LUND UNIVERSITY
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BIDS

Brazil Bolsa Familia Program: Analysing The Impact of The Conditionalities on School Enrolment, Health and Child Labor

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Bachelor Thesis: UTVK03, 15hp

Spring Term 2015

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Abstract

With high poverty and inequality rate, the Government in Brazil have adopted several social assistance programs and strategies in the fight against the ever growing rate of poverty and inequality within it's population since the 1990s. In recent years, the Bolsa Familia Program have been a major social assistance program in Brazil, and the program have affected more than 13 million poor households in their everyday life. The program is seen as a model for other developing countries and it is the largest conditional cash transfer program in Latin America. Bolsa Familia Program have played an important role towards the achievement of MDGs targets in the short-term through poverty alleviation and long-term human capital through investment in education and health. However, the effort of the program is also without criticisms, which focusses on the inabilities of the program to provide other alternative exist root out of poverty for the beneficiaries and the dependency on the program. Considering all these arguments, the paper is aimed at reviewing the existing literature, which will help to investigate the evidence, potential gaps and evaluations of the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on school enrolment, health and child labor.

The paper will focus more on a larger number of the impact evaluation of the Bolsa Familia Program which have been carefully constructed. This research will provide more clear argument on the impact of Bolsa Familia Program have had on school enrolment/attainment, health and child labor. The concept of human capital and breaking intergenerational of cycle of poverty is evident in the program. The findings on the program's frame work, targeting, monitoring and evaluations will help explain the structural changes that have occurred and provide more evidence on the impact of the program on educational outcomes, health and child labor.

Key words: Human capital, Inequality, Bolsa Familia Program, Poverty, Education, Children

Abbreviations

CCT - Conditional Cash Transfer

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

BFP - Bolsa Familia Program

UNDP - United Nations Development Programs

AIBF - Avaliação de Impacto do Bolsa Família

ILO - International Labor Organisation

SUS - Unified Health System (Sistema Único de Saúde)

GNI - Gross National Income

PETI - Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

INEP - Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira

MDS - Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger

IEG - Independent Evaluation Group

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Introduction

      Bolsa Familia Program (BFP) plays an important role in reducing poverty and have become the largest social assistance program in Brazil, which is estimated to have cover millions of poor households. The Bolsa Familia Program unlike most conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in Latin America, provides cash transfer to poor households with the conditions that is attached to it. The program mainly target poor households that have children that is up to 17 years of age, pregnant mother with the maximum of 3 children and those families that earns less than R$120 per capita monthly. It also provides a monthly cash transfer to households with extreme poverty, those families that earns less than R$60 per month irrespective of their social standards. However, the effectiveness of the Bolsa Familia Program and other conditional cash transfer have been hailed because it led to a significant reduction in poverty and inequality among the poor households (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009, p. 1), especially in Brazil and other Latin American countries where they have a very high rate of inequality and poverty. Studies shows that high income inequality is a big challenge facing developing countries in the fight against poverty and inequality, and Brazil been one of the countries with relatively high income inequality problems in the world with Gini coefficient that falls in the range of 52.7 between 2010 - 2015 (Ernesto Friedrich et al., 2014, p.104). Emerson, Souza (2003) also emphasised that another notable challenge for the development of human capital is child labor, which is widespread among poor households in Brazil and in other developing countries. The negative impact of child labor and it's persistence occurrence among children have led to this investigation. The argument behind these is that the Bolsa Familia Program will provide the necessary investment through the programs' educational and health conditionalities that increases the human capital, reduces child labor and break the intergenerational cycle of poverty within it's targets.

      This research paper is aimed at reviewing the existing evidence that have been done on Bolsa Familia Program in Brazil, more importantly the evidence arising from the impact evaluations of the program on school enrolment, health and child labor. It will also discuss the conceptual framework and the evidence on the impacts on how it should inform the design of CCT programs in practice. This research is significant because Bolsa Familia Program is one of

the options within the social assistance programs that can be used to redistribute income among the poor households. But critics have argued that Bolsa Familia Program is not the right program to tackle the problem of income redistribution for all poor households which is designed for them. As Ernesto et al. (2014) argument emphasised that the ''Bolsa Familia Program is seen as a conditional cash transfer program (CCTs) because of the conditions that is attached to the program''. These conditions is however aimed at increasing the human capital development (empowerment) through education and good health and to reduce the rate of poverty among the benefitting households in the program (Ernesto Friedrich et al., 2014, p.104). The aim of the Bolsa Familia Program is to contribute to the social inclusion of households that are severely affected by extreme poverty, which may prevent them from breaking through from intergenerational cycle of poverty. The BFP also provide immediate relief to their financial situations and contribute immensely to the improvements of their health and education, which helps to reduce the intergenerational cycle of poverty reproduction and increase human capital among the beneficiary of the program (Campello and Neri, 2014, p. 13).

Moreover, the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on poverty reduction and the inequality problem in Brazil is dependant on how successful the targeting techniques are designed and the size of the transfer. Critics argue against the targeting techniques of the Bolsa Familia Program because of the arguments that beneficiaries tend to omit their sources of income and that the 'decentralised process' of the program may eventually lead to misleading accounts on the selection (Soares et al. 2010, p.176). The paper argue that human development have not increased in accordance with the economic growth that Brazil have experienced in recent years. Although, the 'average gross domestic product (GDP) per capita' have increased over the years, but the rate of inequality still remains high in Brazil which is unexpected (Sandoval, 2012, p. 4). The paper argue that the contributing factor to this persistent income inequality among the Brazilian population is down to the low attainment in school, low quality of education and labor market that is so segmented (Sandoval, 2012). With the progress of Bolsa Familia Program and other CCTs in Latin America, many other countries have sort to implement the CCT programs in

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their social assistance policy with the aim of reducing poverty and inequality among their population.

1.1 Aim and Research question

Since the launch of Bolsa Familia Program in 2003, studies have estimated that approximately 46 million households in Brazil are officially registered in the program (Mona, 2012, p. 4). Looking at the number of households that are enrolled in Bolsa Familia Program, this review is significant in order to deepen the knowledge and understanding of the impact of the program on school enrolment, health and child labor of the benefitting families. To achieve this aim, the paper will use empirical materials on the impact evaluations of the Bolsa Familia Program in Brazil. Despite the fact that many regions in Brazil have different poverty rates which differ from each other, the program is universal across different regions in the country. However, this paper will also include the regional insight of the program in order to evaluate the impact of Bolsa Famila Program on different parts of the regions. Though, the purpose of this paper is to do a systemic review on what existing literature has found on the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on school enrolment, health and child labor of the benefitting families, particularly with regards to education and health conditionalities of the program. The paper will apply a human capital theory and intergenerational cycle of poverty theory when reviewing the impact of the Bolsa Familia Program. The paper will examine the three outcomes that are immediate indicators of the larger effort to reduce intergenerational cycle of poverty and human capital development through improving children's and adolescents educational outcomes, health and child labor.

Research questions:

1. Has the implementation of the Bolsa Familia Program affected the educational and health development of children in primary schools?

2. Which policy is best for enhancing human capital and addressing intergenerational transmission of poverty?

3. What can be done to eliminate child labor?

1.2 Delimitations

It is important to note that the aim of Bolsa Familia Program is to support poor households that is facing the challenge of poverty through cash transfer which will alleviate their social status. The program is also aimed at improving the educational outcome and provide an access to health services to the benefitting households, in order to cease the intergenerational cycle of poverty reproduction as mentioned earlier in the paper. However, the program is considered a conditional cash transfer due to the conditions that are attached to the program (Ernesto Friedrich et al., 2014). Bolsa Familia Program have been seen as a tool to reduce the high rate of poverty and inequality in Brazil, which has shown positive impact among the benefitting households. It's target is built at short-term poverty alleviation and long-term development of human capital through education which will help to empower the benefitting households (Ernesto et al., 2014). Because of these, many Latin America countries have adopted the conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs in their social policy and they have also seen a significant improvements among their poor households. Therefore, majority of the material that will be use will focus on Bolsa Familia Program, school enrolment, health and child labor in Brazil.

This study uses materials that focuses mainly on Brazil's Bolsa Familia Program and the empirical data focused on the impact Bolsa Familia Program have had on school enrolment, health and child labor. Due to the time limit, this review will not include the impact Bolsa Familia Program have had on women who are the major receipt and the relationship between the power structure and the formation of the program in Brazil. The paper will not discuss the aspect of gender, considering the role women play in the program, or the rate of female empowerment that has resulted from the program's priority to women. The efforts to quantify women's empowerment and compare it across the nation will not be discussed in this paper because of

limited time. This thesis review will not include the aspect of the Bolsa Familia Program which provides opportunities for training and employment; and access to public services that increases supply and induces priority service to those in greater need in Brazil.

I will not include other CCT programs, like the 'Brazil Without Extreme Poverty' (Brasil Sem Miséria – BSM) Plan, launched at the beginning of President Dilma Rousseff's term in 2011, which is aimed at encouraging growth with income distribution due to time limit. Other programs which seek to redress gender inequality in social roles in Brazil and control of resources will not be focus on due to time limitation. The programs aspect that promotes food security and Bolsa Escola Program which is considered indigenous because it was initially designed and financed without the help of the development banks will not touched on in the this paper. Since the focus of the paper is on Brazil, the paper will not discuss the impact of the CCTs in other Latin American countries.

The paper will not focus on the political nature of the program which helps to shape the targeting of the program. Furthermore, there are different range of factors or objectives that is associated with the Bolsa Familia Program and the CCTs that the paper will not discuss. The focus of this review is only on the extensive impacts of the Bolsa Familia Program on children's school enrolment, health and child labor in Brazil. This extensive impact of the program is in relation with the achievement of human capital and reducing the intergenerational cycle of poverty from transmitting among the children from the benefitting households. The paper is also aimed at explaining the impact of Bolsa Familia Program not as a general explanation of the program, but on the importance of the Bolsa Familia Program at short-term poverty alleviation and long-term human capital.

2. Background

This chapter will present the inequality and poverty situation in Brazil. It will also present the basics of conditional cash transfer and Bolsa Familia Program in Brazil.

2.1 Inequality and Poverty in Brazil

The paper argue that inequality is a problem on itself, particularly in countries with rising income inequality. On this hand, inequality in Brazil is one of the highest in the world. The effect of inequality on economic growth has also helped to contribute to the ever increasing rate of poverty in Brazil and in other developing economies. In contrast, several studies that have been conducted on the issue of inequality which indicates that in countries where the inequality rate was decreasing, the reduction in poverty rate for a given growth rate was also significantly higher (e.g. Brazil and Mexico) (World Bank, 2014, p. 2). Ferreira (2014), argue that even though there is ''no changes in inequality in a country, the effort of economic growth to reduce poverty is less in countries that is more unequal in the initial stage''. He argument reflect on the view that despite the latest economic growth that has been recorded (reaching close to US$1.6 trillion in 2009), the rate of inequality among the population in the country is still high when it's been compared to other developing countries in the world. The paper argues that the social divisions that exist within racial and income lines in Brazil is the contributing factors to this persistent poverty and inequality levels. These factors will affect the income redistribution and hinders them from progressing further as a country economically (Ferreira et al., 2003).

It is understood that internal migration across the country is another contributing factor to these high rate of poverty and inequality in Brazil. These migration within the regions creates the rise of favelas (urban slum communities) that is known to be impoverished and dangerous in Brazil. But a more recent data have shown that inequality in the country has been somewhat stable for a long period of time but have started to decline significantly in the last decade because of the economic growth that Brazil have experienced within this period (Yves, 2012). According to WorldBank (2015), they emphasised that 'the country have experienced an economic and social progress during the last decade in which over 26 million poor households were lifted out of poverty and inequality has declined significantly (the Gini Coefficient has fallen 6 per cent in 2013 to 0.54)''. They also emphasise that recent study shows that the income of the lowest 40 per cent of the population have experienced 6.1 per cent growth (in real terms) between 2002 and 2012, compared to the 3.5 per cent growth in income of the total population (WorldBank, 2015).

Despite this progress, Brazil's Gini coefficient score of 0.55 in 2013 reflects the country's unequal income distribution when compared to other countries.

However, the provision of social assistance programs have provided more mechanism for the redistribution of resources to the poor households. These means that the government's effort to lift people out of poverty require them to complement other efforts to enhance growth with policies that allocate more resources to both the poor and the extreme poor in the country (e.g. Bolsa Familia Program). The World Bank (2012), argue that the resources was distributed through the growth process such that growth becomes more inclusive among it's citizens through programs such as BFP and other CCTs that the government have implemented. These was done with the aim of empowering (human capital) the poor people and their ability to participate in programs that will generates income for their own empowerment (World Bank, 2014, p. 8). Through this programs, there has been notable reduction of inequality and poverty in Brazil. But the World Bank (2014), argue that the relationship between different income sources in Brazil was an important factor that contributed to the reduction in inequality before 2005. The paper argue that the recent decline on inequality and poverty have been noted to coincide with the emergence of Bolsa Familia Program and other CCT programs, which seek to address the problem of high inequality and poverty. The program also demand reciprocal actions from the families that are participating in the programs as it conditions. Although, there have been progress in the reduction of inequality in the country. Study indicates that the inequality between the different groups began to decrease during the 1990s and continued with the implementation of other conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs that has existed in Brazil before BFP (Ferreira et al.,World Bank, 2013).

According Ferreira et al. (2013), they also argue that the improvements that have been observed in the social assistance programs in the past 10–15 years is attributed to the reduction of poverty and income inequality that is targeted towards the poor households in Brazil. However, they also argued that the expansion of these social assistance programs have not been properly integrated into the overall social protection policies, and this has brought new challenges for both 'efficiency and fairness' of the programs (Ferreira et al.,World Bank, 2013, p.

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12). Therefore, the effort to reduce the rate of inequality and poverty is a major objective that will help to improve the living conditions of the poor households in the country (Ernesto Friedrich et al., 2014, p. 105). Nevertheless, the BFP have had an important impact on the overall reduction of poverty, particularly extreme poverty in Brazil. In other words, the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on poverty and inequality could be smaller than first suggested by previous studies done on the evaluation of the program. This evaluation was done based on the size of the transfer of the program because of both the expected and unexpected consequences that could occur from the program (Lindsay Sandoval, 2012, p. 9). Abadzi (2007) in Sandoval (2012), argued that ''one of the unexpected consequences that occurred from the program is that many Brazilian children that attended primary and secondary school suffered from one of the highest rates of grade repetition in school grade and dropout rates among developing countries''. This is arguable that the difference in the quality of education across different regions in rate Brazil is the cause of the high rate of grade reputation and dropout in the country. However, it can be said that low quality of education and dropout rate in Brazil is also a contributing factor to these continuing income inequality in the country (Lindsay Sandoval, 2012, p. 9-10).

2.2 Bolsa Familia Program and Conditional Cash Transfer

The Bolsa Familia Program and other conditional cash transfer programs are social assistance programs design to redistribution income to poor households in Brazil. These programs have in the last ten years helped to reduce poverty and inequality within the poor households in the country (Ferreira et al., 2009). As a result, BFP and CCTs have become an integral social policy in Brazil and other Latin American countries. According to Lindert et al., (2007), ''the Government of Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva launched the Bolsa Familia Program in 2003 in an effort to raise the economic growth and social progress among the poor households in Brazil''. The major features of Bolsa Familia Program was the reform of social assistance programs, which combined four different cash transfer programs to form a single program (Bolsa Familia Program) under the supervision of a new Ministry of Social Development (Lindert et al., 2007). As a mechanism to reduce the high rate of poverty and inequality in Brazil, the government under Luiz Ignacio da Silva implemented the Bolsa Familia Program and other

conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs in their social policy to include more poor households. Ferreira et al. (2009), emphasised that the evaluation of Bolsa Familia Program found that it helped many households to break out of poverty, where poverty was transmitted from one generation to another through the promotion of children's health, nutrition, and schooling outcomes. It also helps the country to meet the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nation declaration in 2000 (Ferreira et al., 2009).

Soares et al. (2010), also argue that Bolsa Familia Program have played a significant role in reducing 'poverty rate and income inequality' among Brazilian poor household during the last decade. He argue that the positive impact was as a result of the possibilities between the nature of the program and the difference between regional income in Brazil (Soares, 2010) The program's distributional strength have an important part to this dimension and it's promotion for universal access to basic education and health services (Campello, Neri, 2014). These factors constitutes why it has been adopted within the social assistance policy, and because the program focuses on the individual's social standard without considering their regional locations. In this sense, the Bolsa Familia Program is quite different from other traditional social assistance program (political policies) that focuses on attracting protective investment to the poorest regions or policies for directing credit with other agendas (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 39).

Bolsa Familia Program have been considered a model because of the impact it had on poverty and Sandberg (2014) argue that BFP is among the most effective programs on social assistance to achieve the short-term poverty alleviation through income support at regional, national and the international level. He also argue that the long-term poverty alleviation of the program is achievable through human capital investments (Sandberg, 2014). Heckman (2008) in Ferreira et al., (2009), argues that the poor outcomes in early childhood which leads to long-lasting consequences for functioning in adulthood is attributed to lack of investment in human capital. With investment in human capital, the paper argue that this consequences that can lead to low earnings, increased probability to criminal activity, and poor parenting practices can be avoided (Ferreira et al., 2009). However, Bolsa Familia Program focuses it's investments on children's well-being, such as improvements in 'cognitive skills in education', 'behavioural

outcomes', and 'children's health', are all linked together to form significant factor in achieving human capital. This improvement in outcomes in one dimension will help the children to be able to adjust in the other dimensions and be adaptable (Ferreira et al., 2009).

Today, the Bolsa Família program serve approximately 46 million poor households in Brazil (Lindert, 2005, p. 67). Much study have been done on the impact of the educational conditions of Bolsa Familia Program, which is targeted at improving the human capital indicators of the benefiting households. But there are claims suggesting that the BFP gain the capacity to prevent the intergenerational transmission of poverty from reproducing at a very low cost (Ferreira et al., 2008). According to Ferreira et al., (2009), ''the health and nutritional conditions of the program require regular checkups, growth monitoring, and vaccinations for children that are less than 5 years of age and it will occur at intervals. It also include perinatal care for mothers and periodic attendance by mothers for health information talks. The educational conditions includes school enrolment, 80–85 per cent attendance during school hours, and performance related measures''. There has been new dimension in the program where transfers has been expanding to household that is headed by adults of working age and the expansion have also reached out to groups that had enjoyed less residual coverage off the system (CCTs) notably children (Ferreira et al., (2009). The government hopes to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty at an early age by focusing on children and the transfers are made directly to women from the benefiting households (Ferreira et al. , 2003). According to Tereza Campello, Marcelo Côrtes Neri (2014), ''the program also supports the formation of human capital at the family level which encourages transfers that focuses on behaviours such as children's school attendance or enrolment, use of health cards, and other social services''.

Though, Bolsa Familia Program and other conditional cash transfer programs (CCT) have been criticised because of the program's negative consequences. Critics argue that the program could encourage poor people to be lazy and their dependency on the state instead of enhancing their autonomy and responsibility to be independent (Keshavarz, 2012). Lessa (2009) in Mona Keshavarz (2012) article, emphasised that the reason behind the criticism is the lack of exit in the program. The program was also criticised because of the 'dependency factor' that conditional

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cash transfer creates and lack of strategy on how beneficiaries can break out of poverty (Keshavarz, 2012, p.12). This argument is frequently associated with the plan on how people perceives poverty and their lack of effort, rather than structural problems that characterised our societies. That is, the conditional cash transfer (BFP) will help to discourage poor people to search for work because they are receiving cash transfers that would provide a certain level of income that will guarantee their everyday living. These can also reflect the argument of Levy, Jim (2010), that ''the consequence of non-contributory social programs which generate subsidies to the informal sector, encourages workers to look for low-productive jobs as a way to avoid compulsory social security savings''. They explain that the result of such program tends to lower the productivity of labour and capital which will lead to the generation of low-quality employment (Levy, Jim, 2010). The Bolsa Familia Program have also been criticised because of the political agenda which was a motivating factor in the implementation of the program (Bolsa Familia Program) with the target of gaining electoral vote from the citizen at the ballot box (Keshavarz, 2012). This was evident in the electoral results which testifies the wisdom of Lula's agenda to promote social policy in the second half of his term and Bohn (2011), argue that the idea behind Lula's poverty-alleviation program was taken as the crown to promote the Workers party (PT's). This idea helped shape the political party among the citizens and it also became a political party that supports the implementation social assistance programs than any other party in Brazil (Simone R. Bohn, 2011, p. 54-58). Another common criticism of the Bolsa Familia Program and conditional cash transfer programs is that, it focuses more on human capital development for children, which takes years or sometimes a generation to be achieved. The program also disregard building human capital for adults who have past school age, and the development of productive capital for them (such as land or non-agricultural assets), which will have both long and short-term effects on poverty alleviation in the country (Ferreira et al., 2009).

2.3 Targeting of Bolsa Familia Program

According to Soares et al. (2010), ''Bolsa Família Program uses an unverified means testing to conduct the measure of the households to select its beneficiaries that fall within the specification of the program at the municipal level''. However, the evolution of the program

(BFP) depends mainly on the effectiveness of the implementation by the Unified Registry of Targeted Social Program (Soares et al., 2010, p. 176). This strategy was made possible by the coordination of different branches of government to implement the Bolsa Familia Program, which is the main user of the registry (Campello, Neri, 2014). According to Campello, Neri, (2014), "Bolsa Familia Program adopted a self-reported income as the basis that allows the beneficiaries to enter into the program and to remain in the Bolsa Familia Program". These have simplified the communication with the beneficiaries and have given more transparency on how to grant benefits to this poor households and facilitates the control checks of the beneficiaries. Other targeting tools which focuses on the number of estimated poor households where used as a measuring factor to determine the number of beneficiaries in each municipality. The periodic checks of these data was reported by the benefitting households to the administrative records, in order to cross-check and determine the actual figures (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 15).

Soares et al. (2010) emphasised that Bolsa Família Program's targeting and implementation methods have been properly monitored because of the program's unique features that makes it very different from the standard CCT model, which focuses on the accumulation of human capital. Soares et al. (2010), emphasised that the most distinguishing features of the program is the use of self-reported income instead of a proxy means method to assess eligibility. Another significant feature of the Bolsa Familia Program is the existence of an unconditional transfer to the extreme poor households without considering the presence of children or pregnant mother. However, the paper argue that the nature of decentralisation process in the program and the monitoring techniques of the conditionalities of the program play an important role in the targeting process (Soares et al. , 2010, p. 174).

According to Handa and Davis (2006) in Soares et al. (2010), the Bolsa Familia Program's targeting strategy has been criticised because of the argument that the beneficiaries have in many ways derive means to omit their sources of income in order to fall within the range of the beneficiaries. Critics also argue that the decentralised nature of the program may lead to power control appointment of offices and leakage as a result of the selection problems (Soares et al. , 2010). Sean Higgins (2012), also argue that the National Household Sampling Survey

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(PNAD) was used to determine how poverty should be measured but ignored the multidimensionality of poverty, and the information available on the National Household Sampling Survey (PNAD) does permit a more multidimensional evaluation of poverty. The political economy however, argues around the notion that targeting tends to weaken the support for redistribution with the fact that it reduces the number of benefitting households relative to the number of those who are taxed to finance the program (Soares et al. , 2010). In contrast, the impact evaluation of the Bolsa Família Program on multidimensional poverty cannot be accurately measured without panel data from the municipal records. This is because the impact of program on education and health varies at various stages among the benefitting households. Therefore, judging the targeting performance depends on the equal percentage of groups into which a population can be divided according to the distribution at which the poverty line is drawn (Soares et al., 2010, p. 185). But Soares et al. (2010) argue that ''using more recent data from PNAD 2006 which has improved on its measures, shows great improvement on the number of benefitting households between 2004 and 2006 has reduced the exclusion error to 44 per cent''.

2.4 Previous Research

According the WorldBank (2015), ''Brazil is the 'leading economy' in Latin America''. However, as an emerging economy in the world, much research has been focussing on Brazil's economic development process. A wide range of publications has focus on the economic benefits of conditional cash transfer and Bolsa Familia Program, the level of inequality of outcomes and others like the inequality of opportunity, the benefits of high quality education and social policy. The following publications are research papers that are related to the Bolsa Familia Program and conditional cash transfer in Brazil and other Latin American countries.

Sandberg (2014), ''Social Policy of Our Time? An Inquiry into Evidence, Assumptions, and Diffusion of Conditional Cash Transfers in Latin America''. His paper focus mainly on the analyses of conditional cash transfers in order to further explain the understanding of the program and their role in Latin American social policy development. Sandberg (2014)

emphasised in his book that conditional cash transfers in Latin America share similar features and objectives. According to the Sandberg (2014), ''the features mainly focuses on the targeting, cash transfers, and conditionality with requirements regarding to the utilisation of basic services''. The author also highlighted the aim of the program on ''short-term poverty alleviation and long-term poverty'' through enhancing the human capital investment (Sandberg, 2014, p. 20). He noted that, Bolsa Familia Program presents a universalise social protection that includes those households that are excluded from existing social policies in Brazil. He also focused on empirical research on conditional cash transfers with regards to the capabilities and the political economy of the program and social policy contexts (Sandberg, 2014, p. 11).

Sandoval, L. (2012), ''The effect of education on Brazil's economic development''. Her research paper focused more on the links between education, poverty and inequality in Brazil's economic development. Giving more empirical evidence on how Brazil's failure to raise school learning standards has brought a long-term negative effects on their educational system, and she outlines the economic benefits of a higher quality education to their educational sector. The author also emphasised that poor standard of education contributes to the problem of inequality in Brazil and educational reform will represents one of the most effective tools to improve the economic growth and a more equal distribution of income. She also highlighted the successes of recent education reforms on the educational system and how efficient social spending could bolster economic growth. She emphasised that these benefits depends on the quality of education, which is evidently not equally accessed by all students in Brazil. She argued that across the country, there are several failures within the educational system but the success of cash transfers like the Bolsa Escola Familia program offers some encouragement to the educational sector in Brazil. She concludes that, these ''programs not only reduces dropout rates but also encourages a social agenda that aims to reduce the multidimensional causes of poverty in Brazil'' (Sandoval, 2012, p. 4).

Francisco H. G. Ferreira, Norbert Schady (2008), Aggregate Economic Shocks, Child Schooling and Child Health. Their study on children's health and education has been useful to investigate the early child investment in human capital and intergenerational cycle of poverty.

The authors emphasised that 'economic shocks such as macroeconomic crises' that reduces investment in children, may transmit poverty from one generation to the next. It also shows that the expected effects will be unclear, because of the tension between 'income and substitution effects' on children (Ferreira et al., 2008). They emphasised that education and health outcomes of children do not respond to shocks in the same way in different places. But if an international institution sought to give out a certain budget to minimise the increase in infant mortality or decline in school enrolment across a number of countries with different income levels. They argue that such allocation might be considered to be biased towards the poorest countries, and those that have the least developed credit markets. They also highlighted the evidence that suggests that human capital investments in these countries suffer most from aggregate shocks. They emphasised that in a middle-income country that suffers a negative aggregate shock, the government or agency should allocate a given budget between the education and health sector in oder to protect the human capital of children, but a presumption might be justified to favour health rather than education in that case. They explain that in middle-income countries like those in Latin America, that 'recessions' is likely to harm children's education much less often than they harm child health (Ferreira et al., 2008).

According to Ferreira et al (2009), ''conditional cash transfers reduces present and future poverty'' (Ferreira et al. , 2009). They explain that conditional cash transfers (CCTs) are programs which are design to transfer cash to poor households on the condition that they make a certain investments in the human capital of their children. They emphasized that the conditions required for the enrollment in the program includes ''periodic health and nutritional checkups and school enrollment, attendance on 80-85 per cent of school days and some measure of performances'' for the children (Ferreira et al., 2009). They highlighted that the report shows that there is good evidence that the conditional cash transfers have improved the lives of poor households and also lay out a conceptual framework which focuses on the economic and political reasons for conditional cash transfers. They also emphasized on how these conceptual framework are adopted and how the evidence on impacts should help inform the design of conditional cash transfer programs in practice, and where it fit in the social policies (Ferreira et al., 2009).

3. Theoretical Framework

This part will present and discuss the theoretical framework use in the study; Human capital and Intergenerational cycle of poverty theory. The theories are believed to offer a complementing framework used for explaining the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on children and their benefitting families.

3.1 Human Capital

Almost universally, the impact of dropping out of school at an early age is connected with lower labor earnings in adulthood (Ferreira et al., 2008). It can be said that the idea of investing in children's health and education have a positive effects on the long-term and it also helps to reduce the low labor earning in adulthood in all society not just Brazil. The quality of human capital reflects on how much students studied, but also of the quality of the education and school they attended. According to World Bank (2015), ''education brings a great improvement not just for children that are involved in the program but also parent's ability to perform their important parts in creating healthy households''. Good education increases the ability for both children and their parent's access to future income and enables them to live healthier lives. Therefore, this reflects on the view of Allen and Thomas (2000) argument that a 'child's health is affected more by the mother's schooling' (Allen and Thomas, 2000, p. 82). Hanushek and Wößmann (2007) in Sandoval (2012), emphasised that the quality education is linked as the key issue for development, particularly the one that are related to developing countries. The cognitive skills that students gained in primary and secondary education helps to bring about more economic returns in the society (Lindsay Sandoval, 2012, p. 9).

However, human capital, or the schooling process that builds these economic returns in adulthood, does not generate utility instantly but for the future (Ferreira et al., 2008, p. 3). Ferreira et al., (2008) argue that schooling process can be seen as an investment that is useful not just to improve the standard of living but also as a means to increase earnings in the future for any society. According to Coleman (1988), they emphasised that the relationship between social

capital and education involves these dimensions to help it foster, such as the family environment and extra-familial relationships. Human capital is however a product of individual changes that is linked to the acquired skills or capabilities that enable the person to act in new ways for the adaptation in the ever changing society (Ferreira et al., 2008). The human capital of parents also influences the human capital formation of their children, if the parents participate in their children's lives. As Rose (2012) emphasised that factors like early childhood malnutrition can lead to lower human capital accumulation and to lower lifetime earnings, causing national GDP losses estimated at 2–3 percent. Indeed, many human development-related issues, such as malnutrition, are not just a result of poverty but also its cause (World Bank, 2014).

Moreover, the paper argue that if the amount of schooling is increased, students will have more time to develop basic ability in different disciplines such as mathematics, and science which will add more qualities to their educational outcomes. Therefore, it is important to improve the quality of education, which in turn, helps to improve the productivity in the long-term and build a better human capital (Ferreira et al., 2008). Additionally, it is evident that a more educated workforce will have a higher capacity for innovation, which is will bring about structural changes that will contribute to the economic growth of the society. According to Hanushek and Wößmann (2007) in Sandoval (2012), they explained that education is an important investment which builds the human capital and it also facilitate research development and the innovation of technology to a wider range. Hence, it is evident that increasing the quantity of education will helps students gain more familiarity with technology, which will encourage future innovation and productivity in technology (Lindsay Sandoval, 2012).

3.2 Intergenerational Cycle of Poverty

According to the World Bank (2013), ''the growth process that will improve resource-efficiency, cleaner and more flexible without necessarily slowing them is important to sustaining economic development''. Interventions such as those that reduces malnutrition, provide good health services and education are critical not only to helping the poor households now but will also give the next generation a better chance of escaping absolute poverty (World Bank, 2014, p.

9). Campello and Neri (2014), argue that the objectives of the Bolsa Familia Program were to contribute to the social inclusion of poor households and provide immediate assistance to their situation. The program also has the ability to encourage improvements to their education and health, in order to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty among the households (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 13).

Basu (2013), argue that instead of waiting for economic growth to make this happen, interventions on these fronts can actually step up the growth rates of economies which will help to alleviate the poor households from poverty. However, studies in several Asian and Sub-Saharan African countries show that the ability to escape poverty is linked to deriving greater earnings from work, which can be derived from farm or non-farm activities. Hence, as argued by Ravallion and Chen (2007) ''that the improvement in productivity that was brought by land reforms, investments in rural-infrastructure, and non-farm job opportunities have played a crucial role in reducing poverty in China and Vietnam''. Alderman and Yemtsov (2013), emphasised that the safety nets can also assist the poor in managing risk, for example, crop insurance and provide food stipends during drought or other extreme weather conditions. The Bolsa Familia Program can also improve incentives for poor households to invest in their educational, health, or productive assets. In addition to improving access to and quality of basic services, Bolsa Familia Program can improve the quality of lives, raise incomes, and equip the benefitting households to invest in assets that enhance their future income opportunities (World Bank, 2014, p. 12).

However, it is emphasised that the conditional cash transfers (CCTs) reduce the commonness of low birth weight and infant mortality rate caused by infectious diseases, malnutrition or diarrhoea. The basic health care was at the time strengthened by the program's conditionalities, which increases breastfeeding, vaccination rates and reduces the rate of hospitalisation of children (Ernesto Friedrich et al., 2014). When considering the educational outcomes, the conditionalities of Bolsa Familia Program helped to increase the percentage of boys and girls enrolment in school. This program not only reduces dropout rates and advances a social agenda that aims to alleviate the multidimensional causes of intergenerational cycle of poverty.

3.3 Definition of Key Terms

In this paper, a number of key terms and concepts were used. The key words have different meanings in different contexts, and this section will explain how these key terms are defined and used in this study.

In this thesis, human capital refers to the skills and capacities that reside in people that are put to productive use in their everyday life. It can be a more important determinant of an individual's long term economic success than any other resource for the future (Layard, Richard, 2009, p. 3). The paper argue that the definition of human capital can be define in different ways as Schultz (1961) defines the human capital as an important factor for national economic growth for any country in the modern economy. Garavan et al. (2001) in Layard (2009), defines ''human capital as the 'knowledge, skills, and abilities' that is acquired during the educational process of an individual''. While Rastogi (2002) also in Layard (2009) ''human capital as knowledge, capability, attitude and behaviour that an individual acquire for long-term productivity'' . This definition supports the argument of Garavan et al (2001) in their definition of human capital. However, the different perspective that is used to define human capital stresses on the importance of 'knowledge and skills' obtained throughout educational activities such as 'primary education, secondary education, and vocational education' (Layard, Richard, 2009, p. 3-4).

Inequality can be seen is a broader concept than poverty. That is, it's definition includes the entire population, and not just for those portion of the population that lives below a certain poverty line. Inequality can mean different things to different people and it's concept can be different as well. As Julie A. Litchfield (1999) emphasised that inequality can be conceptualised as a process that requires the distribution of income, resources or other various forms of welfare indicators of a population. This definition highlights the fundamental focus of inequality between individuals (or groups of individuals) that can be linked with inequality of opportunities and inequality of outcomes. According to Andrew (2002), he explain that it is important to understand the whole concept of inequality and it's different dimensions (social exclusion, education and health) in any society. He argued that the process of inequality in any society

includes 'persistent or inter-generational inequality' which can lead to intergenerational cycle of poverty (Andrew McKay, 2002, p. 1-2).

According to Sahlins (1972), ''poverty is not a certain small amount of goods, nor is it just a relation between means and ends; above all, it is a relation between people. Poverty is a social status''. But the definition of poverty by Spicker (2007), sees ''poverty as a condition when people can not afford to obtain resources or better conditions of life to fulfil their membership in the society''. The definition of poverty varies depending on the situation and there are no easy way to connect them all. This means that poverty can be define in many ways and it can be describe as something different in so many different places and in every society. According to Dan Banik (2006), ''poverty is multidimensional in a general notion''. Although, I have identified low income is a major indicator of poverty and it is only one of several indicators use to measure the rate of poverty (Banik, 2006, p. 11). Spiker (2007), argues that the definition of poverty fall under two broad categories of 'conventional approach' (e.g. with what is generally believed to be poverty) and 'participatory approaches' (e.g. a particular quality). Spicker (2007) ''poverty refers to material need - in the first instance and includes three main dimensions: poverty as specific need, where people lack certain things that are essential to them; poverty as a pattern of deprivation; it is a general condition where people are in need in various ways over an extended period of time, past, present and future, i.e. intergenerational cycle of poverty. Deprivation can be measured through the existence of formal schooling or access to medical treatment in the case of need''.

Usually, poverty is defined in a relative or absolute terms. Extreme poverty or absolute poverty is defined as a condition that demonstrates severe lack of basic human needs and deprivation. Poverty can also be defined in absolute terms as an economic distance, when people have less resources than others. Spiker (2007) defines ''income poverty as a social relationship where people's social position depends on a combination of their economic position, educational attainment and social status across the country. Poverty for many refers to the position of the lowest class, people who lack status, power and opportunities available to others'' (Spicker, 2007, p. 4). Amartya Sen argues that poverty is best understood, not as lack of goods but a lack

of entitlement. This view has been influential in the United Nations, where one of the main views on poverty is linked to lack of basic security and understood in terms of people's right (Spicker, 2007).

In this thesis paper, intergenerational cycle of poverty was used to describe the chronic characteristics of poverty which can be transmitted from one generation to another. Bird (2007) describes intergenerational cycle of poverty as a ''transfer of key deficits in assets and income from one generation to another in a way that affects their development''. It means that intergenerational cycle of poverty can be as a result of long term effects of poor education and health care, poor nutrition and lack of opportunities that started from one generation and transmitted to another generation (Bird, 2007, p. 2).

4. Method and Data

As a way to review the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on school enrolment, health and child labor since the implementation of the program. This study is carried out as a qualitative literature review that applied secondary data as the empirical data sources. To review the existing literature, the paper applied systemic analysis because it's supports evidence-based approach and provides a guideline on the available evidence. The empirical materials are based on the previous evaluations of Bolsa Familia Program and the materials used in the research are from academic books and articles, as well as United Nations research reports. The existing literature research that was done on Bolsa Familia Program was synthesised and analysed using the theoretical frameworks.

4.1 Systemic Analysis

Systemic analysis is an approach use to reviewing the existing literatures. It emerged as a focus of interest for this research paper for many reasons. One is that, systemic approach suggested that the reviews of the literature will be a transparent process and reflect the biases of the research. This systemic review aims at minimising the bias of this research paper through comprehensive literature searches of 'published and unpublished studies' and it will also provide

a general assessment for the research, procedures and conclusions (Bryman,2008, p. 85). This systemic review approach corresponds to the aim of my study and I intend to use the systematic analysis to draw on reviews that summarise the balance of the evidence on Bolsa Familia Program. Bryman (2008), ''suggest that the systemic review process provides a reliable foundation on how to design research paper, because it enables a more comprehensive understanding of the subject''. The identified evidence will then be connected to the relevant views of the summarising findings on the impact of Bolsa Familia Program conditionalities in the Brazil context. Using a systemic approach allows for transparency, in other words, the grounds on which the studies were selected and how they were analysed are clearly articulated and are potentially replicable (Bryman, 2008, p. 87).

This review is aimed at reviewing existing literature on the program's impact on school enrolment, health and child labor. These was done by comparing the individuals that are enrolled in the program (i.e. treatment group) with group of non-beneficiaries (control group) household to determine the significant and insignificant characteristics of the program. Such that any differences in outcomes after the program has been enforced can be attributed to the impact of the program had on such intervention (Ferreira et al. , 2010). Soares et al. (2010), argue that the problems that can be identified in the coordination process of program's implementation and the evaluation design are common problems that have led to the adaptation of quasi-experimental techniques, even with a social experiment. The impact evaluation of the program relied mainly on the Propensity Score Matching (PSM) methods in order to measure the average difference between the households that are receiving transfers from Bolsa Familia Program and non-beneficiary households (Sandberg, 2014, p. 28).

However, the synthesis presented on this paper is based on systemic review done by me for the general review on the impact evaluation of Bolsa Familia Program in Brazil. The paper also reviewed other existing evidence on the impact evaluation of the Bolsa Familia Program and other CCTs on Sandberg (2014) for general review on CCTs,Tereza Campello, Marcelo Côrtes Neri (2014) for review on Bolsa Familia Program, Avaliação de Impacto do Bolsa Família (AIBF), a national and regional representative sample survey commissioned by MDS 2012 on

education, and Brazilian Demographic Census 2010, collected by the Brazil Institute of Geography and Statistics for review on the population. These have been complemented by comprehensive analyses by Fiszbein and Schady (2009), Francisco H. G. Ferreira, Norbert Schady (2008) and Francisco H. G. Ferreira et. al. (2013) that included reviews of existing evidence of the analysis of CCTs in broader and social protection terms.

5. Results and analysis

This chapter will demonstrate the findings of this literature review, where the estimates of the impact of the Bolsa Familia Program on school enrolment, health and child labor will be accounted for, as well as the analysis. The analysis will be done separately on school enrolment, health and child labor in order to determine the comprehensive understanding of the impact of Bolsa Familia Program on each of the outcomes. The regional evaluation of the Bolsa Familia Program is a national target for monitoring 73 per cent of the beneficiary households, and with the regionalisation of goals between states and municipalities.

5.1 School Enrolment

Bolsa Família Program have had a very positive impact on school enrolment and attendance as emphasised by the existing literatures. The aim of the Bolsa Familia Program is to improve the living conditions of the benefiting households across the country through education and the empowerment of human capital (Ferreira et al., 2013). This reflects Marxist view on education as a function that serves the interest of capital (income) and prepares students for more progressive socialist way of social standards (Ferreira et al., 2008). Although, the paper argue that education is a significant factor at both the macro or micro level in the development of human capital of any country. It is evident that education generates higher income for individuals and economic growth which help to reduce the intergenerational cycle of poverty in Brazil. As a result, Bolsa Familia Program's conditionality on education will contribute greatly to the future income growth through increased attendance or enrolment in school and graduate rates. Kamerman (2010) in Mona (2012), emphasised that education is a basic need for children and it

deserves a lot of attention. There is also some evidence that the Bolsa Familia Program promote cognitive development in early childhood. This reflects the view that for economic growth to be sustainable, human resources in labor and business must be renewed with more skilled individuals constantly through the investment made on education which will build the human capital on the long-term.

According to MDS (2007) in Soares (2010), they emphasise that the probability that children will be absent from school before the survey was conducted is 3.6 per cent lower for children in the program. It was noted also that the probability for children from the benefitting households that will not be able to complete school was 1.6 per cent less than children from non-benefitting households . School enrolment is perhaps, the total amount of children that are enrolled in both primary education regardless of the age. The figure can exceed 100 per cent because of the inclusion of children that are over-aged and under-aged. Another factor that can make the figure to exceed 100 per cent is the early or late school entrance and grade repetition among the children (WorldBank, 2015). In terms of educational attainment (enrolment and attendance), Fiszbein and Schady (2009), emphasised that there are more evidence that the Bolsa Familia Program have had a positive impact on school enrolment and attendance because of the conditions attached to the program. But the impact of the transfer varies for the number of students completing from elementary school, up to the age of 15 years (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009, p. 130-131). Meanwhile, the national grades of students in the Bolsa Familia Program is at 75.6 per cent, which is considerably lower than that of other public school students who scored 79.4 per cent. Several surveys that was conducted shows that their grades are better in the poorest regions and regions with greater coverage of the program (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 23). The best example is in the Northeast region, where 71.3 per cent of students in the Bolsa Familia Program manage to complete elementary school by the age of 15, against 64 per cent of students in the public system not enrolled in the program. Over time, these results are better with outstanding results achieved at the high school level for Bolsa Familia Program beneficiaries (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 23). The evaluation shows that Bolsa Familia Program have had positive and significant effects on school enrolment, attendance and progression.

Furthermore, the dropout rate in elementary school is lower among students that are enrolled in the Bolsa Familia Program compared to those that are not enrolled in the program. These evidence is true in their early years (6 years to 7 years), i.e. , where the figure is 1.5 per cent against 1.8 per cent and in the final years (15 to 18 years) (4.4 per cent against 4.8 per cent), with a larger margin in the North and Northeast regions. But the pass rate of students from the program is at 7.1 per cent which is lower than that of students in the public system that are not in the Bolsa Familia Program in the early years of the program. As the evaluation reached the completion years of elementary school in the country, this national difference drops to less than half percentage points and is reversed in the North and Northeast regions, with the advantage to the beneficiaries of the program superior by 3 per cent in the Northeast. The overall national results are obviously better for students that are enrolled in the Bolsa Familia Program, both in dropout rate which stands at 7.4 per cent against 11.3 per cent and pass rate at 79.7 per cent against 75.5 per cent in high school. The figures shows that the dropout rate in high school is lower for students in the Bolsa Familia Program in all regions, coming close to half of the rate in the North which is at 8.7 per cent against 17.1 per cent and less than half in the Northeast at 7.7 per cent against 17.5 per cent, where the pass rate of beneficiaries is 10 per cent higher than that of other public school students (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 23-24). Soares et al. (2010) findings concludes that impact evaluations present strong and consistent evidence on increased school enrolment and attendance among benefitting households of the Bolsa Familia Program. Krishnaratne et al. (2013) also found that there is strong existing evidence that CCTs has helped to increase enrolment and attendance in their review of educational impact from 23 CCT evaluations.

Table 1: Comparison of dropout rates between students in the Bolsa Familia Program and other high school students from public system - Brazil and regions (2012) in percentage.

High School				
	Dropout rate		Pass rate	
	Student in the BFP	Other students	Students in the BFP	Other students
Brazil	7.4	11.3	79.7	75.5
North	8.7	17.1	79.8	71.1
Northeast	7.7	17.5	82.6	72.0
Southeast	6.3	7.5	78.4	78.5
South	8.4	9.0	73.2	76.9
Central-West	7.9	11.4	75.0	72.8

Source: 2012 School Census (Censo escolar) 2012.

Table 1 explains the difference in dropout rates and pass rates between students in the Bolsa Familia Program and other high school students who are not enrolled in the Bolsa Familia Program from public system in Brazil by region. It is evident that on the national level, students from the non-benefitting households have a greater tendency to drop out of school compared to those in the Bolsa Familia Program. Moreover, the pass rates are still better among those students in the Bolsa familia Program. The results are similar on the regional level except in the South and Southeast of the country where both dropout and pass rates are better for those who are not enrolled in Bolsa Familia Program. In Central-West, North and Northeast regions, the results show that drop out rate is lower among the students enrolled in Bolsa Familia Program (BFP) and higher among those who are not enrolled in Bolsa Familia Program (Censo escolar, 2012).

Furthermore, it was found that there are no conclusive evidence of long-term effects on education (i.e. completion of schooling, learning) and quality of education. For instance, Fiszbein and Schady (2009) concluded in their evaluation that there are few evaluations to draw from concerning the final outcomes such as years of schooling completed and the actual learning standard. However, they did indicate modest improvements in cognitive development among the young children, although this improvement are more likely to be found among some age groups and not others. The Bolsa Familia Program was also found to have no visible effect on learning outcomes for children in school age and quality of their education. The authors recommended

that the future impact evaluations to focus more on important outcomes such as effects of Bolsa Familia Program on learning outcomes and their interaction with the quality of education rather than enrolment and attendance (Fiszbein et al., 2009).

Cecchini and Madariaga (2011) in Sandberg (2014) argue that there are no decisive evidence of Bolsa Familia Program impact on the learning outcomes. They also found it questionable to seek causal effects of the program (BFP) on final educational outcomes without considering the processes which takes place in school, and other variables that impact learning (Sandberg, 2014, p. 34). In essence, most of the impact evaluations on Bolsa Familia Programs' impact reviewed in their evaluations all measured short-term achievements on the human capital while learning outcome and quality of education was rarely analysed. To evaluate the effects of the Bolsa Familia Program and other conditional cash transfers (CCTs) on these outcomes, one would have a measure of program's (BFP) effects on the years of schooling that was completed by adults (i.e. if they dropped out of school or not) or completed schooling years . However, majority of the evaluations that is done on Bolsa Familia Program's effects on enrolment and pass rates have focused on short-term effects (school attendance). It can be suggested that the experimentation of the policy and it's innovation is important at increasing the impact of Bolsa Familia Program (CCTs) on learning outcomes which will also improve the human capital. Moreover, more attention should be given to the possibility of paying households not just for school enrolment, but also for the performance on their children's standardised test (Fiszbein et al., 2009, p. 145). Leite (2003) in Lindert (2010), emphasised that Brazil's Bolsa Escola Program (a predecessor to Bolsa Familia Program) significantly increased the number of children in school and also the number of those children that were only working reduced tremendously. Using similar methodologies, simulations suggest that the Bolsa Familia Program could significantly increase total educational attainment and reduce repetition rates thereby reducing the transmission of intergenerational cycle of poverty among the beneficiaries (Lindert, 2010, p. 71).

5.2 Health

Looking at the impact of Bolsa Familia Program, the paper argue that school enrolment is an input into educational outcomes. This also reflects the view that preventive health services is an input into health outcomes that builds the investment in human capital (Soares et al. , 2010). Health and maternal nutrition during pregnancy have shown to have an important impact on children endowments at birth. Although, Soares et al. (2010) argue that there is empirical evidence suggesting that children's endowment at birth have an influence on their adult outcomes which includes educational attainment and incomes which reduces the transmission of poverty. This means that the health of new generation is an important condition for the continuation of growth generating forces, and children's health therefore plays an important role in the development process. In Brazil, the effectiveness of Bolsa Familia Program and other such policies have led to a change and significant decline in infant mortality and other health issues (Soares et al. , 2010).

This section will account for the evidence of Bolsa Familia Program's effects on health and nutritional outcomes. Fiszbein and Schady (2009), argue that mixed results was found in the evaluations of Bolsa Familia Program's effects on health visits. The health visits consists of visits to health centres for growth, development monitoring and for immunisation of children. They explained that the Bolsa Familia Program had both negative and positive impact on the benefitting households (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009, p. 139). They also found that the program appears to have had a significant negative impact on weight of the children and a significant negative effect on height of children. These negative effects of the program occurred in spite of the fact that the program appears to have increased the possibility of obtaining foods with high nutrient among the benefitting households (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009, p. 150).

Campello and Neri (2014), emphasised that since the first phase of program's evaluation and the second phase of the evaluation was done in 2005 and 2012 respectively, the number of households that have being monitored by the Minister of Health have increased from 5.5 million to approximately 11.8 million. In 2012, the SUS monitored the basic health care of approximately 8.6 million households in Brazil. The figures reveal that 5.1 million of those monitored were children, 13.8 million were women and nearly 165,000 were pregnant women

(Campello, Neri, 2014). The evidence that comprise the health conditionalities of Bolsa Familia Program demonstrated huge progress among this group that was monitored. Moreover, among the children that was monitored in the second term of 2012, the figure reveal that 99.2 per cent of the children completed their vaccination appointments and also 81 per cent of the children had their nutritional conditions evaluated (Campello, Neri, 2014). Among the pregnant women that were monitored during the evaluation, the figure reveal that 99 per cent them completed their prenatal care appointments and also 80 per cent of the women had their nutritional conditions evaluated (Campello, Neri, 20014).

The evaluation of Bolsa Familia Program on the health impact was important and contributed to the reduction of malnutrition, infant mortality and low birth weight which is a big problem among the children from benefitting households. Campello and Neri (2014), emphasised in their findings that the data on the nutritional condition of children from the benefitting households of Bolsa Familia Program shows that 14.5 per cent had a stunted growth and 16.4 per cent of the children were overweight, which is a significant health problems for the children (Campello and Neri, 2014, p. 22). Fiszbein and Schady (2009) emphasised that on the evidence that children who are enrolled in the program (benefitting households) are 0.96 centimetres taller in height than other children (non-benefitting households). According to Fiszbein and Schady (2009) ''rural municipality that enrolled every household in the program (benefitting households) is assumed to have low infant mortality rate of 2 deaths per 1,000 live births which is lower than a comparable municipality that enrolled no one (non-benefitting households)''.

According to Santos et al. (2007) in Soares et al. (2010), emphasised that the Chamada Nutricional (Nutritional Call) provided another source of information on this issue, although, the evaluation survey which the MDS conducted in health centres of the amazon regions (Soares et al. , 2010). This evaluation showed the significant impact of Bolsa Familia Program had on the reduction of stunted growth for children aged 6 to 11 months and on the reduction of acute malnutrition. However, it was found that the program did not have an observed impact on children between the ages of 12 to 36 months. Martorell (1999), argue that this is the critical age

for children that may have nutritional problem because of the increasing demand for nutrients for their growth. This lack of impact on the side of Bolsa Familia Program which is unexpected, might be in connection to the failure to monitor the growth of children when they regular visit a health centre even when such visits are part of the conditions of the program. In the case of immunisation of children, the basic problem is the lack of abundant access to health services, rather than the unwillingness of the households to send their children for regular checkups (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009).

Soares et al. (2010), emphasised in their findings that the Chamada Nutricional survey were not properly surveyed because of the indications on the nutritional outcomes and was only based on a small sample of children that attended a health centre on a national vaccination day program. The evaluation results could be biased because the process did not adopt a specific technique to correct this treatment selectivity and the children's initial nutritional condition was not controlled in their analysis (Soares et al. , 2010, p. 184). In reviewing existing evidence on health impact of the program in Brazil and other Latin American countries, Gaarder et al. (2010), emphasised in their evidence that the conditional cash transfers (CCTs) have helped to improve the utilisation of important health services that was necessary for the sector. But they argue that because of the mixed picture in terms of health outcomes, and they suggests that the effort made by the program for the utilisation of poor quality services is unlikely to produce desired effects (Sandberg, 2014, p. 35).

Campello and Neri (2014), argue that out of a total of 11.8 million households covered by health care, it is unknown whether the 3.2 million that are not monitored have access to basic health care actions and services. According to Oliveira et al. (2007), they found that Bolsa Familia Program had an important impact on children's immunisation and the conditions regarding this matter. This argument is based on fact that the Bolsa Familia Program have contributed to the awareness on the need to access public health care and the immunisation of children. Although, lack of access to quality health service is a challenge and it is considered as a contributing factor for the absence of impact in this sense and the evaluation did not control for this aspect (Soares et al., 2010, p. 183). The absence of this impact suggests that the supply-side

of the program is a hindrance to an important restriction towards the achievement of this aim. It is important to note that the program offers poor households in Brazil access to the public health system, which is in a common terms, is far from perfect but it is fairly efficient in providing free basic health care for the poor households. According to Lindert (2005) cash transfers and the provision adequate health service can serve as graduation strategies, helping the poor to break out of intergenerational cycle of poverty (Lindert, 2005, p. 71).

5.3 Child Labor

Child labor have be seen as a factor that reduces a child's ability to accumulate human capital for their own personal development. This means that children who participate in the labor market tends to have lower return on their education investment that lead to low human capital. Emerson and knabb (2007), suggested that reduced study time, poor health and stress is a strong empirical evidence to support the claim that child labor is constraint to human capital. Emerson and Knabb (2006) in their article (2007) had a fundamental argument which suggested that child labor is the impact of other policies or economic circumstance that constraint their ability to accumulate human capital (Emerson and Knabb, 2007, p. 6). The paper argue that parental background influences children's outcomes on labor market through a variety of channels which includes the transmission of intergenerational of cycle of poverty, environmental conditions, and collective policies (Ferreira et al. , 2013, p. 67).

To tackle the problem of child's labor, Brazil have made a significant advancement in the efforts to eradicate the worst forms of child labor in the country. First, the Government increased budget allocations for social protection programs such as Bolsa Familia Program, Brasil Carinhoso, and Brasil sem Miséria, in an effort to reduce the rate of child labor. It has also restructured the National Program to Eradicate Child Labor in order to improve the coordination of the program and provide additional resources to local governments in an effort to eliminate child labor. Considering the effort of the Government on programs such as Bolsa Familia Program, Alan de Brauw et al. (2010) emphasized that the Bolsa Família Program had no major impact on the proportion of children that are taking part in any domestic work in 2009 on

average. They also noted that Bolsa Família Program reduced the amount of time girls between the age of 5-17 spent during domestic work by nearly three hours per week in any domestic work (Alan de Brauw, 2010, p. 12).

Alan de Brauw et al. (2010) argue that for children aged 5-10, there is no evidence that they participate in paid or unpaid work outside the home. However, they found that approximately 6 per cent of the children aged 11-15 work outside the home as do 16.2 per cent and 29.3 per cent of females and males aged 16 and 17 respectively both for treatment group and control group (Alan de Brauw et al. , 2010, p. 11). Considering the low levels of participation in this situation, it is not surprising that Bolsa Familia Program has no statistically significant effect on the proportion of children age 5-17 reported to be involved work in 2009. According to Soares et al. (2010), the reported impacts of Bolsa Familia Program on labor force participation is different across countries, but overall they do not show a reduction in child labor in this case. This is an important result.

However, critics of the Bolsa Familia Program argue that the program have a negative effect on labor force participation. According to Oliveira et al. (2007), they argue that there was no impact found on child labor but instead there was significant impact on the participation of adult on the labor market (benefitting households) was, in fact, it is 2.6 per cent higher than for other adults (non-benefitting households). This impact was gender biased, i.e. the participation rate of women from the benefitting households was at 4.3 per cent higher than for men. Despite such beneficial impacts, it is not possible to confirm whether adults from the benefitting households' higher labor force participation has been accompanied by an increasing participation rate for children (Soares et al. , 2010. p. 185).

6. Discussion and Conclusion

This paper tried to review the impact evaluation of Bolsa Familia Program that is associated with the conditionality on education, health and child labor that will help to build the human capital and break the transmission of intergenerational cycle of poverty in Brazil. I had set out to make a literature review on the existing literatures on the impact evaluation of Bolsa

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Familia Program. On this account, the paper used systemic analysis to review the existing literatures for transparent process and it reduces the biases of the thesis paper. This paper demonstrate that the Bolsa Familia Program unlike any other conditional cash transfer have had an impressive impact on the school enrolment and health due to the performance of the targeting technique. The paper also took account of the method of implementation and monitoring of Bolsa Familia Program which proved to be the mechanism that makes the program unique in reducing the transmission of intergenerational cycle of poverty and inequality among the beneficiaries and long-term effect on human capital that is so positive for the society. When considering the positive impact Bolsa Familia Program have had on education, one question remains; How is the quality of education that the program have provided?

However, the analysis that was developed in this paper have verified that among the children from the benefiting households, their school enrolment rate can exceed 100 per cent including the over-aged and under-aged children (Soares et al., 2010). The effect on national grades of student in the Bolsa Familia Program is at 75.6 per cent compared 79.4 per cent from non-beneficiaries but there are variation in the regional impact of the program (Campello, Neri, 2014, p. 23). This review shows that the grades are even better in the poorest regions with greater coverage of the program. The paper also account for the dropout rate which is at 7.4 per cent for those that are enrolled in the program and 11.3 per cent for non-beneficiaries on the national level (Campello, Neri, 2014). The impact evaluations present strong and consistent evidence on the increased school enrolment among the benefitting households, particularly in the poorest and regions with greater coverage of the program. On the national level, the Bolsa Familia Program have had a more comprehensive positive impact on the educational outcome which have contributed to the human capital development in Brazil (Krishnaratne et al. , 2013). But there has been questions on the quality of leaning and standard of education.

The findings on the health conditionality of the program have shown positive impacts in reducing malnutrition, infant mortality rate and low birth weight among the children from the benefitting households. On this account, the paper found that 99.2 per cent of the children that was monitored through the program completed their vaccination schedules and also 81 per cent of the children had their nutritional conditions evaluated which is an important factor in the fight

against polio and other deadly diseases (Campello, Neri, 2014). The study found low infant mortality rate of 2 deaths per 1,000 live births in rural municipals in Brazil that are enrolled in the program (Fiszbein, Schady, 2009). Bolsa Familia Program also had a positive impact on the growth level of some the children from the benefiting households. The paper found new accounts that shows that pregnant mothers also benefitted from the program. However, the figure indicates that 99 per cent of the pregnant women completed their prenatal care appointments and also 80 per cent had their nutritional levels evaluated (Campello, Neri, 2014). The evidence shows that the Bolsa Familia Program have contributed in the effort to break the transmission intergenerational cycle of poverty and to build the human capital development within children from the benefitting households.

This study found that the Bolsa Familia Program have had little impact on child labor in Brazil. This is because the proportion of children that are engaged in domestic work is on the average and Bolsa Familia Program has no statistical effect on the number of children age 5-17 that was reported to be engaged any work in 2009 (Alan de Brauw, 2010, p. 12). But Bolsa Familia Program have a little impact on the time girls spent doing domestic work. Instead, Bolsa Familia Program have more positive impact on adult and women that are participating on labor force than among children (Soares et al., 2010).

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