

INCOME TRANSFER PROGRAM IN BRAZIL AS A STRATEGIC MECHANISM FOR THE ERADICATION OF CHILD LABOR

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1 INTRODUCTION

This article approaches human rights of children and adolescents, having as a scope Child labor and its relation with the income transfer program implemented in Brazil. The protection promoted for children and adolescents, receivers of differential treatment, is necessary due to their special position in development. The theme is justified facing the severe violation of human rights of children and adolescents caused by Child labor and the need to prevent such practice, even more for the fact that labor in such an early age results in deprivation of education right.

The income transfer program in Brazil is known as Programa Bolsa Família, which is conditioned to health and education. Regarding health, there must be vaccination and the accomplishment of Prenatal care. Regarding education, the Program Bolsa Família demands 85% of scholar attendance, 10% more than other students, having as goal the fact that more time spent at school results in more teaching and more learning, as well as higher quality of teaching.

The research problem is to analyze the relation between Child labor and the income transfer program in Brazil, and in order to accomplish that goal, this study presents, within its development, tow main topics, where “Child labor: violence against children and adolescents” comes first, and “Program of Income Transfer in Brazil as a strategy for the eradication of Child labor: Program Bolsa Família” is the next topic.

With the help of deductive comparative method, from bibliographic sources, and the constitutional writings concerning the research theme, Child labor is the subject preliminarily approached, in its relation to the income transfer program in Brazil, making a collation between both, in order to verify its effectiveness.

2 DEVELOPMENT

2.1 CHILD LABOR: VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Violence against children and adolescents could be prevented; however, it is present in most of the countries over the world, with no distinction of culture, education level, social class, ethnicity or income. It is acknowledged that all human beings have the rights to life, dignity, health, among many other rights, but, still, children and adolescents have suffered from several forms of violence. Ill-treatment, neglect, sexual exploitation and exploitation of Child labor, to mention some examples.

Child labor does not occur solely in countries with low development rate, it is, instead, a problem worldwide. Thus, despite its occurrence in many countries all over the world, such a

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problem is worsen by the situation of higher social and economic vulnerability. This situation increases the possibilities for scholar dropout³ of children and adolescents, forcing these individuals to be responsible, at very early age, for the maintenance and support of their families, by the means of a kind of work that results in several risky situations, including accidents at work.

Child labor exploitation is a severe violation of human rights, according to the Carta de Brasília for the eradication of Child labor (2012, p. 1) assigned by the Superior Labor Court and the Superior Council of Labor Justice, showing the concern with the depth of its consequences.

The situation of Child and adolescents labor exploitation dates back a long time. Before the Industrial Revolution,⁴ education and work of the children used to happen within the family, in an appropriate manner to each age. With the transformations of technology and the way to develop work, in a standard form at factories, children suffered such a kind of exploitation even worse than their parents.

Children were paid much less than adults, they were submitted to strenuous workdays, without any protection for carrying out the work, and performing high-risk tasks. They were premature victims of accidents of work, losing, at very young age, members of their bodies, or even losing their lives.⁵

Children, adolescents and women “were considered ‘docile’ and, as such, more subordinated to long exhausting and unhealthy work days performed especially in textile industry, between the 17th and 19th centuries.” (HOEFEL; SEVERO, 2015, p. 35-36).

Discrimination, exploitation and violence were markedly superior to the rates of the current days, however they should be fought in any time and place. Such situation brought up several international documents⁶ for the protection of childhood and the eradication of Child labor.

Economic exploitation of Child labor happens in situations when children and adolescents are compelled or persuaded to perform functions and to take responsibilities that are proper for adults, not suitable to the condition of developing beings (FALEIROS; FALEIROS, 2006, p. 89). Small tasks performed by children in order to help their parents, as extra school task, and adequate to their age as for duration and kind of activity, which do not damage their health (EDMONDS; PAVCNIK, 2005; CARDOSO; SOUZA, 2004) are not considered as Child labor.

The term Child labor comprehends “the economic and/or survival activities, with or without profit, paid or not, performed by children or adolescents by an early age than 16.” (BRASIL, 2004, p. 8). Thus, the term is understood, in Brazil, by the Ministry of Work and Labor, Secretariat

³ There is a technical difference between evading school and abandoning school. In Brazil, according to National Institute of Education Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP), the act of abandoning school refers to when a student leaves school for a period of time, but he or she returns to attend the classes by the next year. The act of evading happens when the student drops out and never returns to the educational system (INEP, 2011, p. 1).

⁴ Industrial Revolution: Transformation happened in the industry, from the 19th century, when production means, scattered by that time, and based on individual cooperation, started to concentrate in big factories, resulting deep social and economic changes (FERREIRA, 2010, p. 1841). It was not the factory that has formed working class. Industrial Revolution has brought new means of production for free English men. Even before the factory advent, they used to work handcrafted and they had notions of equality conditions, and also they knew the law (THOMPSON, 1963, p. 17-18).

⁵ An example referring to accidents and illnesses related to Child labor is *John Allett*, who started to work at a textile factory when he was only fourteen years old. *He was summoned to give a testimony to the British Parliament, by the age of 53, about the conditions of work in the factories and he reported that in Spring, 1840, due to work activities he had lost his hand and arm next to his elbow. Other cases happened, even more severe, such as the case of a child who was working and she was pulled into the machine and was all tear apart* (MACHADO, 2006, p. 1, our griffin).

⁶ Among other international documents: Universal Declaration of Children Rights (ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS, 1959) and Convention About the Children Rights (ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS, 1989).

of Labor Inspection, other entities and organs. As for age, there is reservation for the condition of learning work, which is allowed to happen from the age of 14.

The rule established is that work can only be performed from the age of 16 on, and, yet, there are restrictions concerning unhealthy workplaces, work schedule, as well as the fact that work cannot compromise access to school. The law n. 10.097, December, 19th, 2000, in Brazil, allows that adolescents have economic activity as learners, from the age of 14. Such law has altered the article 403 in the Consolidation of Labor Laws - CLT (BRASIL, 2000).

There are several statistic rates on Child labor; however, it is hard to find precision in data, due to the clandestinity. It is found on the webpage of Work and Income Ministry (MTE) on System of Information on Child labor Outbreaks in Brazil (SITI) (BRASIL, 2016, p. 1), data can be found related to each state and city, where Child labor was detected and supervised.

Information by Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) (BRASIL, 2012, p. 1), based on data from demographic census in 2000 and 2010 in Brazil, report that approximately three million and five hundred thousand children and adolescents were submitted to Child labor in 2010. Besides that, it shows a decrease of about five hundred thousand cases of Child labor within the decade. Even though, it is acknowledged the difficulty to eradicate Child labor due to the diversity of places and how to find them. This situation is also aggravated by social, economic and cultural matters.

Child labor occurs in many places, at the countryside, in distant farms, in charcoal located at faraway regions, in some homes, where girls work as maids, making supervision even more difficult to be performed. In addition, people do not report as they do to ill-treatment, once Child labor is commonly seen as natural.

The naturalization (neglect, trivialization) of Child labor in Brazil calls attention even from international bodies. The representative of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Gary Stahl, at a press conference in Rio de Janeiro, highlighted the naturalness with which people in Brazil see Child Labor. He claimed society not to accept as normal working children and reinforced the need of attention by the international press to the theme. For him, people watch children doing street trading on the beach, at school hours, and it seems normal to do nothing about this fact (UNICEF, 2014, p. 1).

Sometimes, children and adolescents labor is part of the nominated worst forms of Child labor, object of the Convention of the International Organization of Labor (OIT) 182, 1999. In addition to those forms of work, which violate Children-juveniles rights, slavery was verified among adolescents, once many of the people rescued from activities similar to slavery reported to have started performing the activities by the age of sixteen.

The vicious circle of denial or restriction of education and submission to Child labor, which affects one hundred and sixty-eight million of children and adolescents all over the world, is detrimental and it represents an obstacle to freedom and development. Among these, eighty-five million of children and adolescents had performed dangerous jobs, exposing their lives and their health to severe risks (ORGANIZAÇÃO INTERNACIONAL DO TRABALHO, 2016, p. 1).

In Brazil, the Decree n. 6481, July, 12th, 2008, regulates the articles 3rd, item "d", and 4th of the Convention n. 182, from OIT, which presents a list of the worst forms of Child labor (BRASIL, 2008). The Decree presents ninety-three items, containing several types of activities and

their risks for children and adolescents. Some examples of the worst forms of Child labor are those performed at potteries, mines, salinas, agricultural machinery, domestic work, tanneries etc.

One of the worst forms of Child labor listed is domestic labor, and almost the totality of the individuals involved in those activities is girls (VERONESE; CUSTODIO, 2013, p. 88). Authors claim, also, that Child domestic labor is the reproduction of the inter-generation cycle of educational exclusion and poverty, and it results in many severe risks and damages for the development of the child or adolescent.

Child domestic work accentuates the risk of sexual violence due to the distancing among family members and the naturalization of labor exploitation, in which the delivery of the girl by the biological family to another family is common for the infant to carry out domestic activities without any protection of the State, the family and society.

Children and adolescents must have their fundamental rights protected in integrity, once those rights are interconnected and indivisible. Concerned on that, Brazilian Constitution provides, in its article 227, the duty of family, society and State to ensure several rights to the children and adolescents, among others, the right to live, to health, food, education, leisure, profession and “to be safe from all kind of neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty e oppression.”⁷

Work fatigue, according to Delors (2003, p. 124-125), frequently, prevents children and adolescents to attend to classes at school, and they sometimes drop out. Physical and mental exhaustion, in addition to compromising the intellectual development of infants, is still the major cause of work-related accidents. Following these ideas, it was verified that girls are more impaired than boys either for long journeys at work or for double working days, adding economic tasks to domestic tasks.

Volpi (2015, p. 17, our griffin) stands that one of the biggest challenges in Brazil, concerning children and adolescents, is to break the inter-generation cycle of poverty perpetuation. There are economic and cultural factors and also two fundamental factors in the transfer of poverty standards from one generation to another: Child labor and low literacy.

Child labor can victimize even more the child and adolescent, giving opportunity to rape, prostitution or sexual exploitation, among others, and it can bring irreversible consequences to physical, psychological and moral health of the child. Still, it can put children and adolescents away from school, taking from them real chances of social ascension and inter-generation poverty overcoming. It is necessary, thus, to implement public policies and actions in order to change this scenario.

Antunes (2015, p. 1) reports the “Intensification and overexploitation of labor, ... and expansion of Child labor levels under criminal conditions in many parts of the world, such as Asia, Latin America, among others.”

Child labor, as an obstacle to access education, helps prevent technological, scientific, socioeconomic and political advances in Brazil. In spite of the fact that many people consider education as a priority for the country and for each family, attitude often occurs in the opposite direction.

⁷ Art. 227. It is the duty of the family, society and the State to ensure the right to life, health, food, education, leisure, professionalism, culture, dignity, respect, freedom and family and community coexistence, and to safeguard them from all forms of neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty and oppression (BRASIL, 2014, p. 236).

Schwarz (2015, p. 87) also affirms that precariousness of the parents' labor and children and adolescents' labor, submitted to indecent work, are "perpetuating their insertion in extreme poverty and underemployment, stealing from them a life of opportunities."

In the same sense, Albuquerque (2014, p. 1) claims that Child labor damages society, and not only for those who work. Precocious labor contributes to the permanence of the scenario of poverty and it makes families more and more vulnerable, for the substitution of the adult workforce by the child or adolescent's one. In this way, there is a contribution to a general reduction of the remuneration, due to the fact that children and adolescents work under very degrading conditions, increasing the informality and precariousness of work relations.

Breaking the spiral of continuous poverty and marginalization finds its door and passport in formal education. Education is a possibility for real change in the lives of a child or adolescent. Denying to children the right to education is one of the biggest violence committed against this part of the population that is under development. Children and adolescents are prevented from having access to the only opportunity of their lives, in order to ascend socially, a fact that is possible through education.

The severity of Child labor works as a gear that produces slavery in the present and destroys the future. The child and adolescent lose the time that should be used for learning, school, playtime, affection and care. Millions of children are prevented from enjoying their childhood. They work as adults and have their lives shortened. The lost childhood does not bring any return for the future. Instead, the person who had been a "Child worker tends to be a precarious, unprepared, unpossessing worker who will raise child workers in a perpetual, inept and violent cycle." (NOCCHI; FAVA, 2015, p. 194).

Currently, one of the marks in the fight against contemporary slavery is the fight for the eradication of Child labor. According to Schwarz (2015, p. 87-88), the permanence of children and adolescents in labor is similar to slavery, once contemporary fetters are not always visible, damaging the right to freedom. It prevents this generation under development from autonomy and conditions of a decent life, attempting against the Democratic State of Rights itself.

Esterici (2008, p. 26) claims, in his work, that Child labor, that is, illegal work performed by children, is, essentially, forced (labor considered analogue to slavery), because children are not able to freely consent.

2.2 PROGRAM OF INCOME TRANSFER IN BRAZIL AS A STRATEGY FOR THE ERADICATION OF CHILD LABOR: PROGRAM BOLSA FAMÍLIA

According to the World Labor Organization (OIT), people must have a certain minimum income, even they do not have access to work or as a complement, and it recommends that States ensure minimum wages according to their possibilities. When the State defines the basic guarantees for social security, according to Organização Internacional do Trabalho (2012, p. 37-38), it must take into account, among other criteria, that the minimum wage allows the individual to live with dignity. The minimum levels of income may correspond to the value of a set of necessary goods and services, income limits provided for access to social assistance or established by legislation.

There are countries where programs of unconditional income transfer are executed and there are others that keep conditionality, such as Brazil. Brazilian program for income transfer

called Bolsa família, which has the requirement as counterpart from the beneficiary in the field of health and education. The Committee (ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS, 2007, p. 2, 9) within the General Observation n. 19, concerning social security, emphasizes that it must promote social protection and have redistributive character of poverty reduction and the promotion of social inclusion, especially for marginalized and disadvantaged groups.

PBF is an assistance program that has innovated in Brazil, in line with other countries, for making possible the income without previous obligation to work. There is an expressive participation of the beneficiary in Bolsa Família Program in the job market; however, it is a precarious participation. They earn insufficient income to support themselves and their families and the PBF works as income complementary (IPEA, 2014, p. 66). This situation of low income has an attempt to be fought by PBF, one side, with the payment of a certain amount, and on the other, with the requirement of conditionality accomplishment in the field of education and health.

These mechanisms, nominated conditionality, are grounded by the article 3rd of the law n. 10836/2004, which created PBF.⁸ Those who benefit from this program, according to their characteristics, should perform the prenatal examination, perform nutritional monitoring, health monitoring, should have school attendance of 85% for children and adolescents from the age of 6 (six) to 15 (fifteen) years old, and they must have an attendance of 75% for adolescents from 16 (sixteen) to 17 (seventeen) years old, among others regulated.

With regard to the right to education, what directly impacts is the mechanism of requirement of school attendance, above the other students, who have to present minimum attendance of 75%. This greater time of the student in the educational establishment, it is inferred, will result in better teaching-learning conditions. Such conditionality is also related to the search for a decrease/eradication of Child labor.

In 2007, city halls confirmed their commitment to monitoring the conditionality concerning education, compromising to sending the attendance registers, regularly, to MEC. This was possible due to the Plan of Goals “Commitment Everybody for Education”, substantiated by the Decree n. 6094, April, 24th, 2007.

The Decree n. 6094/2007,⁹ in its article 2nd, regulates the guidelines for the participation of the Union, with incentive and support to the implementation by Municipalities, Federal District and States, of the respective educational systems. Such legal diploma approaches, in its item II, scholar attendance and, in its item V, the fight against school dropout. It emphasizes that school must perform the individual monitoring of school attendance. As well as searching for the reasons why the students do not attend to classes, and undertaking efforts to fight school dropout.

The goals of PBF are established by the Decree n. 5209/2004, which regulates the law n. 10836/2004, creating the Program¹⁰, and seek to guarantee minimum incomes, combat hunger and

⁸ Art. 3rd The granting of benefits will depend on the fulfillment, where appropriate, of conditionality related to prenatal examination, nutritional monitoring, health monitoring, school attendance of 85% (eighty-five percent) in a regular educational institution, without prejudice to others provided for (BRASIL, 2004, p. 2).

⁹ Art. 2nd The participation of the Union in the Commitment will be guided by the direct realization, when applicable, or, in other cases, by encouraging and supporting the implementation, by Municipalities, Federal District, States and respective education systems, of the following guidelines: [...] III - monitoring each student individually, by recording their frequency and their performance in evaluations, which must be carried out periodically; [...], V - Combating evasion by individually monitoring the reasons for not attending and overcoming the student; [...].

¹⁰ Art. 4th The basic objectives of the Bolsa Família Program, in relation to its beneficiaries, without prejudice to others that may be fixed by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger, are: I promoting the access to the pu-

promote access to other public services, such as the right to education, health, food security and social assistance. It is verified that the eradication of Child labor is not directly an objective of the Program Bolsa Família, but indirectly it contributes by promoting income and the possibility for the effectiveness of the right to education, through preventing school dropout.

The conditionality of school attendance show itself as relevant in PBF, due to the benefit promoted by education. Professor and Researcher at Getúlio Vargas Foundation, Barbosa Filho and Pessoa (2008, p. 21) calculated that the education internal rate of return (TIR) a year is about 15%. Education contributes, among others, to the increase of income and health for people.

Research conducted by IPEA makes clear that there is an antagonistic relationship between staying in school and Child labor. In the period from 2002 to 2012, the number of enrollments in high school at night (BRASIL, 2014, p. 248). According to IPEA, it is admitted that this results from the fact that the adolescent's enrollment in high school at the appropriate age, 15 (fifteen) years old, decreased the probability of young people entering the labor market early, and, in view of this, having as their only route the frequency in the middle school.

Sen (1993, p. 13) stands that education increases productivity, it improves income distribution, it helps with the conversion of income into ways of life and helps intelligent options between different types of life that a particular person can have.

The right to education for children and adolescents at the right age offers greater possibilities for them not to be taken early to work, causing them numerous current and future losses, since the absence of the study leads them to future unemployment or underemployment, with difficult survival conditions.

This, however, is not the understanding that many parents or guardians have when facing the right to education. There is a current conviction in part of the society to which Child labor is beneficial for children and adolescents, separating them from criminality. This is added to family's immediacy to obtain survival. Motivated by social, economic and cultural circumstances, often caused by the State itself, these families are led to noncompliance with their constitutional and moral duty to the right to education of their children, among others, to impose on children and adolescents the premature entry at work.

Education is a factor that fights Child labor, considering that the bigger the rate of education, the shorter incidence of Child labor, and vice-versa. This might be associated, clearly, to a better social and economic situation. Besides formal education, there is the necessity of the enlargement of campaigns for the eradication of Child labor, so that society, families, companies, public departments stop seeing Child labor as something natural and start to fight against it.

The addition of Child labor and school dropout result in a cycle of inter-generation poverty, having low salaries and restrict access to other rights, such as freedom, health and autonomy. School, which could be the possibility of cutting repetitive transmission of poverty from generation to generation, is discarded in terms of Child labor and other reasons related to socioeconomic and cultural aspects. The violence used against children and adolescents results in irreparable damages, Child labor is one example, and this is the reason why it must be vehemently opposed,

blic services network, especially, health, education and social assistance; II fight hunger and promote food and nutrition security ; III stimulate the sustainable emancipation of families living in poverty and extreme poverty; IV fight poverty; and V promote the intersectoriality, complementarity and synergy of social actions by the Public Power (BRASIL, 2004).

but mainly prevented in its several forms. Public policies should make priority investments in the age group corresponding to children and adolescents.

According to Sen (2010, p. 154-155), the denial of liberty is opposed to development and also points to the perversity of Child labor, which impedes the freedom to attend school, and children and parents must be supported by social programs to prevent them from being pushed early to work and to guarantee the right to education.

Alencar (2007, p. 3-9), analyzing the Program, calculated the risk of scholar abstention and school dropout. The first is what happens when the individual does not even wish to make the registration at school. The second happens when the individual quits school. As a result of their research, the PBF currently in use turned out to be 49.3% efficient in combating school absenteeism, and 53.2% efficient in coping with school dropout. The author shows that the Program could be improved by changing the selection criteria of beneficiaries.

Federal Government itself (BRASIL, 2015, p. 1), when disclosing the results of the PBF and relating it to the decrease in school dropout, states that one of the reasons that contributes to the school attendance of the low-income population is Bolsa Família Program. Note that it is one of them, and therefore not the only reason.

The studies show positive and negative aspects of PBF. As for the Program, there is no unanimity of the researchers, or even of the population, about them. Although not everybody compliments the success of Bolsa Família Program, or even support it, in general, there is contribution for the permanence of the students in the system of education and for the decrease of school dropout.

It was verified that there are many positive aspects of the PBF in the prevention of infrequency and school dropout, however, the precise quantification of the influence in the prevention to the school dropout was impaired in the realized studies. It was possible to conclude that the Program has a positive influence on a portion of the population in situations of socioeconomic vulnerability to remain in school, but it was not possible to quantify how much this interference would be.

It is important to remember that, besides the children attended by PBF, there are other children and adolescents who are not their target-audience; however, they have occurrence of infrequency and school dropout (or, at least, are likely to). Thus, the problem of school dropout goes beyond the scope of the Program.

Leva-se em consideração o fato de que a evasão escolar tem múltiplos fatores, e de várias ordens, como econômica, social, cultural, dentre outras. O nível de renda da família, a ocorrência ou não de Child labor, e o nível de escolaridade da família, principalmente da mãe, têm forte influência na ocorrência ou não da evasão escolar.

The intention of eliminating Child labor is contained in a booklet that disclosed the predecessor of the PBF, the then Bolsa-Escola Program, in the words by Cristovam Buarque: “Oxalá you can join us in this struggle to end the social scourge of Child labor in our country and in the world.” (RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016, p. 1).

The exploitation of Child labor is extremely damaging, especially in its worst forms. The income transfer program Bolsa Família is important, both for its results and for its magnitude, benefiting around fourteen million families and approximately fifty million people (BRASIL, 2016, p. 1).

The studies verified concerning the impact of the income transfer program through Bolsa Família Program in the fight against Child labor point out several results, and in this article some

are mentioned. A study carried out at USP investigated the impact of the Bolsa Família Program on the working decisions of children. Research has shown that families generally approve Child labor as a preparation for adulthood, visualize a way for adolescents to have their own income and a way to fill their time (BAHIA, 2016, p. 1). The research verified as a result that the programs act for the reduction of poverty; on the other hand, Child labor has other determinants that go beyond family poverty, and thus is not so impacted by the fact that the family is a beneficiary of the program.

Despite efforts to eradicate child labor through improved legislation, oversight by the Ministry of Labor and the Bolsa Família Transfer Program, there is much to be done. Public policies to combat Child labor need to be improved, but the PBF, in its entirety, is an important milestone, signaling other important changes to eliminate/minimize this harmful violence that affects millions of Brazilian children.

A qualitative research was performed by Brandão, Pereira and Dalt (2013, p. 217-232) about perceptions of daily school referring to PBF in five regions of Brazil. Almost the totality of the participants pointed improvement in children and adolescents attendance, as well as the decrease of school dropout. They indicated improvements in family control over children's school attendance and inter-sector articulation among several public policies that may favor the student. The interviewees also say that, first, the student needs to be present at the school. And this presence is an opportunity for the school to seek out the student's commitment. On the negative side, it was indicated that in certain cases there is the issue of indiscipline, lack of improvement in the quality of education, worsening of school indexes and lack of commitment of the student with his own learning.

Economic matters are not the only reason for school dropout. In addition to them, there are other intervenient factors, for the access, permanence and success in the education system. It is possible to mention the literacy of the parents and guardians, their presence or not at home, the value given by the family and the community to where the child or adolescent is inserted, among others.

Concerning Child labor, there are studies that verified the impact of the income transfer program through Bolsa Família in its fight. It was aimed to verify if the PBF would have influence or not in relation to avoiding Child labor.

A study performed verified the impact of the Program about the decisions of work careers of the children. Research has shown that families generally approve Child labor as a preparation for adulthood and visualize a way for adolescents to own their own income and fill their time (BAHIA, 2016, p. 1).

The research found, as a result, that income transfer programs act to reduce poverty; On the other hand, Child labor has other determinants that go beyond family poverty and, therefore, is not so impacted by the fact that the family is beneficiary of the program. At least partially, the culture of naturalization of Child labor, rooted in society, exceeds the expected results of the PBF. This fact reinforces the need to raise awareness of the population about the damages caused by Child labor.

There is, also, the necessity of improvement for the public policies, not only concerning programs for income transfer, but effective campaigns, greater balance in the distribution of in-

come and, especially, educational policies. Thus, prevention and eradication of child labor do not have a simple but a complex solution with the interaction of several factors.

The belief that precocious labor of children and adolescents could improve their chances in the future for a professional career has no technical background. It was verified, actually, the opposite, once Child labor is an obstacle to the insertion and maintenance in the formal job market with the correct labor guarantees.

Organização Internacional do Trabalho (2015, p. XVII) performed research in countries of varying income levels, and young individuals that had worked in their childhood are more likely to become unpaid family workers, and, in addition, children who dropout school precociously, in general, are exposed to a higher risk of being excluded in the job market.

Attested research shows that, at least in part, Child Labor's culture of naturalization is rooted in society and it outstrips the expected outcomes of the Bolsa Família Program. This fact reinforces the need to raise the population's awareness of the damages caused by Child labor. There is also a need to improve public policies, not only on income transfer programs, effective campaigns, a better balance in the distribution of income, and especially on educational policies.

With regard the possible preparation for work through Child labor, there is an opposite argument to that in a research performed by OIT (2015, p. xvii) in countries with vary levels of income. The study concluded that young individuals who had worked back in their childhood are more likely to become unpaid workers and that children who quit school earlier, in general, have a higher risk to be excluded from job market.

The Program Bolsa Família aims at fighting inter-generation poverty, and to do so, it is very important to guarantee the permanence of the student at school, and put him away from Child labor. Education should prioritize the development of the child and the adolescent as a human being and citizen, and not solely being instructed to work. The impoverished family for generations and generations needs to provide for the livelihood of all, and often they have no choice, being prevented from having the freedom to choose the best kind of life for themselves and for their children.

The coping of these two matters, eradication of Child labor (which has connotation of slavery) and the guarantee of the right to education, requires integrated actions. The various policies need to be better articulated, and new propositions can be performed in the face of this problem.

Freitas (2015, p. 2), Judge of the work of the Regional Labor Court (TRT) from the 3rd Region (Minas Gerais), suggests that, in order to solve both problems together, paid scholarships already existing for graduation and post-graduation must be applied for high school as well. The author claims that the offer of public and free education for young individuals is not enough, once this does not prevent them from working at early ages. They need their own income; even when their parents have enough revenue for the family. Most of the young people who work use their money for their own expenses.

Transformations in state public policies, in the work of the family and society are necessary so that children and adolescents may be respected in their human dignity and in their special condition of beings that are in development phase.

3 CONCLUSIONS

Violence against children and adolescents results in prejudice mostly irreparable, and because of this they must be vehemently fought and mainly prevented in its various forms. Public policies must invest primarily in the age groups corresponding to children and adolescents.

The exploitation of child labor is extremely damaging, especially as far as the worst forms of child labor are concerned. The income transfer program Bolsa Família is important because of its magnitude by benefiting about 14 million people, or by its results. However, research indicates the timid performance of the Bolsa Família Program in combating the occurrence of Child labor. On the other hand, income transfer programs reduce the vulnerability and poverty of the family group, so that there is no need for Child labor to ensure the survival of the family and it has influence on the reduction of working hours for children and youth.

It was verified that despite the restrict contribution of the income transfer program Bolsa Família, its fight against Child labor, it is a relevant program; however, it should be improved together with other actions. For example, education is an important factor of combating Child labor, considering that the higher the education level, the shorter incidence of Child labor and vice-versa. In addition to formal education, there is a need to expand campaigns for the eradication of child labor, so that society, families, companies, and public agencies stop seeing Child Labor as something natural and begin to fight it.

Despite the effort to eradicate Child labor with the improvement of legislation, inspections carried out by the Ministry of Labor and the income transfer program Bolsa Família, there is a lot to do. Public policies to combat Child labor need to be improved, but the Bolsa Família Program, in its entirety, is an important milestone that signals other important changes to eliminate/minimize the harmful violence that affects millions of Brazilian children.

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