agencies.

3. Aspects Covered

Project Design

An analysis of the design of the project of support to the TBP¹ begins by identifying how logical and coherent the project's proposed design and strategy are with regard to national needs and priorities, as well as assessing the resources, elements and mechanisms available for the project's implementation and management.

Besides this, the project's logic and coherence must be analysed with regard to the underlying strategic choices, and the effects these choices may have with regard to results. Based on the collected texts and interviews, three strategic choices were identified which allowed the implementation of the project. They are:

- ✓ The option of considering the TBP as an initiative complementary to and supportive of the implementation of the National Child Labour Eradication Plan, and not an alternative national plan *per se*;
- ✓ The option of restructuring the TBP as a mosaic of implementing organizations², comprised of agencies responsible for interventions at the national level and others in the states and municipalities, in order to bring together the experiences and capacities of the various organizations, organizing the project according to an ideal support network; and,
- ✓ The options addressing the overall and specific objectives of the TBP and consequently its indicators and means of verification.

With regard to the first strategic choice made by IPEC in Brazil to conduct the TBP, few alternatives are available. Given the country's continental dimensions, the political complexity of the child labour issue in Brazil, and the sheer size of the problem, it would be impossible to expect that any initiative arising from the IPEC would become a national plan.

¹ Throughout the text, the project of support to the Time Bound Programme, object of this evaluation, shall be called project or by its acronym, TBP.

² For a more detailed analysis of the management models adopted by the TBP, see the specific topic covering this subject.

This option attributes a complementary role to the TBP – in certain dimensions – with regard to the national plan, and produces experience and knowledge that may subsequently be incorporated by the national plan, as well as by other public policies aimed at children and adolescents.

From a planning methodology perspective, the objectives of the TBP were determined based on the dialog among government, workers' and employers' groups (through CONAETI) and civil society organizations (through the Forum) from which the main voids in the national plan were identified, and consequently the issues and opportunities through which the TBP could effectively contribute toward the construction of public policy addressing child labour.

However, this option called for the review of the “Time Bound Program” concept set forth by Convention 182 of the International Labour Organization. If the aim of the TBP is to *contribute towards the elimination of the worst forms of child labour*, then elimination will only be effective if all segments of Brazilian society are involved and committed. The specified time frame should end when the experiences and solutions called for by the TBP are effectively incorporated into policies and the national plan.

It is according to this perspective that the TBP, its action programs, and its results were considered. Thus, the TBP is an opportunity to experiment solutions that may help the national policy in addressing some of the aspects of the child labour problem, and along the same lines, indicate those developments and results which may be incorporated by public policies, to bring about sustainable changes so that governments, the business community, workers and civil society can work together to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in Brazil.

Based on this paradigm, the discussion regarding the objectives of the TBP, its pertinence and the usefulness of the proposed indicators takes on another perspective, and needs to be interpreted differently from the proposals outlined in the project's documentation. Due to the experimental nature proposed for the project, the actions and objectives developed at the local and national level may be interpreted in a disarticulated manner. However, actions taking place on one level must complement and work jointly with actions taking place on other levels. According to the project's documentation, the fundamental objectives of the TBP, on a national scale, were oriented towards:

- ✓ Increasing knowledge and disseminating information regarding child labour;
- ✓ Increasing the level of awareness and mobilization capacity of institutions and organizations of society regarding the child labour issue;
- ✓ Increasing institutional coordination capacity at the national level, involving the Ministries of Labour, Education, Health and Communication, as well as of all councils involved in this issue; and,
- ✓ Improving current legislation and increasing the capacity of the agencies responsible for its enforcement.

At the municipal level, the action programmes, based on the definition of intervention strategies addressing the worst forms of child labour, are expected to attain the following objectives:

- ✓ The removal and prevention of children and adolescents from labour situations, as well as the promotion of social inclusion initiatives for their families, and the enforcement of the rights of these individuals;
- ✓ Promote the development of educational alternatives for child labour, aimed at including children and adolescents in formal and informal education, as well as vocational training and specific skill building;
- ✓ Develop alternatives for the creation of jobs and income and/or the inclusion of the children's and adolescents' families in income transfer programs, and/or adult capacity building or vocational training programs.

Along with the analysis of the results obtained for each of the objectives proposed by the TBP, field visits and interviews, conducted with the various actors involved in the implementation of the project, indicated that the intervention strategies, both at the national and local level, worked towards the following objectives:

- ✓ Support to training:

The provision of support to children and adolescents withdrawn from labour situations, and also their families, the strategies of the action programs, as well as the initiatives promoted by IPEC on a national level concentrated on development models aimed at strengthening the rights assurance networks and, from a more specific perspective, the development of materials and the training of professionals who work directly with children who are withdrawn or are prevented.

Support to training is also understood as the strengthening of the various entities of civil society that provide the various services needed to ensure that the rights of these children are guaranteed in full, as well as the development of their capabilities. The strengthening of child labour prevention and elimination forums, as well as all other deliberative entities involved in upholding the rights of children and adolescents is also a strategy considered as support to training.

- ✓ Involvement of schools:

The action programs, as well as the TBP itself, have given special attention to the inclusion of child labour issue in schools. Given the previous assessments, it became evident that issues related to child labour needed to be addressed in schools, as well as the important role that schools and education – from a wider perspective – can play regarding support training, the involvement and commitment of society, changes in the mentality of families and communities regarding child labour, especially in its worst forms.

- ✓ Awareness and mobilization of society:

The TBP has also given special attention to the communication issue in order to increase the awareness and mobilization of Brazilian society, with the objective of ensuring that the child labour issue remains on the national agenda, and to increase the awareness of society regarding the dimensions and repercussions of this problem.

To achieve this, investments in the development of sources of information and the strengthening of networks of journalists and means of communication were considered a relevant part of the strategy, in order to increase awareness and to keep the debate alive.

It must be pointed out that – during the implementation of the TBP – the concept and role of communication evolved, going beyond the limits of the media involved. This led to an increase in the awareness of all actors regarding the need to improve the flow of information, without losing sight of the importance of the issue, increasing the volume and quality of the existing and available information on the subject.

- ✓ Increasing awareness and involvement of the private sector and municipal governments:

The fourth line of action identified the awareness and involvement of the private sector in addressing the child labour problem, as well the development of activities that would lead governments – mainly municipal governments – to include the eradication of the worst forms of child labour in their agendas.

The transformation – or conversion – of the initial objective into more pragmatic intervention strategies may be explained by the adjustment of the project to the practical needs that arose during implementation, and also by the fact that the concept of the instrument to model solutions and their experimentation was lost during the process. This made the implementation of activities the priority element of the proposed intervention, thus provoking deviations from the strategic options of the involved organizations.

From this new perspective, the indicators themselves needed to be specifically addressed. When the TBP and its monitoring system is analysed, it can be observed that excessive weight was placed on the implementation of activities, especially those involving the removal of children and adolescents, and the subsequent support provided to them.

But this bias was also noticed in the communication and education action programs, which emphasized the delivery of the programmed outputs, and not the development of models that could be adopted by public policies, which could also contribute – on a large scale – to increase the scope of the objectives of the National Plan.

Pertinence and Sufficiency of Activities

By proposing to assist 4,000 children and adolescents (2,666 removed and 1,334 prevented), while PETI assists almost one million children, and the PNAD indicates that more than 4 times this number of children and adolescents are in labour situations, the TBP indicates the limitations of its direct intervention capacity. Thus, if the programme is not analysed from an innovation and experimentation perspective, considering the pertinence of the proposed action, it will prove to be insufficient.

In more explicit terms, by the way the TBP was conceived, the main impacts should have been measured according to the capacity of the models and experiments to influence public policies. Instead, the indicators and goals of the action programs gave more importance to the quantity of the provided support or outputs, compromising the understanding that the Project was experimental.

The analyses regarding the adequate quantity of proposed interventions and the logic behind the strategies adopted by the TBP also need to consider the degree to which the assumptions and other premises supporting the logical framework of the TBP proved to be adequate, and how the development of external variables affected its implementation or the attaining of the planned objectives and goals.

Overall, the assumptions proposed in the TBP and in the action programs proved reasonable, and the interventions reflected knowledge of local contexts. This however did not prevent the occurrence of risks and their repercussions on the project's implementation.

One of the issues that most hampered the project's implementation may have been the decision to initiate the process during the most intense period of municipal elections. From what may be seen, this risk was assumed by the IPEC coordinating body in Brazil which, from the beginning, knew that government posts would change, priorities would be reviewed, and that in some cases the project would be rejected.

On another level, there were difficulties with regard to the coordination of educational policies on the national level. When the TBP was being drawn up, and later when the Save the Children project was being prepared, it was expected that the Ministry of Education (MEC) would be open to dialog regarding the child labour issue, being one of the assumptions for the advocacy actions that were intended. However, administrative and political changes in the Ministry pointed to a direction that was different than the one expected by the TBP team, adversely affecting the coordination of educational policies aimed at the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. Only now, with the AP with Save the Children coming to an end, was it possible to initiate a dialog with MEC, but without significant developments.

Education, challenge for the TBP.

MEC has proven to be a challenge for the IPEC strategy towards the inclusion of the child labour issue in schools and educational policies. By not participating in neither the CONAETI, the Forum, nor CONANDA, the actions called for by the National Plan for the Ministry shall not be implemented, and the compliance with this fundamental dimension shall not be ensured.

In spite of the conjunctural changes and the fact that the cooperation expectations did not materialize, an analysis of the relevance of the project design and its strategy toward the current state of child labour, of Brazilian public policy, and of the degree of convergence of actions proposed by the TBP with the national strategies of poverty reduction, child protection and education, indicate a positive evaluation of the strategic decisions.

While seeking to consider the TBP an instrument of support to the development of the National Plan, the strategy adopted by IPEC significantly increased the possibility of convergence of its activities with national and local efforts in addressing child labour. These possibilities became even more evident when the state forum and the municipal governments were invited to take part in the project's implementation network.

Along the same lines, the actions of the TBP also strengthened and supported actions that were already being carried out in the states and municipalities towards the consolidation and strengthening of policies aimed at the elimination of child labour and its main agents.

One case that exemplifies this symbiotic relation between the actions of the TBP and public policies is the effort, both by IPEC Brazil and the implementing agencies, of negotiating with the Ministry of Social Development (MDS) and with the State Child Labour Eradication Programme Commissions (PETI) to increase the number of target children (children identified as being in a child labour situation, or prevented from child labour) by the TBP.

Another example, of a different nature but equally representative of the collaboration between the TBP and the other national and local initiatives, can be found in the state of São Paulo.

In this state, not only have representatives of the State Forum participated in the negotiations towards the "entry" of the Programme in selected municipalities. The TBD actions have also contributed towards the structuring of the municipal and regional forums towards the eradication of child labour in various areas, where the *Cata-vento* project is being implemented.

Colaboration with PETI in Paraíba

The collaboration of the Paraíba State Forum, stimulated by the TBP actions in said state, led to a 20% increase in the number of goals of the PETI in the municipality of Guarabira, allowing the assistance of eighty (80) children who were identified in labour situations by the *Cata-vento* (TBP).

However, documentation analyses and field research did not identify the contribution of the TBP towards the TBP formulation process and the action programs. And from the surveys conducted and the documentation produced by those involved in the process of preparation of the TBP and the action programs, it was not possible to reach any conclusions regarding the use of the SPIF methodology in project design activities.

With regard to the documentation produced, especially of the action programs, it was recognized that a logical intervention framework was resorted to. However, this structure could have been derived from the adoption of any participatory planning methodology (or any of its variations) based on the logical framework. On the other hand, from the interviews conducted with the relevant actors, most declared having no, or practically no, knowledge regarding this methodology.

The Management Model

The institutional architecture on which the TBP was developed has two aspects that orient and structure the network of institutions comprising the AP: a programming aspect and a political aspect.

The programming dimension is aimed at the leveraging of the TBP implementation process, along with all relevant logical, logistic, bureaucratic, and financial aspects towards the development of models for child labour eradication model and for child support in a labour situation, especially in its worst forms. The political dimension is aimed at supporting the implementation of the TBP, facilitating its implementation and promoting the future adoption of the models developed by public entities, so that they may become public policy.

Thus, while the fundamental element of the programmatic dimension is implementation capacity, understood in this evaluation as modelling capacity, the fundamental element of the political dimension is the capacity to negotiate and to reach consensus. The manner by which these two dimensions inter-relate and complement each other depends (and will depend) on the results of the overall development of the TBP. It is necessary that the institutions involved understand and participate in these two dimensions of the institutional architecture.

A mosaic of international, national, state and local institutions comprises the programme dimension. On the international level, the ILO office in Geneva is the overseeing agency and the USDOL is the funding agency. The ILO office in Lima is responsible for programming in South America, and it is on this level that the TBP's strategic directives were thought out and designed, as well as its fundamental characteristics and economic feasibility.

At the international level, it was decided that the agency responsible for the implementation of the TBP would be IPEC-Brazil. Acting in Brazil since 1992, the programme has become a reference in the child labour eradication effort in Brazil, having accumulated relevant experience in both the conceptual approach to the problem as well as in political, legal and economic processes.

Besides the logic and logistics of the TBP, IPEC has developed a network of state and national institutions which should implement that various aspects of the action program, as well as a network of institutions and actors in the political area which should ensure feasibility and sustainability of the model to be constructed. IPEC oversees the entire flow of actions and resources of the TBP implementation process. However, the main activities of the IPEC were the conceptualization of the process, along with process intelligence, and the coordination of the various public and private entities involved in the child labour issue, on a national level.

According to the TBP design, national action requires activities in three main areas: mobilization of relevant actors, communication with society, and the strengthening of the issue in other public policies, especially educational policy.

For each of these areas, national institutions with previous experience and collaboration with ILO/IPEC were contacted. The ABRINQ Foundation was placed in charge of

bringing together public (state and local government) and private (employer and workers' groups)) entities, in order to support national discussion and implementation processes of the Action Programmes in the states and municipalities.

ANDI was in charge of the Communication AP, aimed at increasing the space given the child labour issue by the various media, thus contributing to increase awareness of the activities of the TBP on all levels, as well as contribute for the construction of a social consensus towards the eradication of child labour in Brazil.

Save the Children should oversee the Education AP, aimed at having the child labour issue more present in Brazilian educational policies from a macro perspective, and introduce the issue in public schools in areas where the Support AP is being implemented. On the local level, activities should be aimed at training educators and having the child labour issue and children's and adolescents' rights included in the Political Pedagogical Projects (PPPs) in schools, in conjunction with an support model to be developed by the TBP.

Overall, each of these institutions is expected to implement the activities of the AP through agencies on the state level. Toward this end, ANDI³ established partnerships in several states. In the state of Maranhão, work was done with the NGO *Matraca*; in the state of Paraíba with *Liberta*; in São Paulo with the ORSA Fundação; in Rio de Janeiro with the *Observatório de Favelas*; and in the state of Rio Grande do Sul with ASCONK, the institutional communication sector of USBEE.

Save the Children (UK) worked with SEAC in the state of Maranhão, with the *Beira da Linha* project in the state Paraíba, in São Paulo with the AMBAR Institute, in Rio de Janeiro with the TEAR Institute, and in Rio Grande do Sul with AVESOL-USBEE.

The ABRINQ foundation proposed, according to the project, to implement its activities in collaboration with those municipalities committed to the PREFEITO AMIGO DA CRIANÇA (Mayors friend of the child) program (and if the 19 municipalities covered by the Support AP had not already done so, to work towards their inclusion) and, on another front, with the network of businesses and business persons adhering to the EMPRESA AMIGA DA CRIANÇA (Businesses friend of the child), which has yet to take place.

After negotiation with the State Forums for the Elimination of Child Labour, IPEC defined the network of institutions responsible for the implementation of the APs in the five (5) selected states and their municipalities. In Maranhão, the selected organization was the Marcos Passerini Foundation; in Paraíba, it was the Casa Pequeno Davi; in São Paulo, the ORSA Foundation; in Rio de Janeiro the Observatório de Favelas; and in Rio Grande do Sul, USBEE.

Each institution established a network of partnerships in those locations where the project was being implemented. Thus, of the 19 municipalities initially selected for direct actions of the Support AP, 18 set up networks of institutions in which partnerships were established to help implementation of the project. These organizations

³ Of these, only MATRACA is an agency of the ANDI Network. LIBERTA is expected to join the network, while an additional three organizations are also responsible for the implementation of Assistance APs in their respective states.

are responsible for the support of children prevented or withdrawn by the TBP with extra-curricular activities, currently underway in nearly 31 support units throughout the country.

Another important facet, which also exemplifies the management model and mosaic of institutions, is called POLITICAL. This facet, in the mosaic of institutions, is comprised of public institutions deemed necessary for the construction of consensus allowing the conversion into public policy of the intervention models designed from TBP experience.

On the national level, this facet was implemented by the IPEC. It is around this entity that the relevant institutional actors get involved in the national dialogue, especially the National Child Labour Eradication Forum - FNPETI, the National Child Labour Eradication Council – CONAETI, and the National Defence Council of Children's and Adolescents' Rights – CONANDA, along with the various organizations that participate in these organizations. The activities of IPEC also extend into the Brazilian legislation, where the involvement of the Parliamentary Front for the Rights of Children and Adolescents may be highlighted.

With regard to ministries, the IPEC, and consequently the TBP, have been the preferred and most constant counterpart agencies for the Child Labour Eradication Program (PETI), under the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Development, together with the CONAETI. Also, the Ministry of Labour and Employment has played an important role in the collaboration between the TBP and the Federal Government, both in a mandate role as well as in the traditional relationship said ministry has had with the ILO. The Extraordinary Secretariat for Human Rights (SEDH) has also worked closely with IPEC, especially in those cases where the worst forms and the priorities of the secretariats coincide, such in the case of sexual exploitation.

In the law enforcement area, the Office of the Public Prosecutor for Labour Affairs has been a keen observer of the process, and has actively participated in the discussions, as well as provided support for many of initiatives of the TBP in the states where support programs have been implemented. In many cases, it is the Office of the Public Prosecutor for Labour Affairs that oversees the State Forum.

In the states, the political facet of the mosaic constructed to make TBP actions possible was strongly based on the activities of the State Forums, not only to support the identification of the AP implementing agencies, but mainly to act as a liaison with the other state institutions.

In the municipalities, where the TBP's direct support initiatives are actually being implemented, the political facet needs to address a wide range of partner institutions which need to be committed to the TBP processes, especially: the Municipal Governments, the Municipal Secretariats, the Municipal Forums, the Tutelary and Rights Councils, the Municipal Education Forums, among others.

Analysis of the Network's Pertinence and Consistency

With regard to pertinence, this evaluation asks whether the involved institutions have some degree of proximity with the child labour issue, i.e. due to their institutional, legal, political or social situation. Regarding consistency, it asks whether the institutions have

the knowledge, experience, and institutional mandate to develop and model child labour eradication processes.

Studies have shown that organizations comprising the mosaic present different degrees of proximity to the CL issue. The issue, however, is not related with the affinity of the institutions with CL, but with aspects related to the political and cultural tendencies of the actors, who represent certain institutions. In specific terms, when the actors are implementers of public policies (such as municipal governments) a greater degree of divergence between the TBP policies and those of the implementing agencies becomes evident.

Given that the pertinence of these institutions in the TBP implementation process is fundamental, both for the construction of an support model, as well as for future sustainability, the deviation of certain important public actors poses a challenge that needs to be overcome to ensure the sustainability of the planned eradication model.

In terms of consistency, it is important to point out that the degree of knowledge and experience that actors and institutions have of CL diminishes when the local level is involved. This indicates that there is a tendency to concentrate knowledge and experience at national and state levels, while those who deal directly with the children on the local level often lack this same knowledge and experience⁴.

The volume of information, information gathering and exchange capacity, and the overall flow of information regarding the child labour issue are fundamental aspects for the development of an support model – but it is also important to point out that there are serious imbalances.

An assessment of information flowing vertically, in both a centre-periphery sense, as well as periphery-centre, shows that most information is logistical, administrative and bureaucratic in nature. In more specific terms, elements addressing the quantitative achievement of goals and the disbursement flows are considered important. Although these are necessary, they do not provide technical or managerial information to the actions of institutions involved in the process.

An enormous quantity of data is lost, especially in the periphery-centre sense, which could be used as inputs for the construction of support models called for by the TBP. It seems that the construction of support models has already been solved in the centre, and all that actors and institutions have to do is to assimilate and apply the existing information, which, in practice, is not the case. This leads to a certain degree of disarticulation in TBPs activities, due to the following:

- (a) the front line actors act without knowing if what they are doing makes sense, unaware that a model is being constructed; and,
- (b) the actors at the centre⁵ act as if everything made sense, as if the models were already constructed.

⁴ Evidently, the lack of knowledge and experience varies from place to place, but normally there is more institutional and professional capacity, the more distant the analysis of the assistance is.

⁵ Actors in the centre not only include IPEC Brazil and national organizations, but also the ILO and its offices, and ultimately funding entities and other international stakeholders.

Issues arising from relations among organizations in a mosaic also concern that national aspects of the project, in a country as large as Brazil, where activities are developed in distant locations, with different cultural, economic, and political realities, with serious implications affecting the integration of organizations comprising the mosaic and the reach of the results.

By proposing to assist 5 different states and almost 4 municipalities per state (19 in total), many of them quite distant one from the other, the intervention strategy ended up dispersing the programme's activities, limiting support capacity and the depth of the support in several municipalities. Apparently, the choices did not consider the effects on the implementation of the TBP, nor the impacts that distance had on the construction of a support model.

Consequently, from a management perspective certain difficulties were faced when dealing with the enormous diversity among local realities. In each state, the teams had to follow a pattern which was not necessarily compatible with the historic, political, cultural and economic circumstances of each location, forcing them to re-model their strategies and redefine their patterns, adversely affecting the mosaic management model in its initial stages.

It also became evident that distances between poles, states and municipalities, which were not associated with the means that would allow frequent exchanges among the organizations involved, generated a state of dispersion which hampered the cohesion of the mosaic and the communication among the agencies involved. Although efforts were made to maintain the cohesion of the team, in most cases the front lines of each institution were isolated from other support units, affecting the flow of information and communication among organizations involved in the implementation of the project.

While communication between the centre (IPEC) and institutions on the state and national levels is more evident and functional, the same cannot be said for communication between state and national institutions, or between these and municipal entities, especially with regard to information reaching local institutions.

Besides the fact that the flow of information is affected, the farther the distance from the centre, the more difficult it becomes when political entities comprising the mosaic are involved. While there is a flow of information in the programmatic sphere, it is practically inexistent in the political sphere of the institutional architecture. The political actors do not talk to each other. Communication only takes place when programmatic actors, albeit in a fragmented fashion, communicate with their political counterparts on a local level. Therefore, institutional articulation tends to disperse.

The difficulty in assuring an adequate flow of information from the periphery to the centre is also evidenced by the difficulty in sharing experiences towards the construction of the model. The tendency is spatial isolation, even within one unit. This situation also hampers the construction of consensus on a political level such as the development of an support model, i.e., it tends to limit the project's possibilities of intervention, in terms of sustainability.

The spatially dispersed nature hampers both the programmatic as well as the political dimensions of the TBP institutional architecture. If, from a programmatic perspective, the network aims at constructing a model, this may not take place since distance isolates the actors. Without the exchange of information, modelling is not possible.

On the other hand, if politically the network proposes to convert the model into public policy, or at least influence it, it evidently becomes more difficult for the model to acquire more symbolic significance if the experiences the model is based on are isolated and quantitatively fragile.

Progress in Project Implementation

There are many aspects according to which the advances and difficulties in TBP implementation may be evaluated. Progress of the planned action involves a series of variables and causes that increase the complexity of any analysis or judgement. According to the terms of reference for the mid term evaluation, one of the first issues related to implementation looks at how effective the project has been in obtaining additional resources, “for example, through collaboration with extra-IPEC initiatives or other programs”.

An initial question that may be posed at this point is: How should the project’s fund raising be understood, and furthermore, what are “extra-IPEC” initiatives? This issue is a pertinent one because this must be clearly defined so that TBP’s progress with regard to new fund raising may be adequately evaluated.

It must be pointed out that, in spite of the fact that most of the IPEC structure in Brazil is financed by TBP resources (including the salaries of the programme’s key personnel), the IPEC manages the resources of other sources and other projects that, in many cases, are complementary to the initiatives carried out by the TBP.

Thus, resources obtained from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) may be considered funds supporting IPEC’s activities towards the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in Brazil. This agency is also funding a project aimed at fighting sexual exploitation of boys and girls in certain regions of the country.

On the other hand, the project’s implementation process, especially with regard to its action programs aimed at assisting children and youngsters in child labour situations, has entered into partnerships with state and municipal governments, as well as with organizations of civil society, which have leveraged these activities, and may be understood as fund raising strategies.

In locations such as Odilândia, in Santa Rita in the state of Paraíba, all support activities aimed at the prevention or removal of children and youngsters from labour situations have been developed with funds provided by the Municipal Government (professional staff, locations for interventions, etc.), being up to the implementing agency to provide material support and technical orientation to municipal employees. In the city of Rio de Janeiro, for example, some activities developed with young boys and girls who were withdrawn from drug trafficking are carried out at the Social Support Centres

maintained by the Municipal Government, which may also be considered as “funding” or a leverage of TBP funds.

From this perspective, the fund raising capacity and implementation progress of the TBP lead to the discussion of how the various policy overseeing organizations⁶ involved in the child labour elimination effort have acted and participated in the initiatives developed through the project. One of the challenges still being faced by the fund raising effort is the more intense involvement of local management structures in TBP implementation and, more importantly, in subsequent processes aimed at ensuring its maintenance and sustainability.

If the National Forum and the state forums had active participation in the discussions and design of the action programmes comprising the TBP, the roles attributed to these entities were not always maintained during implementation, in spite of the intensity of the problem varying from state to state.

The surveys conducted show that, in most cases, the forums have moved away from the PA implementation processes in the various states visited, and even in those where the forums do participate, this participation depends on the individual commitment and interest of participants. In most cases, the institutional role that the forum should be playing is not clear, and in some cases, the implementation of the TBP is left up to the implementing agency.

This problem is brought about by a paradox arising in the conception of the TBP, mainly with regard to the strategies for the state forums: TBP implementation in the state should serve as an instrument for the institutional strengthening of the forum, as well as its empowerment with regard to the other actors and instances of negotiation. Thus, from the outset, it was understood that the forums were not fully prepared to play the roles attributed to them, but when faced with the challenge, their capacities and competencies would be strengthened.

It is still early to determine whether this strategy has failed. In spite of the fact that IPEC’s support of the actions of the forums has, in many cases, given new energy to the discussions and to the dialogue between the State and organized civil society, there is still much to be done. Undoubtedly, this is one area that needs to be strengthened in the second stage of implementation of the TBP.

If the forums, which were chosen to be the implementing entities of the TBP, are distant from this involvement, the same may be said for the councils of rights and the councils of policies. Generally, the involvement of the rights councils is directly proportionate to their participation in the forums, and consequently, the degree of involvement of the forum in the implementation of the TBP.

In most of the municipalities assisted by the project, the rights councils are closer and have a more visible relation with the TBP and its implementing agencies, probably because within the municipality, the possibilities and needs of integrated action of the various instances and organizations committed to the child labour issue are more

⁶ The following are considered local management structures: the child labour elimination forums; the PETI management commissions ; the councils upholding the rights of children and adolescents; and the policy management councils (social assistance, education, and health) on the three levels of government.

visible. The policy councils (support, education or health) do not participate in this process, although the protection and rights defense network needs to be constructed and strengthened.

From a national perspective, the Ministry of Labour and Employment, and the Ministry of Social Development are the most involved in the implementation of the TBP, although recently the Ministry of Health has begun addressing the child labour issue and its impacts on the health of children and adolescents.

IPEC has also been able to make significant progress with the Human Rights Secretariat, especially in situations in which the efforts towards the eradication of the worst forms of child labour overlap with the defence of other rights of children and young persons, as in the case of commercial sexual exploitation.

The involvement of employers and workers, however, has been very superficial and not very observable from a project implementation perspective. Although CONAETI, which includes the participation of representatives of these sectors of society, is constantly counted on – in terms of involvement – by the articulation efforts of the IPEC, on the state and local level (employers associations or labour unions) the participation of these actors is inexistent.

In the statements collected and from the visits made to states where the project is being implemented it became evident that these sectors were not very willing to get involved in the debate regarding the worst forms of child labour. For many of these actors, situations such as those addressed by the TBP (sex workers, drug trafficking, street workers and, occasionally, domestic child labour) are considered a profession or a labour situation, and thus the issue has little impact. The experiences and attempts of the IPEC, on the other hand, have found that it is easier to get the business community involved (more from a rights perspective, than from a labour perspective) than workers.

While facing difficulties with regard to the practical intervention of the agreements and accords entered into with workers and employers organizations, mainly through the actions of the CONAETI, the TBP has been able work jointly with initiatives of the other national and international agencies and organizations.

The strategic option of structuring the actions of the TBP through a mosaic of organizations, some of which have national coverage and a history of working with the ILO office in Brazil has ensured, from the outset, the possibility of counting on the networks to which these organizations belong. In this regard, the partnerships with several organizations of the ANDI network, or – although this has yet to take place – the possibility of seeking a closer collaboration with the network of child-friendly businesses, through partnerships with the ABRINQ Foundation.

ILO and UNICEF in a Joint Statement

An example of collaboration between these two UN agencies at the national level was the joint statement issued in November 2005 in the national media, repudiating the assassination by her employers of a 11 year old girl who was doing domestic labour.

Besides repudiating the barbarity of the act, the agencies called society's attention to the child domestic labour problem in Brazil and the risk almost 500 thousand children are exposed to.

With regard to the agencies of international cooperation operating in Brazil, the actions of the TBP have the greatest potential synergy with some projects financed by USAID which, besides supporting initiatives implemented by IPEC, is also financing a wide range of other projects in Brazil, many of them in states where the TBP is active, and due to a convergence of mandate, with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The participation of the ILO office in the various instances and forums in which the child labour issue is specifically addressed, or in conjunction with initiatives aimed at upholding the rights of children and adolescents, has also made it possible to establish partnerships and agreements aimed at strengthening the TBP as well as IPEC's activities in Brazil. However, these results were more visible on a national level, since on the local level – probably as a result of the project's small intervention scale – these arrangements did not have the same effect.

The various studies conducted indicate that there is an overall perception that the administrative processes adopted by the TBP have made the activities bureaucratic, imposing on the agents involved in the project a set of administrative demands that do little to contribute to ensure better management of the project's implementation, or to avoid efficiency losses with regard to the application of the allocated resources.

Even Mercury has come under questioning. Many of the organizations visited recognize that this software tool may help them organize the operational and administrative registries of the action programmes and of the project, however, they consider that the package software imposes certain restrictions due to the excessive time necessary to input data in the database.

For most of the interviewees, the training given to prepare them to monitor their activities and handle the project's information systems was insufficient to address the needs of organizations. This assessment however must be understood in light of the fact that, in most of the organizations overseeing the AP, the teams that participated in the initial phases of the TBP – including the initial training – were substituted during the first months of implementation, increasing the difficulties in interacting with the monitoring systems and all other reporting mechanisms.

The IPEC also pointed out the difficulty of getting the action programme managing organizations to submit their reports within the deadlines and in accordance with the directives and expectations of the TBP and its sponsors. Also according to the project's administrative unit, the reports had to be redone by the local teams (in some cases, more than once), delaying the processes and causing management efficiency losses.

The reworking that needed to be done reinforces the notion of bureaucracy regarding the project's management processes, and is also recognized (bureaucracy) by various of the actors interviewed, in the relations between IPEC and the Lima and Geneva Offices. The impression is that for a project that aims to experiment model, i.e., that is experimental in nature, more flexibility would be needed in handling the managerial instruments, in handling the available resources, and in managing the budget with regard to the various objectives and activities, which here is not the case.

The relation between the Lima office and the offices in Brazil basically follows protocol, with cooperation taking place in specific actions toward the implementation of

the TBP. Although the Lima office is in regular contact with the Brazilian government, through the Ministry of Labour and Employment, these relations and those with the ILO office in Brazil are not considered of having an impact on neither the project's implementation and management.

Another aspect considered a potential risk to the progress of the programmed activities was associated to lack of clarity, for the different actors involved, regarding the concepts established to identify children and youngsters that could be included in the TBP in the PREVENTED category.

The surveys show that for all the actors directly involved in the TBP the concept that was adopted to define children and adolescents who were withdrawn from a labour situation was clearly distinguished from those who were "prevented". By defining the concept of prevention, establishing that children and adolescents who had brothers or sisters in labour situations (withdrawn) or that lived in an environment in which the practice of child labour, in the form defined by the intervention, were constant, the TBP was able to overcome the lack of understanding and difficulties in applying the established concepts.

Progress in the Implementation of Action Programmes

The starting point to evaluate the progress in the implementation of action programmes (APs) is the implementing agency selection process, and how this process has influenced the outcomes for the various programme's activities and subsequent effects. Initially, this process took place in two stages (one national and the other state) and followed different, but mutually influenced, processes.

The agencies engaged in implementation on a national level, responsible for joint activities regarding educational policy (Save the Children - Save); with communication activities (ANDI); and with social responsibility activities and collaboration with municipal governments (ABRINQ Foundation) were selected based on previous experience in joint efforts with the IPEC, especially in activities addressing the domestic child labour problem, arising from the dialog with the National Child Labour Eradication Forum, since all three organizations comprise this institutional space.

On the state level, the choice was for implementing agencies responsible for coordinating the APs in the municipalities, and especially for the coordination of support initiatives aimed at children identified in labour situations (withdrawn) or at risk (prevented). The selection of the agency responsible for support was based on negotiations conducted within the state child labour prevention and eradication forums.

The selection process, in both cases, seemed appropriate since it sought to associate the prior knowledge that the IPEC team had of the agencies and their implementing capacity with the negotiations with and empowerment of the forums which had an active voice and participation in the identification and selection of the agencies.

Nevertheless, there is room for improvement. It is especially necessary to work with the forums with regard to the role that each agency must play in the implementation of the action programmes, emphasizing the idea that the implementing agency must play, in its

area of activity, the role of “executive secretary” of the forum, reinforcing the idea of an intervention network.

Although it may seem to be a simple case of semantics, a new concept could be adopted to make more clear what IPEC and the project believe to be the role to be played by the organizations. Based on this, it would be more adequate to talk about a *managing agency* and an *implementing network*, comprised of various organizations and institutions participating in the forum, and/or engaged in the prevention and elimination of child labour.

Equally important are the criteria used to select the regions and sectors where the APs were to be implemented, since these choices are equally decisive in understanding the current stage of the project, and the difficulties faced by the implementing agencies.

What is observed is that the selection of the states and municipalities to a certain extent followed the same procedure used to select the implementing agencies. Using as a reference for the construction of assessment criteria information on the current situation of child labour obtained from the National Household Survey (PNAD) and the Child Labour Indication Maps, it was possible to identify those Brazilian states with the highest occurrence of the problem.

These criteria provided input for the discussions regarding the prevention and eradication of child labour at the forums, politically validating the choice of states (at the national forum) and municipalities (at the state forums) where IPECs activities were to be developed.

This process takes time and, at certain moments, may be inefficient. At some forums the negotiations took longer because consensus were not reached, either with regard to the locations or to the type of child labour to be addressed.

The case of the city of Campinas, in the state of São Paulo, is emblematic of these difficulties. When the project arrived in this municipality, as a result of the state forum, the local agents and partners were not able to understand why they were included in the project, nor why the priority was to address domestic child labour and not urban child labour, which from a local perspective was a much more serious problem.

One of the consequences of not recognizing this problem, albeit initially, was the delay in the implementation of action programmes, either towards support (which after the initial difficulty in identifying the beneficiaries, is now in the initial phase), working jointly with education (which has yet to begin), as well as the other actions programmed.

Having covered the preparatory stages for the TBP and the APs in the states and municipalities, the next step is to ask how the project is faring and how effective it has become. However, since the proposed intervention takes place on two levels (national and local), an assessment of the action programmes and the attainment of the initial objectives proposed must also be considered, determined by the discussion of the action strategy based on a “mosaic” of organizations.

At the national level, the actions programmed by the TBP⁷ are being coordinated and, to a certain extent, implemented by the IPEC office in Brazil, which has played an important role in working with the Federal Government and with other partners on this level of action, such as CONAETI and the National Forum.

With regard to the relevance and capacity of the ILO/IPEC team in Brazil in implementing actions on a national scale – mainly regarding the diagnosis in preparing the National Plan – the competencies of Save the Children (“national coordination with the Ministry of Education”); of ANDI (“increase knowledge and disseminate information”); and the ABRINQ Foundation (“increase awareness and mobilization of institutions toward the child labour issue”).

Before evaluating the effectiveness of the action plans of national organizations, it is necessary to determine whether the earmarked financial resources were disbursed according to the proposed disbursement plan. By starting with the rate of delivery of the national APs, it is possible to determine an initial reference point to analyse their effectiveness⁸.

Table : Delivery Rate of the National Action Programmes up to August, 2005

AP	Total of the AP (R\$)	Total Implemented (R\$)	AP Delivery Ratio	Delivery in terms of Disbursement
Education (Save)	558,960.00	191,713.05	34%	95%
Communication (ANDI)	500,000.00	190,468.82	38%	75%
Awareness (ABRINQ)	210,604.00	6,625.93	3%	33%
Project Totals	1,269,564.00	388,807.80	31%	82%

Source: Management Reports of the ILO/IPEC office in Brazil.

Financial disbursement information indicate that, at project mid term, disbursements to partner organizations were a bit below one-third of the programmed total, possibly indicating certain difficulties with regard to the implementation of the proposed strategies. However, with regard to the delivery of APs in relation to resources already made available to the organizations, this rate increases considerably, surpassing 80%. Only the mobilization and awareness AP has lower rates than those for the other organizations, both in terms of the amount disbursed (which may be explained by the fact that this is an action that would begin later), as well as in relation to the total funds disbursed.

However, as pointed out previously, the fact that the money was spent does not mean that it was well spent, nor whether the expected outcomes were reached. The issue regarding the delivery indicators is the following: what effects (impact) may be

⁷ Objectives established for the national strategy: (1) increase knowledge and disseminate information on child labour; (2) increase awareness and mobilize society’s institutions and organizations of the child labour issue; (3) build capacities and increase institutional coordination capacity on a national level, involving the Ministries of Labour, Education, Health and Communication, as well as the forums and councils involved; and, (4) improve current legislation and increase the capacity of law enforcement agencies.

⁸ Although recognizing that the AP delivery rate does not ensure effectiveness of the actions programmed, a low delivery rate may indicate problems in project execution and thus lower capacity of attaining the planned objectives and the effectiveness of the actions.

expected from an action programme which has only used – from a financial standpoint – less than one-third of the planned amount.

Considering this restriction, the analyses based on field observation sought to identify some experiences that could potentially be replicated and sustained even after the TBP, as well as propose suggestions that could increase the possibilities of results that could effectively be sustainable in the mid to long term.

Initial Results of the Project

According to its strategy, the TBP worked with a wide-ranging public, from children and adolescents in labour situations, their families, and managers, teachers and other professionals who are able to – directly or indirectly – to address the problem.

The project's several objectives and interventions on various levels involved a wide ranging public (direct beneficiaries, indirect, etc...). Thus, judgements regarding initial results of the TBP must reflect the differences among the various groups assisted, considering their respective situations and expectations. In this evaluation, the following groups were analysed:

- a) children withdrawn from labour situations;
- b) children at risk who have been “prevented” by the project;
- c) the families of assisted children;
- d) teachers and other staff members at the schools where the children receive support;
- e) local support, health and education policy managers;
- f) opinion-makers, especially the business community and workers;
- g) organizations involved in addressing the child labour problem, including the various bodies (forums, councils, etc.);
- h) managers of state and national policies affecting the child labour issue, as well as national and international organizations that are also involved.

The wide variety of groups assisted, as well as the potential beneficiaries of the TBP, required working with different needs and expectations in order to determine whether or not implementation was meeting these needs and expectations. In addition, the satisfying of the needs of one group may also be an element of satisfaction of another which, in many cases, is a spillover effect.

Thus, the success of the education AP with teachers at the schools attended by assisted children is a condition in meeting the needs of these children in terms of the quality of support and teaching offered to these children. In addition, a wider range of indicators and parameters is needed to determine whether or not the needs of the various groups are being met, to better contextualize the services and products offered, as well as the conditions in which these reach out to the project's target groups and beneficiaries.

In order to avoid redundancy in the activity reports and analyses being prepared by the various organizations, an initial assessment is provided for the project with regard to the meeting of the needs of the various target groups, which is outlined in the chart below. Additional descriptions, details and information regarding the project and its relations with the various target groups may be found in the descriptions and analyses being conducted for the project's various APs.

Table: Summary of the Project’s Support and of the Needs of its Target Groups and Beneficiaries.

Group	Objective/Need	Preliminary Assessment
Children withdrawn	To quit the labour situation; have access to schooling and other quality services; have his or rights fully ensured.	The children withdrawn are attending school and receiving support after school hours, but quality is still a challenge. Few children are returning to labour situations.
Children prevented	To have access to education and other quality services; have rights fully ensured; Not having to work and be exposed to risks.	The children withdrawn are attending school and receiving support after school hours, but quality is still a challenge.
Families	To have access to information and means to ensure minimal subsistence so that children do not have to work.	Information and orientation activities with families are relatively successful, but income generation initiatives are insufficient and incipient.
Professors	To be prepared to deal with the child labour problem in schools. To adopt a new outlook and new approaches to teaching.	Overall, the teacher training efforts have been successful, with the issue being addressed at schools.
Local managers	To increase awareness, to mobilize, and to increase the effectiveness of local support, and children and adolescents rights assurance networks.	The AP and the project have not been very successful towards increasing the effectiveness of local actions; however, awareness has increased regarding the importance of the issue.
Implementing Organizations	Empower them for the dialogue with government agents. Strengthen and increase their action capacity.	Overall, actions developed have not had a big impact in terms of institutional strengthening of the organizations involved, although the actions have contributed towards the improvement of their interventions and discussions.
State and National Managers	Increase awareness and sense of commitment of state managers with regard to policies addressing child labour, especially with the implementation of the National Plan.	The project has made national managers and, in some cases, state managers to commit themselves with the goals of the TBP and of the National Plan and with child labour elimination efforts.
Opinion-makers	Increase awareness among opinion-makers regarding the child labour problem, and their involvement in initiatives aimed at fighting and minimizing these practices.	In recent years, the child labour issue is now on the agenda of several opinion-makers, and the TBP has worked to maintain this momentum; however, there have been no significant impacts on these actors on a local level.

These results, however, are not as evident in the TBP monitoring mechanisms, which makes it necessary to resort to other sources used in this evaluation to prepare the above chart. It must be pointed out that, although Mercury and the management reports used by IPEC have produced information that is very useful in monitoring the activities of the APs, there was no action or strategy aimed at setting up some type of **Child Labour Monitoring System – CLMS**, which could (or should) provide wider coverage of child labour eradication initiatives. The failure in implementing such a system may partially be associated with the challenges of promoting the commitment of government,

employers and workers to addressing the child labour problem and, as a result, the agencies involved ended up concentrating their efforts on other priorities.

For example, the implementation of the TBP, associated with political articulation conducted by the IPEC team at the national level, led to the revitalization of CONAETI as the managing body of child labour elimination actions in Brazil. Thus, an institutional space was recovered – substituting the National Management Committee – and was granted the legitimacy to coordinate the TBP technical cooperation actions with regard to the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) entered into between the Brazilian government and the ILO towards the promotion of decent labour in the country.

As of the revitalization of the CONAETI, with the participation of the government, of workers' and employers' groups, and of other organizations of society, the National Child Labour Elimination Plan preparation process was initiated and, at the same time, the directives and principles that were to orient the TBP and IPECs actions in Brazil.

At the same time, the TBP sought to reinforce its role as “technical branch” of the forums towards the prevention and eradication of child labour (both on the national and state levels), in order to strengthen collaboration among the State and organized civil society, with the participation of workers' and employers' groups.

The expansion and strengthening of the collective construction of policies addressed at the child labour problem did not necessarily mean that actors were more committed to the cause. Actually, surveys and visits conducted in the states where the TBP has been implemented indicate the relative indifference of workers and employers to the effort; governmental sectors, however, have taken advantage of this space to improve the dialogue with organized segments of society.

One of the main difficulties faced by the action programmes, especially with regard to the support programmes, was the enormous effort put in by participating organizations in meeting of the goals of identifying and assisting children and youngsters in child labour situations.

Although they were unable to meet the programmed goals (see chart⁹) the project and its action programmes have, by and large, adhered to the submitted work plan, with regard to the prevention and removal of children and adolescents from the worst forms of child labour. Also, many of the managers involved in the implementation process pointed out that the number of children assisted by the project is increasing, both for prevented as well as for withdrawn children and adolescents.

⁹ The data in the chart was obtained from a summarized report produced by IPEC/ILO. However, field visits indicate that information on the number of support – withdrawal and prevention – is confusing, partly because reports submitted by the implementing agencies include data which refer to different execution periods, and also because there is no consensus regarding the concept of support.

On the other hand, the initiatives that need to be implemented in conjunction with other support – articulation with education, structuring of the protection network, development of communication processes, awareness and mobilization of relevant actors – have progressed differently in each municipality and in each state where the project is being implemented.

Goals and Number of Children Prevented and Withdrawn up to 9/13/2005, by State.		
State	Goal	Attained
Maranhão	1,040	1,066
Paraíba	454	266
São Paulo	1,550	898
Rio de Janeiro	181	401
Rio Grande do Sul	775	425
Total	4,000	3,056

Therefore, an assessment of the regularity of the delivery of the programme's results and product, as well as the factors explaining delays and difficulties, requires a specific analyses of each situation in each of states covered by the project.

The Situation in Maranhão

As in other states, in Maranhão the quantitative indicators, references of the reach of the project's proposed results, have become problematic with regard to the sources used: the PNAD and IBGE were taken literally. For example, in São Luis, most of the children that were to be withdrawn from child labour were, theoretically, engaged in family agriculture. In practice, activities involving child labour in the municipality were all urban in nature: domestic child labour, recycling, garbage collection, and sexual exploitation of children.

This generated initial difficulties with regard to project implementation in the state, and to the deployment of action programmes in the municipalities in the state of Maranhão, forcing a change of strategy for the municipalities which, without losing sight of the overall directives produced by the initial planning, would consider the specificities of each location, respecting and valuing diversity in the state.

As a consequence, the Support AP in Maranhão, which is being developed in the municipalities of Timon, Santa Inês, Imperatriz and São Luis, in a partnership between CEDECA and the Laborarte Foundation, has implemented 10 support poles in these locations, functioning as an extended version of the PETI, offering children various activities, such as classes in painting, handicrafts, dance, drama, and *capoeira*.

A fundamental characteristic of support provided by this AP is the characterization of labour by the LABORARTE Foundation, which is based on an art education proposal associated with popular culture. The idea is that children increase self-recognition within the cultural space. Said space is provided by the folklore of the Brazilian Northeast, and includes the teaching of the region's traditional dances and literature, such as *Bumba meu boi*, the *Cacuriá*, etc. The activities of Laborarte may provide interesting information which may be used to construct a replicable support model. Unfortunately, the distance between assisted municipalities hinders the exchange of information and the fruit of a greater synergy.

Due to a lack of trained instructors, not all units have had the same progress. However, it is important to point out that in those units where the instructors had a wider cultural repertoire, and knew the traditions and techniques, the results were qualitatively superior to those where instruction or activities were inexistent. A case in point, for example, is the revival of local cultural performers such as Mestre Maleiro, who is a fundamental representative of the *Bumba Meu Boi* tradition in the Timon region.

Overall, the children assisted by the program consider art-education as something very positive in their lives. But there is a difference when these activities are considered folklore. The degree of involvement and assimilation, and the emergence of a greater sense of belonging and participation among the children is evident. By putting on folkloric plays, these children participate in cultural events at other schools in the city, and thus gain self-esteem and a sense of realization. Another benefit has been the greater acceptance by teachers and citizens of children that were seen with certain distrust and prejudice. These elements, although yet to be included in a educational proposal, may well be used in the future development of support models.

The Education AP in the state of Maranhão has, in general terms, followed the Support APs, but not all schools assisted are directly related to the Support AP units, generating additional difficulties with regard to the assimilation and implementation of training by assisted teachers, clearly indicating that a closer relation between the school and extra-curricular activities favours the results proposed by the TBP.

In Imperatriz, where there was a lack of articulation between the Education and Support APs, the difficulty teachers had in accepting the need to eradicate child labour was evident. On the other hand, in São Luis, where this articulation took place, the change in the perception of teachers undergoing training was evident: before training child labour was considered positive; after, it was seen as a social, psychological, economic, political and educational problem, and are considering having the issue included in the educational policy of schools.

The communication processes in the state are being implemented by the MATRACA Agency, under the orientation of ANDI, the national agency overseeing the Communication AP. With regard to the state's media coverage of the child labour problem, there have quantitative and qualitative improvements. Although MATRACA has faced difficulties, especially regarding logistics and the capacity to accompany the other actions of the TBP, the project's partners agree that the issue's visibility in the media has increased. However, the media coverage is concentrated in the state capital.

In terms of institutional articulation, the implementation of the Cata-Vento project in Maranhão mobilized various state and municipal private and public organizations. The mayors and education departments of the four cities assisted recognize the importance of the project. The Tutelary and Rights Councils, the Labour prosecution office and the supervisors are aware of and have followed the discussions and implementation of TBP processes in the state and in each municipalities.

However, there does not seem to be a clear interest in adopting the Cata-Vento as a model to be replicated with municipal resources. The project's actions are perceived as an isolated initiative implementd by an external agent not having a great impact on the problems of the municipality. In the case of Imperatriz, the involvement of municipal

authorities in TBP implementation is inexistent, and only the involvement of the members of the Rights Councils grant legitimacy to the project.

With regard to the implementation of the income generation project, the AP has encountered difficulties. Either due to the lack of technical competence, to articulation problems, or to an excessive number of problems to solve regarding project management, implementation has not yet begun. In fact, the level of complexity involved in organizing groups of adults with little or no schooling, without any practical experience, without tangible sources of funding, and with no formal relations with the market becomes a challenge that requires a concentrated effort over a longer period to time and with more and better-defined human, technical and financial resources.

In addition to these difficulties, there were problems regarding the interpretation, by the organizations involved, of the goals to be attained, making them inflexible in light of the need to modify the quantities and adapt them to reality. This could have been done when the initial mapping was done. Instead, the mapping of children was actually the identification of those children who would be the immediate beneficiaries of the project, thus missing the opportunity of creating a map showing where and who the children involved in the worst forms of child labour are.

The obsession to attain the established goals obliged managers to fix their attention on quantitative results, disregarding important qualitative aspects regarding child support. This quantitative perspective, along with the spatial dispersion, as an territorial occupation strategy, produced a negative effect: the assisted units are only able to work with units in the same city or municipality when both are in the same urban area.

On the other hand, the distances, the costs and scarce resources made the exchange of experiences among units impossible. This same territorial dispersion of the initiatives increases management costs, leading to a concentration of costs in programme management in detriment of end activities, also hampering concentration gains, since the TBP is dispersed in a territorial sense.

This means that, even if the programmed goals are attained at the end of the project, the qualitative aspects of the results are negatively affected. Thus, the sustainability of the project will be jeopardized, since the element ensuring sustainability is the design of an efficient support model that effectively eradicates child labour and that may be assumed by governments and public policies.

With regard to the design of the support model, the actions implementd in Maranhão have proven to be interesting due to the fact that the use of elements of popular culture qualifies the work done in certain support poles. The learning of popular dances, of stories such as that of *Zumbi dos Palmares*, and traditional presentations such as the *Bumba Meu Boi* provide fundamental experiences to children which need to be studied as part of a model under construction, especially with regard to the psychological effects of these learning experiences on children, on their perception of their reality, and their living conditions.

The Situation in Paraíba

The action programme in the state of Paraíba was organized by *Casa Pequeno Davi* designated by the forum to act as an implementing agency, with the support of the *Beira da Linha* project for local implementation of the Education AP, and of Liberta to support some of the local actions for the Communication AP.

Originally scheduled to be implemented in five (5) municipalities in the state of the Paraíba¹⁰, the AP encountered initial difficulties in several locations, mainly as a result of changes that took place after the municipal elections held in 2004, since agreements previously entered into had to be resumed, and in some cases, the teams overseeing implementation were changed.

These restrictions strongly affected the strategy proposed by the Casa Pequeno Davi since, as established by the AP, it was up to the municipal governments to set up the local support teams as well as designate a project coordinator.

This model however did not stop Casa Pequeno Davi from seeking the support of non-governmental organizations acting in the municipalities¹¹, to help identify and register children and adolescents in labour situations, as well as, in a later stage, assume the responsibility of assisting children prevented or withdrawn by the project during the extra-curricular activities.

Cata-Vento in Paraíba currently oversees six (6) prevented or withdrawn child support units¹² in the four (4) municipalities it is operating in, assisting 266¹³ children and youngsters with art education, sports and school homework activities.

In the visits to the support units, the statements of fathers, mothers and children indicate their satisfaction and happiness in participating in the activities conducted by Cata-

The Case of the Princess

The municipality of Princesa Isabel, in the Paraíba hinterland, was selected by the forum and for the AP since the statistics indicated the large number of children involved in marijuana farmin.

However, when the Casa Pequeno Davi wanted to initiate the AP in the municipality, not only was there a strong rejection of the diagnosis and the existence of the problem, but several local actors refused to participate or collaborate with the project. The unfavourable environment for the project's execution forced the responsible agency to end the project in the municipality and remanage its goals to other assisted municipalities.

¹⁰ The municipalities covered by the AP were : (1) **João Pessoa**, state capital, concentrating on the domestic child labour problem; (2) **Patos**, aimed at the sexual exploitation problem; (3) **Santa Rita**, for child labour in the rural areas; (4) **Princesa Isabel**, combatting child labour in drug plantations; and, (5) **Guarabira**, with urban child labour actions.

¹¹ Only in the municipality of Santa Rita were all the AP actions carried out by the Municipal Government. In João Pessoa and Patos, the Casa Pequeno Davi was supported by the Pastoral do Menor, while MAC was responsible for assistance in Guarabira.

¹² These are as follows: 1 unit in João Pessoa, assisting 65 children, 30 of which were already receiving assistance at the unit before the project; 3 units in Patos, with a total of 44 children assisted; 1 unit in Santa Rita, in the district of Odilândia, assisting nearly 60 children; and, 1 unit in Guarabira, assisting approximately 80 children (between 257 and 287 children).

¹³ This is the figure informed by the AP report for IPEC. Given the project's dynamics, as well as the interpretation of the data regarding assistance in João Pessoa, this small difference may be explained.

Vento and have indicated that there have been positive impacts on the behaviour, self-esteem, and commitment of children and adolescents in school.

However, in most of the support units visited, it was not possible to identify a pedagogical project that coordinated the activities. Normally, when more ample directives do exist, the political and ideological influence of the supervising organization prevails, contradicting certain general directives and principles of the TBP.

The education/support actions of the Casa Pequeno Davi and the Beira da Linha project were implemented in an integrated manner, with close cooperation between the teams of both organizations. This has helped bring the school and the municipal support units closer together, especially those geographically closer. According to the project managers in the state, the good working relationship between the organizations may be explained, among other things, by the fact that both have previous collaboration experience.

At the schools where the Beira da Linha project has developed its training activities, results have been obtained on several fronts: the introduction of the child labour issue in school syllabi; stressing of the importance of playing as fundamental towards the development of children and adolescents; and furthermore, the promotion of a close dialogue between the school and the community and the students' families.

There has been little progress in bringing schools and other institutions engaged in upholding closer together to uphold the rights of children and adolescents, reflecting the difficulties the AP has been facing in setting up a child protection network.

An assessment of the Paraíba experience strengthens the notion that the more concentrated a AP is in a territory, the more possible it is to consider a network of policies and services aimed at fighting the problem and upholding the rights of children. For example, the district of Odilândia was the only place where Family Health Programme was involved in the project's initiatives. Again, because the support units were within 100 meters of each other, and provided support to the same public.

Regarding the Communication AP, the NGO Liberta has participated in the effort coordinated by ANDI, and has supported, within its limitations, the actions of the State. The evaluation of the professionals involved in the project has indicated that the AP in Paraíba has been able to place the child labour issue on the State's agenda, and is positively assessed.

The Cabaret School

In the municipality of Patos, the Education AP is working with professionals of a school which is located in a bad part of the city, and is known as the cabaret school.

The main consequence of this process was that the community itself began rejecting the school and did not want their children going to school there. By the end of 2004, only 48 children were enrolled in the school, although it had a capacity for 150.

With the full support of the school's directors, Beira da Linha has been working to bring the community closer to the school, increasing its recognition and self-esteem. As a result of this joint effort, the school started the year with 90 enrollments, and this number is expected to increase next year.

According to these professionals, the results of the Communication AP in the state of Paraíba may stimulate a reaction by the state media to the declaration of the new Catholic bishop in João Pessoa who publicly declared that it is preferable to see children working than abandoned on the streets, subject to criminality and violence. This declaration had a negative repercussion in the local media and reached the national media where profound disagreement was expounded, as well as a public retraction.

The Situation in Rio de Janeiro

The assessment of the actions of the TBP in the city of Rio de Janeiro must consider the fact that its design and choices followed a totally different pattern than that followed in other states, and thus must be considered from different perspectives and criteria.

First of all, the Rio de Janeiro action programme, as opposed to the other selection processes, did not follow the consultation and indication rituals of the state forums. The organization responsible for support, the Observatório de Favelas, has been working with the ILO since 2003 in a project aimed at mapping and identifying children involved in drug trafficking in the slums of Rio, and thus was chosen to continue with the work.

Second, according to interviews conducted, the forum for the prevention and eradication of child labour in Rio de Janeiro is not adequately equipped to carry out the activities called for by the TBP, especially with regard to their capacity of articulating various sectors of society committed to the cause. This led the organization to structure its own network and forum to discuss the issue, leading to competition.

On the other hand, according to the coordination of the AP, the lack of articulating capacity of the state forum was partly due to its own organizations, as well as with the other organizations, which meant that the TBP did not strengthen it as planned. Also, it was necessary to rework the project's entire support structure (which theoretically is the responsibility of the forum) which required an ample negotiation effort which ended up delaying the support network training process.

Lastly, the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Government is not involved or is not committed with the implementation of the AP in the city, due to its size and to the fact that the drug trafficking problem and the participation of children and adolescents in this activity was not addressed from a security and criminality perspective. Consequently, the partnerships with municipal public agents were established outside the formal institutional processes, being based on the personal commitment of directors, professors, and other municipal civil servants.

Maré, the Gaza Strip and Assistance.

The Gaza Strip is the name given by the Maré community to a region that is located between the areas controlled by 3 criminal organizations in Rio de Janeiro (the *Terceiro Comando*, the *Comando Vermelho* and *Amigo dos Amigos*).

It is not only the surreal aspect of houses, public buildings, lamp posts, and schools riddled by bullet holes that most impresses and frightens those living there.

The Gaza Strip is also a natural barrier to the Support AP, since children and youngsters living in an area controlled by one group are prohibited from entering another.

Besides the issues regarding the project's situation in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the actions of the TBP were strongly conditioned by the characteristics and dimensions of the drug trafficking problem in the communities assisted by the project. There are various repercussions, in terms of the complexity of the intervention, resulting from the disputes among the different groups of drug traffickers acting in the regions.

As a consequence, the movements of prevented or withdrawn children and adolescents in the communities was extremely restricted, making it difficult to gather youngsters from various communities at one support centre. Furthermore, when conflicts between rival groups got more intense, the project's activities were interrupted and participants would not attend.

This situation explains the difficulties faced by the Support AP in attaining its objectives of assisting children and adolescents withdrawn from drug trafficking activities and, more importantly, of ensuring support to youngsters identified and monitored by a longitudinal survey being conducted by the *Observatório de Favelas* in several communities in Rio de Janeiro.

This survey, conducted with the support of the ILO office in Brazil over the last two years has identified, through a network of local participants in each *favela*, a total of 230 children and adolescents who, in one way or another, are involved in drug trafficking. Currently, these participants continue to monitor the activities of these youngsters, collecting information on a regular basis on each one, allowing a longitudinal monitoring of their lives. Of the original 230 youngsters identified – which officialized the *Observatório* as the TBP implementing agency in the city of Rio de Janeiro – only 8 are being assisted by the project.

Overall, the *Rotas de Fuga* (Escape Routes) project, name given to the TBP in the city of Rio de Janeiro, is assisting a total of 68 children and youngsters, 29 of which have been withdrawn from labour situations, and 39 prevented, from a group of 60 families residing in the Nova Maré community and who participated in an initiative carried out by the *Observatório de Favelas* in that area.

Another challenge the Support AP has to face daily is the imbalance between the urgency of the demand and the slow pace of support offered by public children's and adolescents' support institutions. According to the statements made by technical staff of the implementing agency, the successful removal of youngsters from drug trafficking require quick action in terms of compensation and support of the choice made. By leaving drug trafficking, not only are financial and material losses incurred, but also a

What does trafficking offer?

When work related to drug trafficking is discussed, we immediately think of armed persons watching over points of sale. But is it only this?

When crime is organized in a community, its economic activities expand in the area, incorporating, for example: “the sale of protection”; “the sale of rights to do work in the protected communities”; and even apparently legal activities, that are used to cover up illegal activities.

Child labour in trafficking needs to be understood in all its dimensions, since the implications and challenges of removing youngsters and children from this situation is very similar to the removal of those engaged in trafficking.

loss of status, and in some cases, lives are at risk. Furthermore, when the project approaches the young person and offers an alternative way of life, drug traffickers respond by promoting them, and in many cases they end up staying.

There is still considerable prejudice with regard to children and adolescents withdrawn from drug trafficking. The public agencies responsible for providing support, when these individuals are at risk, are aware of the difficulties of working with people coming from this situation, and refuse to provide any support, regardless of how illegal this may be. In addition, there are so many requirements in terms of schooling, documentation, etc., that many cannot be enlisted in public social inclusion programmes.

Regarding activities carried out by AP support units, the Observatório has adopted initiatives that are more attractive to their target public (photography, hip-hop culture), but nevertheless is finding it difficult to keep the attendance up. Even with itinerant activities being carried out in other communities (Andaraí and Morro do Barbante) the frequency of these initiatives is very low. For the project's coordinating body, this may possibly be due to the challenge in dealing with issues of authority and discipline with these young persons, who are accustomed to the rules of conduct of drug trafficking.

In spite of the difficulties, positive results were observed regarding the work carried out by the organization responsible for the Education AP in the municipality (TEAR). Of a total of 5 schools in the Maré community who were invited to participate in the training process, only 3 accepted, and of these, one has had results that deserve mentioning.

The best AP results were obtained at the Gustavo Capanema CIEP public school. Located in the *Gaza Strip*, and in spite of the lack of formal involvement of the Municipal Education Secretariat, the AP was able to involve a significant number of teachers in the discussion of the child labour and child recovery issues (of a total of 42 teachers, 11 participated in the training), especially those teaching the initial grades, and who also work with progression groups, comprised of students considered by many as 'problem students', whose ages range between 9 and 13.

According to these teachers' statements, this experience has helped them better understand the impacts child labour has on the daily lives of their students and on their performance at school, as well serving to incorporate new techniques and approaches in their classes.

The teachers who were interviewed at the school in Rio de Janeiro were unanimous in their positive evaluation of the material made available by the ILO, which provided a base with which to orient their discussions of child labour with their colleagues and students.

For the majority of children and their parents child labour was considered something good and necessary before the work in the school began. Teachers then spoke to parents and sent out – through the students – a questionnaire to be filled out by parents regarding the child labour issue. In the teachers' opinions, this initiative was fundamental to avoid potential conflicts between the families and the school.

The Situation in Rio Grande do Sul

The Cata-Vento Project in the state of Rio Grande do Sul is being implemented in the municipalities of Novo Hamburgo, Caxias do Sul, Candelária, and in the city of Porto Alegre, the state capital. The USBEE, agency responsible for the coordination of the AP in the state, set up three units in the municipalities and 3 in the capital. In each unit, the children have access to several artistic, cultural and sports activities.

Support provided at the Rio Grande do Sul units is characterized by the insertion of beneficiaries in dance, drama, sports and recreation activities. The social educators contracted are youngsters and adults who live near the communities. The activities do not follow a specific program linked to a determined pedagogical proposal. Overall, the idea seems to be to have the children's after school hours occupied with fun and creative activities.

Although the activities are positive, they are carried out without a pedagogical project establishing objectives and intentionality, and in particular, without seeking to define an support model for children withdrawn from child labour situations, thus limiting its possibilities.

The Education AP in the state of Rio Grande do Sul has faced certain difficulties, especially of an institutional nature. Initially, Save the Children had contacted PROEPRE to be the implementing agency in the state, but there were difficulties in the inter-institutional relation between PROEPRE and USBEE, as well as between the role that was expected by the Education AP and the role the agency indicated by SAVE had assumed, with each institution viewing the project and its objectives differently. After almost a year of implementation difficulties, it was proposed that AVESOL assume the role.

Since initial contacts had already been made by PROEPERE in the municipalities and at the schools targeted by the project, AVESOL faced certain resistance when the child labour issue was introduced and when it proposed working art-education principles with the school – the teachers were expecting formal academic training.

Besides, the teacher training programs in the state of Rio Grande do Sul were quite intensive and planned beforehand, which led to endless negotiations as to how to introduce the a child labour issue in the teacher training agenda. Consequently, this issue is still being discussed. But the greatest difficulty has been changing the mentality of the teachers with regard to the negative aspects of child labour for children.

The Communication AP initially involved the training of journalists, and was conducted by ANDI in October, 2004, during a Information Source Training Seminar. However, this was little given the long tradition of the state's media in not discussing the child labour issue, or not considering it a problem.

When ANDI's activities in the state came to an end, the Communication AP was faced with the traditional silence of the state's media. USBEE had to then assume the communication actions, through one of its internal agencies, ASCONK – The USBEE Marketing and Communication Agency. In spite of this, from the perspective of

USBEE, there has been no improvement in neither the quality nor the quantity of information on the child labour problem in said state's media.

The coordinator of ASCONK participated in the capacity building sessions conducted by ANDI, and over the last year, has coordinated a discreet communication process, aimed at stimulating the child labour issue in the state's media. According to her, it has been possible to notice the difficulty in channelling the issue towards the large media, the lack of knowledge regarding in the interior of the state, and the strong cultural consensus among authorities and society at large as being a "value of the *gaúcho* culture". In spite of the few results in terms of insertions in the media, she has recognized the importance of the effort as a way to increase awareness of the problem.

The State Plan in Rio Grande do Sul

The state of Rio Grande do Sul still does not have its State Child Labour Eradication Plan, which is supposedly still being drawn up by a State Commission. The lack of a plan, besides being an indicator of the difficulties in incorporating the child labour problem to the state's political agenda, is aggravated by an additional difficulty with regard to the articulation of agencies involved in the TBP in the state regarding intervention strategies and sustainability.

From an institutional articulation standpoint, USBEE has made an effort to weave a network of actors aimed at implementing the project and its assimilation as public policy. These efforts include municipal authorities and agencies, rights and tutelary councils, as well as the state forums. Institutional relations have faced difficulties in municipalities where the project is not well received, in part for not agreeing with the initial diagnosis.

For these municipalities, the child labour statistics do not reflect local reality. Although they accept the implementation of the project, they do not share its principles and objectives, with the exception of the municipality of Candelária, where another level of awareness is being created with regard to the child labour issue by the team comprised by the Mayor's office, the Education Secretariat, and the Social Support Secretariat.

Noticeable, especially in the municipalities in the interior, is the denial of the existence of the child labour problem. Indicators collected by the TBP for these municipalities are openly rejected by the local authorities, who allege never having heard of the sources and who question their veracity. They also cast doubts on the mapping instruments used to identify the children who would be assisted by the project.

The visits made to the state indicate that the children assisted by the project fit the profile of children in situations of severe social inequality, many of them being forced to work at home while their mothers (reference figures) leave to work, while others are engaged in recycling activities, including the collection of metals and glass, and others peddle, and sell candy and small objects in the streets.

In spite of this profile, most of the children are forced to work either due to their economic situation or to domestic violence, including sexual abuse, and are thus: **children in the prevented category**. Children who are sexually exploited or who are engaged in drug trafficking remain unreachable. Also, many children who are engaged in family agriculture remain distant from the TBP, since there are no units located in the rural areas of the municipalities assisted.

Also noticeable is the excessive concern to include in the program as many children as planned in the project outline, thus attaining the programmed goal. This led to the inclusion of all the children interviewed when the mapping was conducted, adversely affecting the qualitative criteria, especially with regard to the construction of an support reference model.

However, the children in the Cata-Vento project have expressed their thanks and recognize the difference of being involved in extra-curricular activities. They like what they do, participate in the dance, theatre, and sports workshops, and even get a meal and bag from PETI.

As the units began their support work, there was a noticeable change in the children's behaviour. There have been several accounts of children who were aggressive, violent or depressed, whose performance was weak at school, with difficulty in adapting to social relations, who no longer behave this way. The workshops have contributed to recovering self-esteem, new self-perception and especially access to activities that open up spaces for leisure and creativity.

Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go to consolidate these incipient results. The workshops were delayed due to problems faced during implementation caused by changes made during the electoral period. The units are all relatively new and have not had enough time to stabilize, analyse, reflect and model their activities. For now, the initiatives are still a series of fragmented and spatially distant activities.

Workshops have also been set up for groups of mothers aimed at generating income, involving activities that include the production of Christmas handicrafts and costume jewellery. It was not possible to verify the presence a structure which would allow the effective and sustainable insertion of these people in the labour market. Although well-intentioned, these initiatives are naïve and unprofessional.

Consequently, on all the levels of intervention in the state, there is concern with regard to the sustainability of the results obtained. It is asked, for example, whether in the time remaining for the project the quantitative goals should be attained (number of children assisted) or whether efforts be aimed at the systematic organizing of the project's qualitative dimensions (model design).

Thus, social educators associated with the project perceive the need for more implementation time in order to guarantee the results obtained. On the other hand, none of the authorities in any of the municipalities manifested interest in continuing the process initiated, and much less in expanding it to other extra-curricular activity units. In the state of Rio Grande do Sul, it is quite probable that, when the project's actions are ended, the children assisted by the TBP will only receive support by the PETI.

The Situation in São Paulo

The implementation of the AP in São Paulo may be described as being extremely heterogeneous with regard to the activities programmed for each one of the

municipalities¹⁴. To begin with, it was in this state that a certain municipality (Ferraz de Vasconcelos), which was not originally included among those targeted to be assisted by the AP, requested their inclusion to the Forum, which ended up taking place for both support as well as for education.

With regard to the heterogeneous development of the activities, actions in schools took place more rapidly than those related to the identification of children and youngsters in child labour situations, and their subsequent support. This may be explained by the fact that, in most municipalities, support activities were in their initial stages (Ferraz de Vasconcelos¹⁵, São Paulo and Itapeva¹⁶) had still not begun (Campinas and Caraguatatuba).

In these two municipalities (Campinas and Caraguatatuba) the delay in implementation was due to different reasons. In the first, the municipal government already had a well-structured child labour elimination programme. Local actors strongly questioned and debated the project and its choices (such as aiming efforts at domestic labour instead of urban labour), provoking delays in the research processes (research itself was also strongly questioned and rejected) aimed at identifying children in labour situations, and at organizing support agencies (many of these agencies were already working with the municipal PETI and were not interested in working with the AP the way it was conceived, especially regarding the funding of activities).

In Caraguatatuba, the main reasons for the delays, according to the implementing agency, were the mistakes made by the team when the AP approached the municipality. According to the surveys, due to the sensitivity of the issue – sexual exploitation – the Orsa Foundation team should have adopted an adequate approach, more negotiated and integrated with local actors. This did not take place, provoking negative reactions by the municipality and other local groups. This problem, along with other problems faced by the team during the implementation of the AP, forced the implementing agency to substitute the entire team, which also caused delays.

A Batatinha Harvest

In Itapeva, the TBP's actions focused on rural child labour. One location having a AP assistance unit, and with training activities at the school is an area that was previously a *quilombo* (a community of freed or runaway slaves), where the inhabitants are seasonal farm hands in the harvesting of various products, among which is the *batatinha* (small potato).

When harvest time arrives, the families of some of the students asked the school to anticipate the final exams so that children could help in the harvest.

In spite of recognizing the importance of this income to families, the school did not authorize the anticipation of the exams so as not to collaborate with this activity for children.

¹⁴ The municipalities are Campinas, Caraguatatuba, Itapeva, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, and the São Mateus region, located in the municipality of São Paulo.

¹⁵ In Ferraz de Vasconcelos a total of 68 children identified by the AP have been included in the 7 municipal PETI units.

¹⁶ In Itapeva, of an initial target of 130 children, 107 were identified in child labour situations in municipal rural areas, and are being assisted in 3 municipal PETI units.

The Education AP in the state developed much better in practically all municipalities, with the exception of Campinas, where the actions aimed at schools have yet to be initiated, for schools and team members have not yet been identified.

In the other municipalities, actions involving schools and teachers have produced very good results, meeting the expectations of the TBP and of the agents involved. In practically all the statements, if initially teachers and professionals at schools did not recognize the child labour problem or considered it a solution, with their participation and involvement in the training sessions sponsored by the TBP, their outlook changed, and are now more aware of the phenomena that may indicate cases of working children in their classrooms and schools.

The approach adopted by the agency responsible for the AP in the state values and works with teachers the use of games in learning processes while, at the same time, stressing the importance of affective, psychological and social development of children and adolescents in school and their daily lives.

Although the initiatives produced better results in locations where teachers were better qualified – such as the schools in the municipality of São Paulo – the impacts of this training on the attitudes of teachers both in and out of the classroom must be positively regarded. Conduct and procedures previously considered normal, are now questioned by teachers and, among those interviewed, there is an increased concern that work for children is not the best alternative for their professional or personal development.

The involvement of school managers in the training processes also contributed towards the incorporation of the child labour issue in school agendas and its future sustainability. A good example is Memorandum 636/05, issued by the regional education board of the São Mateus region in São Paulo, obliging schools to identify and report all children found to be in labour situations, as a way of overcoming initial resistance.

Also according to statements of some of the teachers involved, especially regarding the identification of children in labour situations, the way children were seen has changed, as well as how the child labour issue is being considered. One teacher said that after having identified a student as working in the street market (because of calloused hands) decided to include the child labour issue at meetings with parents that took place regularly at the school.

The effort to determine the number of students in labour situations also helps to stress the importance of addressing the theme at schools and with the school communities. According to one of the teachers interviewed, the results of a survey in a school were ‘frightening’. At this school, nearly 5% of students (approximately 120 of a total of 2,400 students) were working, most of which were boys who worked in the open air markets in the region.

On the other hand, awareness and mobilization activities with governments, the business community and trade unions in the state or in the municipalities were hardly noticeable. This in spite of the fact that in the municipalities involved in the AP there were large companies which carried out programs that strongly complemented the actions carried out by the TBP. Although the state forum was present at the discussions,

its role as a stimulator of partnerships, as well as the awareness and mobilization efforts of the agency responsible for the AP (ABRINQ) fell short of what was expected by interventions of this type in São Paulo.

From a broader perspective, the effects of the project in terms of social awareness and mobilization against the child labour issue differ from segment to segment in society and. To a certain extent, they are a result of how the strategy was structured and how it was implemented during this initial observation period.

As expected, the awareness and mobilization initiatives obtained higher returns from those social organizations that work, in some way or another, to uphold the rights of children and adolescents. Although this is more evident in support organizations and entities defending their rights, awareness efforts were also well received by health, education, art-culture organizations.

This does not mean that the support unit managing networks will be equally affected by the awareness and mobilization initiatives. The school and health networks however, as well as their secretariats and managing agencies, have been less sensitive to the child labour discourse, and may eventually hamper project initiatives and their continuance.

Governments have also become more receptive to the project's objectives and have slowly started to include the child labour issue in their political discourse and agendas. This does not mean, however, that the issue now comprises their list of priorities. Especially in regions where child labour is culturally seen as a solution, managers very reluctantly change their discourse, and often do so without conviction.

Regarding businesses and workers groups the issue changes in nature. Generally speaking, both have incorporated the need to address the child labour as a way to do justice to children and give more decency to the world of work. But, agreement with the decent labour proposed by the ILO is not necessarily reflected by the practices of these organizations, especially on the sub-national and municipal levels.

The participation of this type of organization in initiatives carried out by the TBP, in all five municipalities analysed, is quite small, if it all. In spite of attending the state forums and occasionally eventual project meetings in the state, their commitment and contributions to the cause are minimal, in comparison to the possibilities of cooperation.

Perspectives of sustainability of the results of the project

A discussion of the sustainability of the results attained by the project must be contextualized according to the project sustainability concept adopted by IPEC for the TBP in Brazil. In adopting an experimental and complementary stance with regard to the National Child Labour Elimination Plan, sustainability of the initiatives and commitment to addressing the problem is, in theory, assured.

The TBP strategy however aims at the development and experimentation of proposals that innovate and support government initiatives and programmes addressing the problem. Therefore, the sustainability or even appropriation – by governments – of the proposals set forth by IPEC based on the results of the implementation of the TBP need to be reconsidered.

The idea proposed by the project also points to different levels of appropriation and sustainability of the results and recommendations of the TBP. By structuring intervention calling for actions on a federal, state and municipal level, sustainability of the project's initiatives should be considered on each level of government and in terms of each one of the action programme objectives:

- a) Support to training;
- b) Approximation with education as well as other public agents, for their capacity to enforce the law;
- c) Awareness and mobilization of society;
- d) Awareness and involvement of the private sector and municipal governments;
- e) More information made available on child labour and the need for legislative improvements.

This assessment also addresses how the different actors have appropriated (if actually) the project's results and how the gains of said appropriation may be sustained.

On a more direct scale are the children and their families, who were withdrawn or prevented from labour situations. The immediate objectives are: abandonment of the labour situation or the risk of working; the return to school and the receiving of quality complementary orientation; the production of alternative sources of income for families that do not involve the return of their children to labour situations.

From a wider perspective, there is the sustainability of the actions proposed by the project in terms of their inclusion or their capacity to influence public policies aimed at fighting child labour.

This would mean asking whether the techniques, training sessions, methodologies and other tools adopted by the TBP may be adopted in government practices in policies aimed at eliminating child labour. And whether they would be sustainable over time.

From a wider perspective, it is currently easier to identify the sustainability of certain benefits and results that children and families have appropriated, than to identify TBP developments and results that may be adopted by state and municipal public policies. Furthermore, at the present moment, it is unlikely that the experiences and lessons learned from the implementation of these initiatives in the municipalities have the

Decentralization and Collaboration

An aspect to be considered in the analysis is the effect that the decentralization of assistance policies has on the outcomes of the TBP, as in the case of the PETI.

When the TBP strategy was negotiated between IPEC/ILO and PETI/MDS, CONAETI and the Fórum it was agreed that if there were children who were identified in labour situations and who were not being assisted by PETI, that PETI goals would be allocated to provide assistance.

However, in practice (and according to the decentralization rationale), it is not enough for the Ministry to establish goals for the states: The State, through the state commission, has to approve an increase in goals in the municipality; and the municipal government must accept the inclusion of the children identified by the TBP and their families in the list of beneficiaries of the PETI.

sufficient force¹⁷ to influence the discussion of a national policy addressing the child labour issue.

An interesting aspect is that local appropriation of the action programmes is not directly related to the idea of long-term sustainability that has been associated with the support strategies proposed by the majority of the ongoing action programmes.

The main way of ensuring financial (and eventually technical) commitment by municipal governments has been the inclusion of those children receiving support by the TBP and their families in the Child Labour Eradication Program (PETI) and/or, whenever possible, their inclusion in extra-curricular activities offered by municipal governments when children are not at school.

To ensure success, the organizations responsible for the Support APs in each state not only need to enter into negotiations with municipal governments – to include children in the PETI, and to ensure enrolment in extra-curricular activities – but also need to support municipal governments in negotiations with the state PETI commissions to increase the number of programme goals in the state supported by the TBP.

Without downplaying the importance of including children in the PETI, of enrolling them in school, as well as including their families in other government support programs as a strategy to ensure sustainability of these results, the technical dimension had yet to take form.

Seen another way, although those children identified by the TBP are certainly better off than they were before the project was implemented, sustainability of the other dimensions, namely, quality support, structuring of the network, strengthening of organizations and deliberative groups, and mobilization and awareness of actors, is not ensured.

Although from the outset the organizations responsible for the implementation of the TBP and the various APs have made it clear to local and state actors that the interventions supported by ILO/IPEC being conducted in the municipality would be of limited duration, there are few indicators that partner organizations are preparing any type of project discontinuation strategy.

First of all, in certain municipalities the APs are still in such a preliminary stage of development that it would be impossible to

Influencing the Action of the Government

In the municipality of Guarabira, in the state of Paraíba, assistance actions are the responsibility of a local youth group, MAC.

The success being obtained by this NGO with the children covered by the TBP led the municipal government to hire its coordinator to assist the municipal team responsible for extra-curricular activities of the PETI in the municipality.

¹⁷ This issue require a more in-depth analysis. From the surveys and interviews, it is clear that IPEC/ILO, based on its conventions and institutional credibility, may and has influenced government policy aimed at the elimination of child labour. Thus, the results and examples obtained by the TBP may provide the subsidies that ILO seeks to obtain regarding this issue. This does not mean, however, by the way the TBP is being conducted that the cases and results end up generating models that, due to their quality and validity, are able to influence and provide subsidies to public policies from a wider perspective.

speak of discontinuation¹⁸ or even of a strategy in this regard. Secondly, since – apparently – partner organizations recognize that the TBP involved the probable expansion and replication of the modelled techniques and methodologies during this experimentation period. Thus, although some success stories are influencing local practices as well as those in other locations, this has not taken place in a systematic and organized manner, as would be desired.

Therefore, work needs to be done to restore the understanding of the experimental role of the actions carried out by the project, and especially with regard to the systematic organization of the lessons learned, so that these may be adopted on a wider scale by the municipalities benefited by the program, as well as serve as a reference for other organizations and governments seeking to improve their child labour eradication initiatives.

4. Lessons Learned and Recommendations

The analysis in this mid-term evaluation was based on the assumption that the main objective was to identify lessons that could orient the TBP, its funding agencies and the managers of involved organizations with regard to possible improvements.

In the preliminary discussions with the various stakeholders during field visits and interviews, as well as at the seminar presenting the preliminary results of this evaluation, the analyses focused on what needed to be done, as opposed to what had not been done, or what was badly done.

However, for a better understanding of the entire analysis, and especially of this chapter, it must be pointed out that the concept of LIMITED DURATION does not mean that the struggle to eliminate child labour in the country, or in the locations where actions take place, is of limited duration, since this is a attribution of the State, and it is the goal of the National Child Labour Eradication Plan, and of its sub- actions at the various governmental levels.

LIMITED DURATION means the period necessary to CONCEIVE, DEVELOP, EXPERIMENT and DISSEMINATE an integrated ACTION MODEL aimed at the prevention and eradication of the worst forms of child labour, in order to support and perfect the National Plan.

Since the objective was to concentrate the analysis on those lessons that could contribute to the overall actions of the program, and at the same time, serve as a reference for the new states that, as of 2006, will initiate their respective action programmes, the lessons learned were organized according to the dimensions of the involved organizations, namely, project and AP management; support training; collaboration with education; communication with society; and awareness and mobilization of the relevant social actors.

¹⁸ See Support APs in São Paulo, Education APs in Rio Grande do Sul, or the business community mobilization initiatives in all 5 states.

Lastly, this chapter raises some issues that arose during the visits and discussions of the implementation of the TBP which could neither be classified as lessons learned nor as suggestions for possible action.

Programme Management

a) Lessons Learned

Lesson: In assuming the TBP as component aimed at supporting the Brazilian Government in the implementation of its National Plan, IPEC Brazil was able to overcome the TBP “ownership” problem, since the programme belongs to the National Plan. However, the capacity to influence public policies in addressing child labour – theoretically – has been reduced to the proportion and relevance of the TBP with regard to the National Plan.

Lesson: The mosaic of organizations, with actions on different levels of intervention, requires management and integration mechanisms that jeopardize the efficiency of interventions, with investments being concentrated on management actions that are distant from where the actions take place.

Lesson: On the other hand, the support of organizations in identifying local partner organizations allowed the choice of entities which shared the mentality and the forms of intervention in addressing the child labour issue.

Lesson: The idea of a forum acting as an articulating agent of the project implementation NETWORK, supported by a MANAGING ORGANIZATION, is still not fully understood. If the AP managing committee within the forum is not well structured, the organization responsible for support ends up assuming the functions that originally are the forum's.

Lesson: Regarding the choice of organizations – by the forums – there is the importance of selecting a AP managing organization in each state that has had previous experience in working with projects and results, making it easier to incorporate the AP and its activities to the overall structure of the organization, thus increasing the sustainability of the actions and future results.

Lesson: The orientation of the TBP towards the number of children assisted (prevented or withdrawn) jeopardizes the role of modelling and experimentation given to the TBP, and the forums and organizations involved in the experimentation. Instead of concentrating on producing a model or example that could be translated into public policy, the priority was to assist the identified children.

Lesson: The few occasions in which an exchange of experiences among organizations involved in the APs took place (on either a state or national level), ended – in many cases – with participating organizations moving apart. Even misunderstandings arose regarding the roles of each organization and the possibilities of cooperating and complementing each others work.

Lesson: The MERCURE management software, which required extra attention by those responsible for inputs, was considered difficult to work with, even among those who declared that the software tool was useful in monitoring expenses and producing reports.

Lesson: Due to its experimental nature – also subject to contingencies – the project’s budget implementation schedule hampered or severely restricted the capacity of the organizations to address situations in a flexible way.

Lesson: Organizations that invested in the setting up of a local forum or a AP managing committee on a municipal level, with the participation of partner or potential partner organizations, declared that it was easier to establish dialogues, and to reinforce the construction of networks upholding the rights of children.

b) Suggestions for Action

Suggestion: From a broader perspective, experience has indicated the need to determine the territory where the AP’s actions are to take place within the municipality. The possibilities of strengthening the rights’ defence networks, of involving schools, and of committing families and the community tend to increase when all the actions of the AP are concentrated in the same territory.

Suggestion: The TBP should aim at providing orientation to the forums with regard to this new management model, especially since they oversee collaboration with IPEC/ILO, and are responsible for a closer relationship with their managing committees.

Support to Training

a) Lessons Learned

Lesson: The “ex-ante” definition of the number of children to be identified in a certain area or community, and the type of child labour they are involved, tends to bias the mapping of these children. Thus, many children not originally targeted by the actions of the TBP are not assisted – normally those who could be prevented –, either because once the goal is attained the search for new cases ceases, or because when goals are not reached the cases are included anyway.

Lesson: The mapping of children to be withdrawn or prevented must be understood as a preparatory phase of the AP, with own instruments. It should not be considered to establish implementation deadlines, since this may influence and change the intervention planning.

Lesson: The gathering of the socio-economic information of the children identified during the mapping phase should have been carried out along with the teacher training activities in schools, getting them more directly involved in the discussion and helping them understand the situation of their students, as well as the child labour issue and its repercussions with regard to children in school.

Lesson: The absence of directives or orientation for the pedagogical approach to be adopted at the socio-educational support units regarding extra-curricular activities does not allow the organization responsible for this support to require a standard of quality from local partners. This leads to a diversity of pedagogical approaches that are frequently contradictory in relation to the directives of the organization or those of the ILO.

Lesson: There is consensus among the various organizations involved in the Support AP regarding the idea and usefulness of working with children considered PREVENTED. All those involved declared that the situation of risk requiring preventive action is fundamentally related to the fact that another member of the family is involved in a child labour situation, or that the child lives or frequently visits an environment that increases the possibility of being involved in labour situations.

b) Suggestions for Action

Suggestion: The number of goals and the economic activity must be the starting point for the action strategy. However, they should oblige the project to grant flexibility to adjust the interventions. In extreme cases, the issue should be taken up again at the Forum to discuss changing the municipality where the AP should be implemented.

Suggestion: The ILO and the organizations involved in educational activities could support the responsible organizations in defining minimum parameters, and in providing orientation regarding how to implement the pedagogical construction processes in the support units.

Education

a) Lessons Learned

Lesson: The dispersion of the teacher training actions, benefiting participants from various teaching units, is only feasible if institutional support is provided by the educational network, especially the pedagogical coordination. In the absence of this support, it is more effective to work with a larger group of education professionals per school, thus creating a critical mass that would increase the sustainability of the actions.

Lesson: The proposals of integrating the actions carried out in schools and in socio-educational support units are more feasible when conducted in the same geographical area and with the same overall group of target children.

Lesson: The involvement of teachers and the other educational professionals in the gathering of the socio-economic conditions of child in labour situations proved to be effective in terms of increasing the awareness of the problem and the subsequent involvement of the professionals in training activities.

Lesson: The strategy of working with education, on a national public policy level, was not very effective, partly due to the fact that the agency in charge of advocacy at the Ministry of Education did not have an office in Brasília from which to work.

Lesson: Although education professionals recognize that the arrival of the AP at schools (mis-timed in relation to the school calendar) created difficulties regarding its incorporation in the plans of the school year, all schools agreed that the issue could in principle be introduced in schools activities.

b) Suggestions for Action

Suggestion: Regarding both the socio-educational activities as well as the training activities, a series of new ideas and innovative proposals has evolved. Resources should be set aside to develop and disseminate these experiences.

Awareness and communication with Society

a) Lessons Learned

Lesson: Overall, the communication actions do not have strong connections with the other support and education initiatives of the AP. Organizations working with education were those that especially felt the lack of a greater integration with the communication efforts.

Lesson: The training of journalists did not present difficulties in attracting the interest of the targeted public and it produced good results. It allowed for the experimentation of new training methodologies, such as those that place journalists and professionals involved in the elimination of child labour face to face.

Lesson: The role of organizations responsible for communication is made easier and is strengthened when these activities are associated with CONCRETE ACTIONS, which require better timing and articulation of the support and education activities, together with governments and the private sector.

Collaboration with Businesses and Governments

a) Lessons Learned

Lesson: There was a lack of harmony between the role called for by the TBP carried out by the organization responsible for working with the business community and governments, and the expectations of other organizations involved in the programme, including ILO/IPEC. Especially with regard to the private sector, while the contracted organization concentrated its efforts on increasing awareness and responsibility of the private sector, partner organizations (at least some of them) expected more effective action in terms of securing support (financial resources, etc) which would contribute towards sustainability.

Lesson: The initiatives aimed at the preparation for the world of labour, normally associated with support to families, if at all, are incipient and loosely articulated with the realities of the market. In the best situations, they seek to potentialize initiatives being developed in other locations.

Lesson: The initiating of the AP at a time immediately prior to municipal elections caused delays in action implementation in the municipalities, since in many cases

people holding strategic posts were substituted making it necessary to re-establish contacts, agreements and teams.

b) Suggestions for Action

Suggestion: The role of the AP with regard to the business articulation activities as set forth by the TBP needs to be re-discussed, considering the interests and needs of the organizations involved, as well as the institutional profile of the ABRINQ Foundation, and the actions it initially agreed to implement.

Questions, Dilemmas and Contradictions

1. By opting for territorial action in a selected region of the municipality, the articulation of the state and municipal network was jeopardized, since the action was concentrated in a single region involving a limited number of organizations. Would the state or regional forum be the place where this discussion should take place?
2. Many teachers declared that their students lose interest and their academic performance is negatively affected when they participate in extra-curricular activities. However, there isn't sufficient empirical evidence to validate or explain this observation. This is an issue that should be studied further by ILO/IPEC.
3. By deciding to act in various states and in various municipalities within these states, the TBP faces a dilemma. While having a wider and more diversified area of experimentation – which is positive with regard to future replication and dissemination of experiences – resources are invested in each area, thus reducing the capacity of the AP to create consolidated intervention capacity.
4. By linking the key IPEC partners to the TBP, the programme began functioning as an articulator of other initiatives and projects carried out by IPEC in Brazil. But by also participating in the discussions and initiatives regarding the worst forms of labour (Convention 182), there was no way of avoiding involvement in other child labour related discussions. How then must the performance of the TBP managing team be understood? From a perspective of the TBP results, from the perspective of IPEC performance, or any other? Also, wouldn't the pressures on IPEC to also work with other forms of child labour force the TBP to lose focus of the worst forms of child labour? Is it possible to work on one dimension without considering the other dimensions?
5. In the poorer municipalities, the restrictions in terms of quality of resources (human, material, technological, and infra-structure) limits (and in some cases jeopardizes) the action modelling and experimentation process established by ILO/IPEC and the involved organizations. However, would the creation of a “laboratory environment” with full use of the intervention possibilities be more effective (by creating a demonstrative effect for governments) or prejudicial, by indicating the difference between what is done and what should be done?