

Schools of *Peace*

UNESCO

State Government of Rio de Janeiro
State Secretariat of Education

University of Rio de Janeiro - UNI-RIO



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To the youths, teachers, principals,
and motivators who believe it is
possible to construct a Culture of Peace.

CONTENTS

PRESENTATION	11
ABSTRACT	13
INTRODUCTION	17
1. CULTURE OF PEACE	21
1.1. Developing a Culture of Peace	23
1.2. The Schools of Peace Program	26
1.2.1. Some History	26
1.3. School and the Culture of Peace	29
2. METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES	33
2.1. The Quantitative Approach	36
2.1.1. The Questionnaires	36
2.1.2. The Survey in the Schools	38
2.2. The Qualitative Approach	38
3. EVALUATION OF THE SCHOOLS OF PEACE	41
3.1. Characterization of the Schools	43
3.1.1. Educational Offerings in the Surveyed Schools ...	44
3.1.2. The Social Equipment	46
3.1.3. School Associations and Clubs	47
3.1.4. The School's Surroundings	48
3.2. Schools of Peace Program Motivators	52
3.2.1. Selection and Training of the Motivators	54
3.3. Perceptions about the Program: Youths, Motivators, and Others	58
3.3.1. How Do the Participating Youths View the Program?	58
3.3.2. What Motivates the Youths to Take Part In the Program?	62
3.3.3. The Activities Offered By The Program	65
3.3.4. How Did The Participants Find Out About The Program?	71
3.3.5. Youths that Don't Participate in the Program: Reasons and Expectations	72
3.4. Contributions Of The Program To The Reduction Of Violence	75

4. THE YOUTH IN THE REALM OF THE SCHOOLS OF PEACE PROGRAM	81
4.1. Academic Situation of the Students In the State of Rio De Janeiro	83
4.2. Profile of the Participating and Non-Participating Youths in the Program.....	85
4.2.1. Gender, Age, and School Placement	85
4.2.2. Place of Residence: Where They Live and Since When	89
4.2.3. Characteristics of the Family Group: Marital Status and Offspring	91
4.3. The Youths' Perception	93
4.3.1. Youths and the School	93
4.3.2. Youths and Religion	105
4.3.3. Youths and Family	110
4.3.4. Youths and Work	116
4.3.5. Youths and Leisure	127
4.3.6. Youths and Violence	131
4.3.7. Youths and Drugs	148
4.3.8. Youths and Perspectives for the Future	155
5. CONSIDERATIONS AND CHALLENGES FOR A PROGRAM OF PEACE.....	163
6. BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES	177

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PRESENTATION

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization – UNESCO in conjunction with the Government of the State of Rio de Janeiro, has the pleasure of presenting the book *Schools of Peace*. This book used the Evaluation Report of the Establishment of the Schools of Peace Program as a reference and was carried out in partnership with the University of Rio de Janeiro – UNI-RIO.

This project was developed during the experimental phase of the Program in the state. Nevertheless, it already has two merits. The first is the confirmation of the relevance of performing evaluative surveys of government proposals while they are in process. This is something that has been demonstrated as a necessity for quite some time, especially when it comes to transforming the preoccupying picture of social exclusion.

The second merit is perhaps the most significant. This merit lies in showing that solutions and ways of dealing with some of the problems that affect contemporary societies can be found in the places where the problems occur. This is the true in the case of violence practiced against or by the youths which is the main reason for the Schools of Peace Program.

Based on this situation and the diagnosis outlined in this study, we can already discern the potential impact of the Program in the schools, in the communities, and above all in everything that has to do with the youths. The strategies for Program continuity and expansion seem very simple. Paradoxically, however, they demand some very complex arrangements: sensitivity, public spirit, and political will.

The objective of the publication of this study is to turn the experience into a public experience. It is also to stimulate the opening of school space by a wide variety of governmental and non-governmental areas which are involved in opening up new lines of communication and citizenship for the various youths.

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ABSTRACT

This study presents evaluation results of the Program Schools for Peace, which took place in 111 schools in the State of Rio de Janeiro. Its main objective was to offer access to culture, sports, arts, and leisure for youths in situations of “social vulnerability,” by opening schools on weekends, which is when the risks of violence increase considerably. The main purpose of this research was to discover the social reach of the experience; correct any problems detected in the project’s implementation phase; subsidize and disseminate the Program in other regions of the country and contribute to the formulation of public policies regarding youths. In addition to this, it attempted to establish the profile of schools, youths, and those responsible for the actions in the schools. More specifically, the goal was to generate ideas, behavior, and values which constitute important elements in developing a Culture of Peace.

“The weekend is here...
If you want trouble, don't come!
That's not for me!
This is what we want,
I want to have fun...
Without violence, the weekend is fun!
Weekends that are chill, tranquil...
That's what we want!”

“Nocaute” Band (2001)

INTRODUCTION

The Schools of Peace Program is part of an agreement established between the State Government of Rio de Janeiro and UNESCO for the development of a Culture of Peace. It was developed by the State Secretariat of Education of Rio de Janeiro – SEE/RJ, in 111 schools of the state’s public school system. The program’s objective is to offer access to culture, sports, arts, and leisure to youths in socially vulnerable situations by using the strategy of opening schools on weekends.

This publication is based on evaluation research. The backdrop for this research is the day to day life and the perceptions of the youths, motivators, teachers, and principals in the schools that are related to the program and to its implementation. The objective is to reflect on the social reach of the experiment and to collaborate by making corrections during the process. The objective is also to disseminate the program in the State of Rio de Janeiro, allowing it to serve as a model for other experiments. This is done in order to contribute to the formulation of public policy for youths from the perspective of teaching human values and working towards the construction of a Culture of Peace.

Essentially, the edition of the evaluation results of the implantation of the Schools of Peace Program should serve as a channel of expression for youths, taking into consideration that the work was based on the different perceptions the surveyed youths had about their universe. These results are presented in the hope that they will allow the limitations and the possibilities of the experiment to be perceived. It is also hoped that the results will demonstrate the numerous positive aspects which point to the necessity of continuing the program and expanding actions aimed at opening school spaces.

Some of the positive aspects that express the importance of the program can be highlighted: the possibility of expanding the cultural universe of the youths and the teachers; the approximation of the school and the family; the valorization of school space in terms of taking better care of the school and not exposing the youths to violent situations; the possibility of developing new alternatives for the coexistence youths from different groups experience on both an intra and extra-school level; the establishment of closer contact and solidarity among the youths, the teachers, and the community, creating room for dialogue, encounters, and affection; and the discussion of education focusing on social relationships and values of peace within the scholastic community.

The study presented here was carried out between September and December of the year 2000. It is an evaluation survey and contains reflections on the initial phase of the Schools of Peace Program. The work is divided into five chapters:

Chapter I presents the Program's conceptual framework;

Chapter II presents the methodological procedures of the Program's evaluation;

Chapter III describes the implantation and implementation of the Program and characterizes the schools that were included in this stage. This chapter takes into consideration internal organization aspects of the Program and relationships with the community as well as the problems the Program faced as seen through the eyes of the students and the principals. The general approach of this chapter is to have the participants evaluate the Program. This is done taking into consideration the stimulus for their participation, the organization and offering of activities, the equipment utilized, and the way news about the program was spread, indicating suggestions for the next phases.

Chapter IV presents the profile of the surveyed youths, taking into consideration the categories of gender, age, segment of society, shift they study in and where they live. This chapter treats the perceptions that the youths and the motivators have about school, religion, family, work, leisure, and violence as well as the issue of drugs in the schools.

Chapter V concludes the study with some general considerations and recommendations for the improvement of the Program.

1

Culture of Peace

1.1 DEVELOPING A CULTURE OF PEACE

The Schools of Peace Program is included in UNESCO's broadest framework of action which is aimed at the construction of a Culture of Peace. The Culture of Peace includes values that are essential to democratic life such as participation, equality, respect for human rights, respect for cultural diversity, freedom, tolerance¹, dialogue, reconciliation, solidarity, development, and social justice.

Moreover, the Culture of Peace is intrinsically related to the search for new strategies that allow for non-violent conflict resolution. This search gives priority to dialogue, negotiation, and mediation in a way that creates awareness towards the fact that war and violence are unacceptable. It is a culture based on tolerance, solidarity, and respect to individual and collective rights.

The Culture of Peace is based on the premise that awareness, mobilization, education, information, and participation are required in order for it to become a reality. As a long-term process it must take historical, political, economic, social, and cultural contexts into consideration. Many elements must be considered, from everyday routines to the broadest aspects of both local and global societies.

¹ The meaning of tolerance used by UNESCO refers to the 1st Article of the Declaration of Principles of Tolerance (UNESCO, 1977): "1.1 Tolerance is respect, acceptance, and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience, and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty, it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace. 1.2 Tolerance is not concession, condescension or indulgence. Tolerance is, above all, an active attitude prompted by recognition of the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others. In no circumstance can it be used to justify infringements of these fundamental values. Tolerance is to be exercised by individuals, groups, and States."

Within the Brazilian context, UNESCO translates this intention into studies and actions that contribute to the reduction of violence, especially violence that involves youths². A high rate of violent deaths of youths has been verified through these and other studies that have been developed in the country. These deaths primarily occur on the weekends. The lack of access and opportunities that the youths have to work, culture, sports, and leisure activities are also being pointed out. This is especially true for youths from the poorer classes, resulting in a scenario marked by social exclusion³.

These projects indicate that strategies to combat the violence that affects the youths should concentrate on actions that will nourish youth protagonists⁴. They should also concentrate on practices that will allow them to fully exercise their citizenship.

² WAISELFISZ, Júlio Jacobo. *Map of Violence: Youths of Brazil*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 1998; WAISELFISZ, Júlio Jacobo. *Map of Violence II: Youths of Brazil*. Brasília: UNESCO, 2000; MINAYO, Maria Cecília de Souza et al. *Say It People: Youth, Violence, and Citizenship in Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 1999; BARREIRA, César (coord.) et al. *In Touch with the Crew: Youth, Violence, and Citizenship in Fortaleza*. Brasília: UNESCO, 1999; WAISELFISZ, Júlio Jacobo. *Youth, Violence, and Citizenship: Youths from Brasília*. São Paulo: Cortez, 1999; ABRAMOVAY, Miriam et al. *Gangs, Crews, Buddies, and Rappers: Youth, Violence, and Citizenship around the Outskirts of Brasília*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 1999; SALAS, Ana Luisa et al. *Youths from Curitiba: Hopes and Disillusionment*. Brasília: UNESCO, 1999

³ In recent studies, Castel (1997) states that the use of the term embraces an infinity of distinct situations. Furthermore, he states that “the essential representative traits of these situations of ‘exclusion’ are not found in the situations themselves. (...) Exclusion is effectively defined as the state of all who find themselves left out of the active circuit of social exchange.”

⁴ According to Noletto (2000), promoting youth protagonists means “recognizing the youth as the subject of his/her own development process, recognizing the youth as an absolute party capable of constructing his/her life and history beginning with equal opportunity in accessing the concrete means of participation and expression.” Zanetti (1999/2000), states that youth protagonist refers to the “active role of youths in their education, in the redemption of their citizenship and the communities where they live, in the construction of a more just society for all.”

For this to occur, affirmative intervention is required, an intervention that must be based on the new identities of the youths, with the primary goal of incorporating these practices in the world of political policies.

From this perspective, a growing movement in a wide variety of segments in Brazilian society has been observed in the last few decades. This has occurred in the sense of strengthening mediation actions that are dedicated to building paths to citizenry for the distinctly varied youths that occupy this immense country. These actions are based on providing the youth with new opportunities and alternatives. This movement has been adapting itself to a network of partnerships with different participants, including public agencies, non-governmental organizations, international agencies, social movements, and business organizations, among others.

Therefore, networks are being formed for the development of a Culture of Peace. Despite the different social positions occupied by the involved members of these networks, there is a consensus that strategies should be implemented through stimulating forms of solidarity. Many times these forms are already being produced by the various youths participating in the Program. Furthermore, these networks seek to give value to proposals, actions, and attitudes that show themselves to be of fundamental value when confronting the related social problems.

Among the many roads that lead to the construction of a Culture of Peace, establishing or strengthening dialogue with the youths seems to be the most advantageous one. This is the road that reveals itself to be most free of stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination. It is the road that respects different identities and that ventures to use methods that allow the youths to formulate answers that are capable of revealing their needs and desires.

On one hand these youths demonstrate signs of a generation that is inextricably linked to strong feelings of fear and uncertainty towards the police, unemployment, and perspectives for the future.

However, on the other hand they demonstrate that they are also hopeful and that they believe in the possibility of a better life. Although these youths find themselves submerged in doubt and contradiction, they reveal potential that is significantly affirmative.

1.2 THE SCHOOLS OF PEACE PROGRAM

1.2.1. Some History

The Schools of Peace Program can be translated into strategies based on encouraging the opening of schools on weekends and in creating alternative spaces that will attract the youths.

The Program is part of a broader UNESCO national program: “Making Room: Education and Culture for Peace.” This program’s strategy involves different spaces and different practices. A document about this national program reads: “UNESCO advocates a strategy for the fomentation of a National Program of Opening Schools on weekends and making alternative spaces available in order to attract the youths. This contributes to reversing the portrait of violence and to constructing spaces for citizenship. This strategy emerges from the observations made by UNESCO of successful experiments of similar design in the United States, France, Spain, and other countries. These experiments work with youths in the fields of art, culture, and sports and constitute an excellent form of preventing violence⁵.”

In the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Schools of Peace Program was based on information presented in a series of studies⁶ that

⁵ UNESCO *Making Room: Education and Culture of Peace* Brasília, 2001.

⁶ In 1998, the Rio de Janeiro Municipal District appears as the third capital in the country in regard to the indicator “death by firearm,” among the population between the ages of 15 and 24 – **113.2% (can you have 113.2%? Is that possible?) (Waiselfisz, 2000).

pointed to Rio de Janeiro as a city that contained one of the highest contingents of homicide related deaths for youths (1,352 in 1998). These studies painted a picture of Rio de Janeiro as a city with one of the highest rates of homicide related deaths (62.6% in 1998) and of other types of violence among the youths.

The Schools of Peace Program was launched on August 8, 2000⁷. The opening of the Program coincided with the mobilization that occurred in 2000 surrounding the International Year of the Culture of Peace. This mobilization took place especially because of the “Peace Manifesto,” an UNESCO initiative which collected signatures from the populations of the different parts of the planet. The objective of the manifesto was to put PEACE into the center of world discussions and to appeal for the individual commitment of every citizen.

The State of Rio de Janeiro collected six million signatures, standing out as the largest mobilization center on a global scale. The huge outcome culminated in the delivery of the Rio de Janeiro Manifesto to the United Nations (UN) by the State Governor in September, 2000.

These actions originated in a cooperation agreement between UNESCO and the State Government of Rio de Janeiro. The agreement focused on ways to minimize the dramatic situation that the Fluminense youths have been facing. Fluminense is the term used to describe any residents of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

Originally, the Schools of Peace Program was intended to build a dialogue between different areas of the State Government, which included education, social action, safety and justice, health, and sports and culture. Since it composed a large field of actions, the Program was directly linked to the Secretariat of the Government and interfaced with other administrative agencies.

⁷ In 2000, the Program was developed in the states of Pernambuco and Mato Grosso in addition to Rio de Janeiro. In 2001 the Program intends to extend its efforts to many other states, including Bahia and São Paulo.

The Program was introduced as a proposal with the potential of promoting access and opportunities for co-existence among the youths. This would occur through the implantation of a culture of values and education based on human rights, fundamental pillars in the construction of a Culture of Peace.

According to the State Secretariat of Education of Rio de Janeiro – SEE/RJ, the selection of schools that would participate in the Program took place giving privilege to the regions with the most violence and to localities with the fewest alternatives for culture and leisure. Establishments with better infrastructure (libraries, computer labs, sports fields, etc.), such as the CIEPs⁸ schools were also included.

The Program's activities were considered to be a pilot project by SEE/RJ. The activities ran from August to December of the year 2000. The actualization of the Program was preceded by the following steps:

- An invitation sent to state schools for participation in the Schools of Peace was based on a few criteria of enrollment: availability of adequate physical space; location in areas of violence, and presence of community based initiatives;
- School presentation of the project of execution of the activities was required for participation;
- Incentives were given to work focusing primarily on youths;
- Definition of investments – payment to all members of Program motivator teams (17 people per school), funds for school maintenance on the weekends (purchase of support materials for workshops and presentations, etc.), and funds for snacks and lunches for all participants;

⁸ The CIEPs were implanted in Rio de Janeiro during the first term of governor Leonel Brizola (1983/87), arising from the political-pedagogical proposal of professor Darcy Ribeiro, which includes the construction of appropriate establishments specially designed by the architect Oscar Niemeyer.

- Selection of teams in the schools – 1 general coordinator for the school, 1 coordinator for collecting signatures for the Manifesto 2000, 1 coordinator for sports activities, 1 coordinator for reading activities, 1 cultural organizer, 8 activity monitors, 2 food preparation workers, and 2 food servers.
- Convocation of non-paid volunteers;
- Training, developed by UNESCO focusing on Schools of Peace monitor teams, principals, coordinators, and SEE/RJ team members; UNESCO fulfilled this step with the support of three consultants who created the initial training proposal and then led training sessions in different regions of the state;
- Functioning of schools on the weekends – 8:00 am opening with a community breakfast, lunch at noon, and 4:00 p.m. closing;
- Development of activities related to stimulating cultural, sports, and leisure production; workshops in handicrafts, graffiti art, sports, capoeira⁹, dance, music, were suggested along with activities to stimulate reading, learning games, and artistic presentations;
- Establishment of partnerships – Viva Rio, Rock in Rio, State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), Bank of Brazil, *Folha Dirigida* Newspaper, Metropolitan Secondary School Students Association (AMES);
- Stimulate the forming of partnerships among the participating schools.

1.3. SCHOOL AND THE CULTURE OF PEACE

In selecting the school as the central reference of its action, the Schools of Peace Program seeks to find an answer in conjunction with the involved communities. The Schools of Peace Program takes the schools themselves into consideration.

⁹ Capoeira is a martial art developed by African slaves to fight their Portuguese masters.

The school establishment is recognized as a potentially privileged *locus* for investing in a process of changing the behavior and attitudes of youths exposed to violence, because:

- The school may become identified as a point of reference and a place that would stimulate a sense of belonging, keeping in mind the social position that the school occupies in the communities and the means it has for being a legitimate organization center;
- The school is conceived of as an accessible location for all members of the communities, whether or not they are formally participating in the Program;
- The school is believed to contain the possibility of a new and more informal way to bring families, the communities, and the youths closer together.

The school space is not understood as only a physical space. The activities are centered on the students and on other youths from the general community. The activities depend on the participation of the institution's employees – the principal, teachers, cooks, assistants, as well as volunteers. The activities are incorporated into the educational practices and other initiatives that are already taking place at the institution. They use equipment and materials from the school. The Program is sustained by human, technical, and physical resources that are made available by the school.

The school is a local institution that has the advantage of being able to add resources to the community. The communication process can contribute to the comprehension of local action experiments, making it responsible for triggering global actions. As Leroy states, "To act locally is to act globally." (1999/2000 p. 21)

Working with culture, education, and values demands a certain amount of precaution. A wide variety of authors, such as Zanetti (1999/2000), and Novaes (1994), have been calling

attention to programs and projects which are directed towards youths. Many times these programs use a series of *clichés* such as “youth liberators,” when in fact “it’s understood that someone, and this is not the youths, should be in charge of this.” This means that these researchers argue that the youths’ social protagonist role should not be composed of “liberality” from the adults, but of responsibility from the youths themselves, with emphasis on the following:

The valorization of these youths and a trust in their capacity to make decisions and to take responsibility for their own lives when faced with the reality in which they live is the element that characterizes and qualifies a series of educational experiences that stand out today in the “popular” field. (Zanetti, page 45)

Without discussing the possibility of the material conditions and the cognitive universe of the youths, the perspective on youth protagonists may become yet another *cliché* because it transfers social responsibility in regards to ethics and values to the youths themselves. This process reproduces practices without widening horizons of knowledge, including those in the artistic and cultural areas. The idea of a youth protagonist works on the supposition that there is a dynamic relationship between training, knowledge, participation, and creation in the construction of a Culture of Peace.

Access to a quality school constitutes a very important means of combating violence and constructing a Culture of Peace. Guimarães (1998) concludes that aside from a recent expansion that has made academic opportunities more universal in the country, they are still limited from the point of view of quality. This occurs primarily where the poorer populations are concerned, especially in terms of promoting the effective incorporation as citizens.

Surveys conducted by UNESCO have shown that music, theater, dance, circus, communications, sports, and leisure

effectively motivate and cause impact on the behavior of the youths, the school, the family, and the community. This in turn contributes to the fight against violence.

Within this setting the relationship between school, youths and violence has awakened special attention among scholars. It has been the main theme of various academic projects, as can be observed in the works of Sposito (2000), Candau, Lucinda, and Nascimento (1999), Guimarães (1998), Cardia (1997), and Zaluar (1992). Among others, these scholars explore the issue and place it in context.

In many of these projects, the school tends to appear as a place that is touched by violence. This violence can be internal, occurring in the daily life of the school, or it may be external, as a result of interference from processes with external origins. The proposal of Candau, Lucinda, and Nascimento (1999) alerts us to the necessity of starting with the conviction that violence in the school cannot be analyzed as an isolated phenomenon. It must be seen as part of a larger process, one that goes beyond the limits of the school, and which involves a number of factors in respect to the social context as a whole.

Cardia (1997), in turn, affirms that intervention that focuses on the containment of violence is crucial. Nevertheless, its success lies in involving families, community organizations, and schools. The author states that “the school is part of the problem and of the solution.”

In the Schools of Peace Program, looking for solutions and mobilizing youths, schools, families, and communities takes on a playful form, involving bodies and spirits.

In fact, the process of grouping the participants, especially the youths, is a first and fundamental task of the methodology adopted by UNESCO. Process evaluation is fundamental as well. The pretext and phases of development of both of these areas will be made explicit in the following chapter.

2 Methodological Procedures

Evaluating the process of establishing the Schools of Peace Program in Rio de Janeiro implied the use of a strategy that would be adequate for the three primary objectives. These objectives were: to work with SEE/RJ towards an accurate systemization and comprehension of the pilot project as it was put into effect; to provide support for the eventual re-orientation of the Program; and to demonstrate ways in which the Program could be expanded in the State.

Therefore, a decision was made to develop a *process evaluation*. This methodology characterizes a starting point for establishing goals that can be realistically accomplished. It also serves to anticipate difficulties and to design strategies for eliminating obstacles. This methodology is essential for evaluation procedures that follow, such as result evaluation, impact evaluation, and even quality evaluation. It allows for effective measurement of the consequences of the Program's actions when compared with the situation that existed previously.

Process evaluation represents more than just a traditional diagnostic. It focuses not only on the causes of existing problems and their solutions, but on factors that provide for alternative results and preferential strategies, given the context in which the actions take place.

From this perspective the work is structured on two complementary approaches:

- A quantitative approach that is based on surveys that are performed with students, principals and motivator teams in the schools where the Program is established. The surveys gather a large amount of quantifiable information focusing on a panoramic view of the field. (For a sampling see Annex 1.)
- A qualitative approach that is based on focus groups in six selected schools. These groups include Program participants and non-participants (students and non-students) and members of the motivator teams. This analysis also includes individual interviews with members of the schools, the communities, SEE/RJ, and

UNESCO, in addition to participant observation reports from evaluators and reports organized by a UNESCO consultant.

The details of these approaches are discussed below. As a whole they enable an investigative action that lets people in many different positions be heard in regards to the Program. At the same time, they allow for the understanding of a wide spectrum of directions and positions.

2.1. THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

The quantitative approach seeks to reach the entire universe of the schools that develop Schools of Peace. This means that 111 institutions were to be targeted during the survey. In the meantime however, three of the participating schools interrupted the Program and another 19 did not hand in their completed questionnaires in time. This caused the evaluation to reflect the reality of 89 schools. A total of 12,580 people were consulted in this process.

This approach uses the entirety of the selected schools as a reference. Consequently it does not refer to individual schools in specific situations.

2.1.1. The Questionnaires

A questionnaire that could be filled out by the individuals themselves was used for the evaluation. This questionnaire was related to dimensions and areas of sociability as much as to interaction in the sphere of positive rights and negative and disintegrating relationships concerning subjects such as violence, family, citizenship and school. These are cognitive areas that rely on specific references from the Schools of Peace Program and collaborate towards a diagnostic of youths and schools today.

Three types of questionnaires were sent to the involved schools. They are described below.

Student Questionnaire

There were 11,560 questionnaires filled out by students in the final grades of elementary, secondary, and high school equivalency school. This sampling included three different shifts (morning, afternoon, and evening), and the questionnaires were distributed according to a random sampling based on data generated by SEE/RJ in October 2000. This data referred to the distribution of institutions in state municipalities and the distribution of students by grade and shift.

In analyzing these questionnaires, the criterion that was given priority was that of participation in the Program or non-participation. The examined sample included 36% participating students and 64% non-participating students. The analysis also considered distinctions of gender and the geographic location of the schools (metropolitan area¹⁰ and interior areas) when this information was relevant.

Program Motivator Questionnaire

A total of 931 questionnaires were answered in the 89 schools. Approximately 10 of the 17 people responsible for the development of the Program in each of the schools answered the questionnaire.

¹⁰ The term metropolitan area is used here owing to the fact that the municipal districts that make up this kind of geographical area are close to, but not juxtaposed in the official composition defined by IBGE as a Metropolitan Region.

Principal Questionnaire – Social Profile of the School

A total of 89 school principals answered the questionnaire.

2.1.2. The Survey in the Schools

The quantitative work in the schools counted on the shared responsibility of individuals who had previously been involved collecting signatures for the Peace Manifesto. It was their duty to distribute questionnaires, accompany the filling out process, clarify doubts, collect the questionnaires, and then send them to the Coordinators at SEE/RJ. The questionnaires were then delivered to the central organization. These individuals were trained by evaluation coordinators. The details of this training are described below.

Specific workshops, which focused on training those responsible for this portion of the project, were scheduled and carried out in six regional centers and were anticipated to be one day long. Support material was produced specifically for the workshops, concerning the following themes listed in terms of priority: general outlines for the proposed evaluation; ethical and methodological procedures; stages; instruments to be used; and responsibilities.

2.2. THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

Through the organization of focus groups as well as individual interviews, approximately 220 people were heard from. These people generated 44 hours of audio tapes. The tapes were recorded in 6 schools and involved 34 visits.

Focus groups were used as the basis of the qualitative analysis. The decision to use this technique took into consideration the possibilities for obtaining a good volume of quality information in a short period of time and at a low cost¹¹.

The focus group method is a qualitative investigation technique used to find answers to the “whys” and “hows” of social behavior. This technique takes into consideration the vocabulary that motivates the participants of the group. It is a much used source of information in the search to understand the attitudes, ideas, beliefs, and values of a community. This technique offers necessary information for a rigorous and scientific evaluation. It allows for the understanding of the processes that build the cultural reality of the members of specific groups, who are representative of the surveyed population.

The goal of this type of survey is to raise and explore questions that are of crucial interest to a social group with similar characteristics. This type of survey is based on debate that allows for the recognition of controversial themes. The debates are conducted with mediation from an evaluator and include evaluations that are common among the participants, allowing room for the diversity of their perspectives. Therefore, working with focus groups does not look for consensus. Instead, it seeks to allow room for the participants’ opinions, worries, priorities, perceptions, and contradictions to be expressed and to make themselves known.

To carry out this evaluation 19 focus groups were formed. Each one included about 10 participants:

- 7 groups of youths who took part in the Program;
- 9 groups of youths who did not take part in the Program;
- 3 groups of Program motivators.

The groups of youths, whether or not they participated in the Program, involved students in the final grades of elementary and secondary education in the schools that were visited. The groups also involved students from other schools as well as non-students. Everyone in these groups was between 14 and 24 years of age.

¹¹ Abramovay, Miriam and Rúa, Maria das Graça. *O Grupo Focal*, Brasília, 1999 (Mimeo).

The groups of motivators were made up of teachers (from elementary and secondary schools), members of pedagogical teams (school librarians and cultural motivators¹², among others), and school administrative personnel.

Besides the focus groups, 24 individual interviews were conducted in the schools and their related communities, involving people directly connected to the Program (volunteers, monitors, food workers). These interviews also involved people who were not directly connected to the Program (security guards, police chiefs, agents from other social programs taking place in the communities, presidents of neighborhood associations, fire chiefs, representatives from NGOs).

A total of six schools were surveyed. These schools were located in the municipalities of Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, São Gonçalo, and São João de Meriti. The schools were selected based on recommendations from SEE/RJ. The researchers made 34 visits, 15 of which were made during the week and 19 of which were made on Saturday. The visits took place from October 21st to December 10th, 2000.

Advisors and coordinators from UNESCO were interviewed in addition to a member of the SEE/RJ team, all of whom were involved with the Program.

Finally, those responsible for the evaluation took part in five meetings with supervisors and principals from the schools and participated in training meetings with the Schools of Peace teams. This was done with a goal of making the widest possible range of observations available. With this same goal in mind, those responsible for the evaluation took part in the solemn Program closing ceremony that took place at Aterro do Flamengo on December 10, 2000.

¹² This position is in place in some public schools of Rio de Janeiro.

3 Evaluation of the Schools of Peace

3.1. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SCHOOLS

The profile of the schools that developed the program is based on information referring to 31 local establishments in 16 municipalities of the metropolitan area and 58 localized in 56 municipalities in the interior of the state. In total, the data concerns establishments in 80% of the State of Rio de Janeiro municipalities grouped in two areas¹³ according to indications of the Secretariat.

CHART 1

Spatial Distribution of Participating Municipalities
in the Schools of Peace Program of Rio de Janeiro State

METROPOLITAN AREA	Belford Roxo, Cachoeiras de Macacu, Duque de Caxias, Itaboraí, Itaguaí, Japeri, Nilópolis, Niterói, Nova Iguaçu, Paracambi, Queimados, Rio de Janeiro, São Gonçalo, São João de Meriti, Seropédica, and Tanguá
INTERIOR OF THE STATE	Aperibé, Araruama, Areal, Armação de Búzios, Arraial do Cabo, Barra do Pirai, Barra Mansa, Bom Jardim, Bom Jesus de Itabapoana, Cabo Frio, Cambuci, Campos dos Goytacazes, Cantagalo, Cardoso Moreira, Carmo, Casimiro de Abreu, Cordeiro, Engenheiro Paulo de Frontin, Iguaba Grande, Italva, Itaocara, Itaperuna, Itatiaia, Lage do Muriaé, Macaé, Macuco, Magé, Mangaratiba, Mendes, Miguel Pereira, Miracema, Natividade, Nova Friburgo, Parati, Paty do Alferes, Petrópolis, Pirai, Resende, Rio Bonito, Rio das Ostras, Santa Maria Madalena, Santo Antônio de Pádua, São Fidélis, São Francisco do Itabapoana, São João da Barra, São José de Ubá, São Pedro da Aldeia, São Sebastião do Alto, Sapucaia, Silva Jardim, Sumidouro, Trajano de Moraes, Três Rios, Valença, Vassouras, and Volta Redonda.

Source: Rio de Janeiro State Secretariat of Education, 2000.

¹³ The criteria of regional division used by SEE/RJ are different from those adopted by IBGE.

The Program was developed in the majority of municipalities in the state. The diversity of these municipalities demonstrated representative differences. For example, the accentuated difference of the resident populations varied from between 4,879 habitants in Macuco, and 5,850,544 in Rio de Janeiro. These figures are according to the 2000 Census¹⁴.

In general, independent of locale, the selected schools were found to be well conserved. 74.2% of the establishments were considered to be in good shape. Fences were found more frequently in the establishments from the metropolitan area, while walls are predominant in the establishments from the interior of the state.

3.1.1. Educational Offerings in the Surveyed Schools

The offering of basic education in the 5th to 8th grades (82%) is of considerable importance in the surveyed schools, as illustrated in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Educational Offering in the Surveyed Schools,
According to the Principals

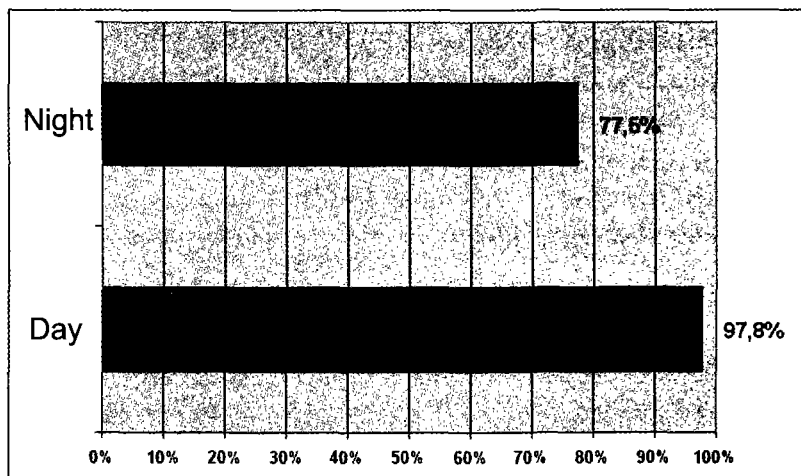
Level of Schooling	% of Metropolitan Schools	% of Schools in the Interior of the State	% Total
1 st to 4 th grades	48.4	75.9	66.3
5 th to 8 th grades	83.9	81.0	82.0
High school	83.9	72.4	76.4
High School Equivalency	9.7	34.5	25.8
TOTAL	31	58	89

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

¹⁴ 2000 Census, Population Count. IBGE 2000.

The large number of children that were observed during the Program activities could be the result of a substantial presence of fundamental education from the 1st to 4th grades. This is demonstrated in a heterogeneous and concentrated manner above all in the interior of the state¹⁵.

GRAPH 1
School Shifts, According to the Principals



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Nearly all of the schools (97.8%) hold classes during the day. In the evening, 77.5% of the total schools hold classes. This suggests that the majority of the schools cover the two shifts.

¹⁵ Although the Law of Education Guidelines and Bases (Law n° 9394/96) determines that elementary schooling should be provided primarily by the municipal district and secondary schooling by the state, in the State of Rio de Janeiro the State Secretariat of Education has a large number of institutions that offer elementary schooling.

The number of enrolled students per school varied between 187 and 2,560 with an average of 1,071. Aside from defining differentiated demands and functioning patterns of the schools, this means that there is no typical standard among the establishments. The number of instructors oscillates between 9 and 138 teachers, with an approximate average of 58 per school.

3.1.2. The Social Equipment

Table 2 demonstrates the social equipment in the schools. It is worth noting that there are libraries in 92.1% of the learning establishments. Potentially, this represents a possible resource for the development of Program activities.

It is also evident that laboratories, computer rooms, and gymnasiums – areas which are highly valued by youths, a fact

TABLE 2
Social Equipment in the Schools, According to the Principals

Availability of Equipment	Yes		No		No answer		Total
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	%
Internal courtyard	86	96.6	--	--	3	3.4	100.0
External courtyard	65	73.0	14	15.8	10	11.2	100.0
Sports court	77	86.5	9	10.1	3	3.4	100.0
Swimming pool	1	1.1	77	86.5	11	12.4	100.0
Sports Gymnasium	15	16.9	57	64.0	17	19.1	100.0
Art Pavilion or Auditorium	57	64.0	28	31.5	4	4.5	100.0
Laboratories	39	43.8	41	46.1	9	10.1	100.0
Library	82	92.1	7	7.9	--	--	100.0
Computer Lab	36	40.4	48	53.9	5	5.6	100.0
Canteen or Cafeteria	79	88.8	6	6.7	4	4.5	100.0

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

that will be elaborated later on – exist in less than half of the establishments. This reveals that investments in infra-structure have not been put into all the areas directly related to the construction of learning as priorities, as the data on laboratories and computer rooms prove.

It is worth noting that during field observation a lack of preparedness in the school establishments for serving special needs students was observed.

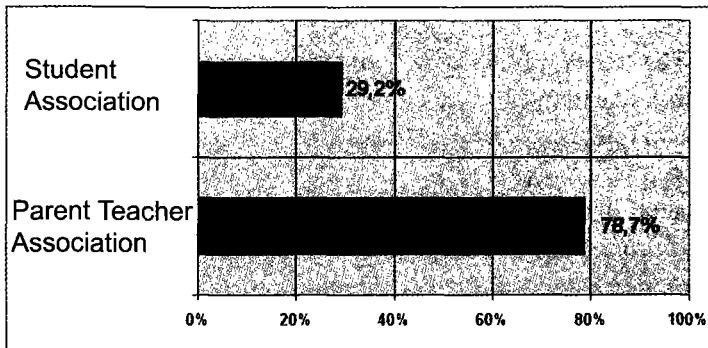
3.1.3. School Associations and Clubs

There are Parent/Teacher Associations in 78.7% of the surveyed schools. If in a first analysis this data seems to illustrate participation of the families in the school, it cannot go without saying that frequently these associations fulfill a merely bureaucratic role. This occurs in function of the legal necessity of executive entities being created for the management and allocation of public resources.

Student Associations are present in around a third of the schools (29.2%). This data may lead to certain deductions. Highlighted among these are the lack of interest in forming these associations, the reduction of these types of clubs, or the existence of new types of organizations that are not formally recognized.

GRAPH 2

Existing Associations and Clubs in the Schools, According to the Principals



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

3.1.4. The School’s Surroundings

In the evaluation of over half of the school principals (59.6%), the schools are situated in “middle class” areas. This result is independent of any other study based on social or economic indicators. Even so, it is very important because it reveals how the majority of school principals perceive their school surroundings. Table 3 also allows us to see that there is no recognition of any “upper class” area.

TABLE 3

Principals’ Perceptions of the Socio-economic Status of the Schools’ Surrounding Areas by Physical Location

School Location	% Metropolitan Schools	% Schools in the Interior	% Total	N
Poor, extremely poor	58.1	22.4	34.8	31
Middle class	41.9	69.0	59.6	53
Upper class	--	--	--	--
No answer	--	8.6	5.6	5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	89

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

The table also shows that the situation is extremely differentiated between the schools in metropolitan areas and the schools in the interior of the state. Poverty affects the metropolitan areas to a larger degree. The majority of schools in the interior are located in areas that are regarded as “middle class.”

In interviews with the school principals it was possible to become better acquainted with characteristics in the school surroundings. This included violence as well as the strategies that were adopted to confront the problem, which demonstrates that

these professionals are many times brought into close contact and even negotiation with the crime world (groups tied to drug trafficking, “mineira police¹⁶,” etc.):

The big boss here doesn't even let the school get invaded. Everybody knows what we do. There's a guy there with binoculars watching everything. The other day we had a big party in the yard and somebody said: the big boss is very satisfied with what you're doing. We respect him and he respects us. (Interview, Principal, RJ)

Another common characteristic of the surrounding areas is the lack of public space for leisure. This is felt more and more by the community, which makes the school one of the only options for the weekend:

We always had kids here. They would even bring a little plastic pool in the summer. What I see now that we never had before is that men come with their little birds to sit out in the sun and get a tan on the weekends. It's really huge here and these guys sit around talking. They bring tricycles, bicycles, some of them play ball. (Interview, Principal, RJ)

The relationships the schools have with their surroundings vary according to the institutions and the equipment that exists in the communities. These relationships also vary depending on the characteristics of the residents. Religious groups are the most common forms of associations, but residents associations are highlighted as well, as illustrated in the following table.

¹⁶ Expression used to designate extermination groups.

TABLE 4
Existing Associations in the Neighborhood,
According to the School Principals

Associations	No. of schools	%^(a)
Religious Groups	79	88.8
Resident or Friends of the Neighborhood Associations	64	71.9
Social Movements	8	9.0
Mothers Clubs	4	4.5

(a) Percentages relative to 89 schools.

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Table 5 shows that school space has been repeatedly used for the development of extracurricular activities or community activities.

TABLE 5
Relationships of the School to its Surroundings,
According to the School Principals

Relationships of the School to its Surroundings	Yes		No		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Contact with Associations	76	93.8	5	6.2	81	100.0
Space Used for Extra-curricular Activities	85	96.6	3	3.4	88	100.0
Space Used for Community Activities	79	91.9	7	8.1	86	100.0

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Nevertheless, the predominant activities that are developed are religious meetings, parties, and sports. In general, it seems that school space is used by the community principally for activities restricted to specific groups. This is what characterizes permission to use the school space.

TABLE 6
Extra-Curricular Activities Developed on the School Premises,
According to the Principals

Activity	Number of schools	%
Religious Meetings	71	79.8
Soccer	59	66.3
Parties in General	57	64.0
Other Sports	41	46.1
Self-help Groups	15	16.9
Movies/Videos	7	7.9
Funk Dance Parties	--	--

(a) Percentages relative to 89 schools.

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Confirming the tendency revealed in Table 6, community activities are also described in interviews with the school principals as activities of groups interested in the school premises.

And when there is nothing and the school can provide, the community asks to use the field for a game all the time, you know? They used to ask a lot for parties, but I stopped that. It's only when the church wants to have a first communion, for example, that's when I say yes. (Interview, Principal, RJ)

The same table also shows other important aspects of school use. Primarily, it shows that school space is used for religious purposes most of the time¹⁷. Another highlight is the demand for appropriate locations for soccer practice and other sports. Once again, this demonstrates the lack of spaces for leisure activities.

3.2. SCHOOLS OF PEACE PROGRAM MOTIVATORS

This quantitative evaluation step included 931 members of the Motivator Team¹⁸. These members were all involved in developing Program activities on the weekends. In general, they included teachers, members of the pedagogical team, students, community members, and volunteers. Of this total, 615 worked in the metropolitan area and 316 worked in the interior of the state. Their ages ranged from 14 to 67. The average age was around 39 years old.

Confirming the predominance of females in the educational profession, the large majority of motivators were women (79.6%). This situation did not vary in any significant way whether the school was in the interior of the state or in the capital.

It can be seen in table 7 that around 61% of the educators serve in pedagogical functions, mostly as teachers. The participation of administrative staff is significant. This suggests the school's preoccupation with guaranteeing the functioning infra-structure required to develop the Program. On the other hand, low student participation can be noted.

¹⁷ It is worth noting that some churches, notably Catholic ones, already have a tradition of working with youth groups. This is the case with those who participate in the Youth Pastoral.

¹⁸ The motivators are for the most part members of the school staff, mainly teachers.

TABLE 7
 Relationship of the Motivators to the Schools,
 According to the Motivators Themselves

Relation to the School	%
Teacher	53.9
Administrative Assistant	20.1
Volunteer	7.6
Member of the Pedagogical Team	6.9
Member of the Community	4.4
Student	1.8

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

In general, participation by non-paid community members and volunteers is significant. Their participation represents approximately 12% on the teams. This indicates that despite existing financial difficulties, the community gets involved in the proposals that come from the school that has the largest capacity for mobilization.

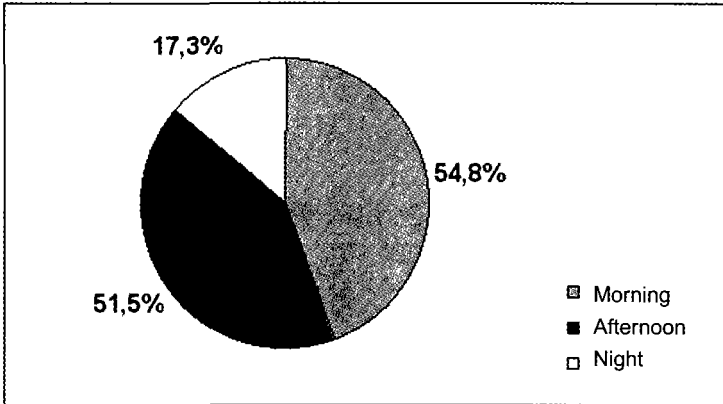
During the visits conducted by the evaluation team it was noted that a majority of times volunteer work had already been in place prior to the Schools of Peace, although their support was limited to the Program's support activities.

Daily problems of teachers and other education professionals, such as low salaries and not always favorable working conditions are commonly recognized. In spite of this, there was a high degree of satisfaction with the work that was developed among the motivators. Their opinion about their participation was highly favorable; 82.7% evaluated it positively.

The majority of the motivators affirmed that they work mainly on the day shift, as shown in the following graph:

GRAPH 3

Shifts with Higher Activity, According to the Motivators



(N=1150). Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Previous data demonstrated lower participation of the professionals who work at night. This might express the fact that night school has a different type of identity¹⁹. Historically, night school is less valued in the system hierarchy. This implies unfavorable conditions which are inadequate to the characteristics of a clientele which consists mainly of youths and working adults.

This question is accentuated when we observe that 77.5% of the surveyed schools also function at night, as we have previously stated.

3.2.1. Selection and Training of Motivators

As previously mentioned, the majority of the motivators belong to the school staff, serving as teachers. According to the

¹⁹ In reality, the division of the public school into two distinct universes can be seen here. This has been insistently remarked on by researchers focusing on the education of youths and adults, such as Haddad (1997) and Soares (1996).

Teacher Census conducted by MEC/INEP in 1988, there was a high level of schooling among teachers in Rio de Janeiro, especially when compared to other states in Brazil. However, like teachers in the rest of the country, the Fluminense teachers are overwhelmed by work and have little or no time for what is most expected of them in this moment of huge transformations in society which is reflection as well as other contemporary issues about their own techniques and current challenges in education.

This scenario is where the analysis of the reasons the motivators participate in the Program can be analyzed. These perceptions, as all others, reflect the course of the profession of educator in the public system. The educator is closely involved in the contradictions and conflicts that characterize the society as a whole.

Table 8 shows that liking to work with youths is a significant reason (60.7%) that brings the motivator to this kind of work. However, it can be seen that there are other strong reasons. Among them, financial necessity stands out (38.5%). School request affects almost 1/3 of the motivators, and previous experience also appears significantly.

TABLE 8
Reasons for Taking Part in the Program,
According to the Motivators

Reasons for Participating	Frequency	%
Like to Work with Youths	563	60.5
Financial Need	358	38.5
School Request	291	31.3
Work Experience	257	27.6

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Statements made by motivators in the focus groups clearly explained the wide variety of reasons they had for participating. The financial question, for example, seemed to be tied to other motives such as the preservation of the same group in a school or the commitment they had to the work or the students:

We accept everything here at school. With or without the money. First, because of the money, but you know why else? For the group. Our group is really a good one. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

The time we spend here on the weekends is really a lot. If you really keep track, you're giving your work away, because you're not getting paid to do this work. We do it because we're already so used to getting paid badly that when we believe something's going to get better for our student, we just dive right in. It's a work commitment, because I know that this project gives me help in improving my students. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

The school's request for taking part on the team was in some cases related to programs that had been developed previously or that were considered to be similar. School request was also a form of reward for previous unpaid work. This revealed practices that sought to ease the difficulties that were cited in respect to low salary levels²⁰.

I'm the Physical Education teacher at the school and I believe I was invited because I have already worked

²⁰ The Census data does not reveal the proportion of working hours in regard to the published salaries. Even if the working hours are fewer in Rio de Janeiro, the amounts are nevertheless, low. BRAZIL. Teacher Census 1998: MEC/INEP.

at a summer camp. This is a Project that I believe in. In order to educate, a school has to expand the work that we've got with the community. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

We thought we should give a chance to people who were already working, with no ulterior motives. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

Through evaluation it was possible to establish that the selection was made by indication or direct invitation from the schools a majority of the time (81.1%).

Teacher training for teachers of basic education, that is those who will work with youths, is traditionally not favorable to issues related to youth. Consequently, it seems risky to count on the adequacy of this training. It also seems risky to count on the limited experience of the teachers, regarding the work and the requirements of these youths to answer to the demands of an action committed to the education of values and the Culture of Peace. This could qualify the Program itself as much as it could promote changes in the relationship between the youths and the schools.

With this in mind, the Schools of Peace developed a training plan with an approach towards themes that are considered relevant to the characteristics of the Program. Among these, the following items were highlighted according to the motivators:

- UNESCO Peace Culture
- Cultural Activities
- Citizenship
- Youth Protagonist Roles

The challenge of the training for the motivator teams seems to be centered primarily on the possibility of offering instruments for the appropriation of the different forms of interpretation of and intervention in a reality that is replete with problems to be

solved, including problems in the school space itself based on three basic focal points: the youth, the school, and the community.

3.3. PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE PROGRAM: YOUTHS, MOTIVATORS AND OTHERS

3.3.1. How Do the Participating Youths View the Program?

There are a variety of perceptions about the Schools of Peace. These range from the view that it is a program that is simply opening of the school to the community to the understanding that everyone, independent of their age, can take advantage of this space. A third view would be that the school establishment is being opened because there is a scarcity of leisure opportunities for the youths.

Many statements do not link the Program to the youth, but to the whole community, regardless of age.

A lot of people come here – father, mother, son, aunt, grandmother...They come here to enjoy themselves, to have lunch, to see what the school has to offer. They go home and there goes another pleasant Saturday. (Focus group, Participant, Rio de Janeiro)

Others see the potential of the Program to enrich the relationships and the dialogue within the school itself, from the perspective of informality:

The good thing is that everyone is here because they want to be. No one is obligated to be here. The Program is made up of whoever wants to participate, to create, and to invent. (Focus group, Participant, Rio de Janeiro)

The statements are unanimous in affirming that the Schools of Peace meet the youths' needs to spend their time, since it offers space and different activities: *"It's like I said, people don't have anything to do. So the time that you spend on soccer, dance contests, you're not thinking about other things, you're not out there doing stupid stuff."*

When talking about this question, some of the volunteers said that they see programs of this type as a way of occupying idle time, as an alternative to protect the youths against the violence that is present in the streets. It prevents them from *"doing something wrong out there, you know?"* The expression *"keeping yourself busy"* comes up constantly, highlighting the worries about the idleness that results from limited leisure activities. This indicates that the Program's formative character has not yet been incorporated by everyone.

Other statements reflect the preoccupation the parents have in maintaining a certain amount of control in relation to where their children spend their time:

You know where your child is, and that gives you a little peace of mind. (Interview, Volunteer, RJ)

It's really cool! Really cool! Because it's like this: when the kids are here inside, we can see what they're doing. And they aren't so in the street, lost out there, you know what I mean? They feel happy here inside. Look, they're playing ping pong here, they do these ping pong contests, they're playing. They play soccer on the field. There's capoeira. When they're here, they're not in the street doing stupid stuff. (Interview, Volunteer, RJ)

I think it's really important, mainly for the young people. I have two teenage kids and when they say

'mom, today they're going to have that Program in school on the weekend, you know?' and I say: 'go!' The two get up early, they get ready, they're going to keep themselves busy. (Interview, Volunteer, RJ)

The Schools of Peace are seen as spaces that offer new opportunities. The expectation that the participant has in terms of the Program's "teaching" the youth to stay away from drugs is worth emphasizing in the following statement:

I come here whenever I can, because I have a little brother to take care of. But I come because I believe that we young people are the ones who can change the world. Because if we go the way others go, the world is never going to change. That's why it's so cool here on Saturday, because they teach you to stay away from violence and drugs, things that really mess up young people. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

In general, the statements confirm the existence of restricted leisure spaces for the youths:

I almost don't go out because there's nowhere to go, or when there is someplace to go, it's somewhere weird, so I don't go. I think it's really cool, I come here all easy on Saturdays. (Focus groups, Participants, RJ)

The statement of a Military Police Commander, an external participant interviewed for the Program, reinforces the importance of leisure alternatives for youths: *Movies are a dream, they're interesting, they're the dream, they're... to dream! They have to have this idea, they have to get out of the situation they live in a little.* He suggests that the youths need cultural benefits that are

focused on the pleasure of the senses, on images, and on the cultural assets produced by a cultural industry like the movie industry.

Furthermore, the importance of sociability is emphasized in the statements from the community. In many statements, the Program represents an alternative for coexistence among the youths, and for the establishment of bonds of affection, in the hopes of avoiding the proliferation of local violence:

I think that the community is looking for a place in this Program, somewhere where there's an activity, where the person can clear their head, you know? Where the community can get together, where you can talk. Yes, I think that it can end this violence problem, at least within the community. (Interview, Resident Association President, RJ)

The perception the youths have in respect to the Program show that some participants relate the importance of actions with the youths as the primary target in the search for strategies that diminish the risks the youths undergo:

This is a Project that is growing. More and more people come here to work for the school, for the youths, with the youths, so that the ones that come here can have more opportunities, taking part in workshops, broadening their horizons. I guarantee that this is not in vain. A lot of people who come here are telling friends about it, and they are keeping away from doing certain things, they're thinking, man, if I do this, I will hurt myself, and then, I will hurt my friends, my community, and the society I live in. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

However, the youths themselves point out the large presence of children in the Program. In some places the Schools of Peace end up adapting themselves to serve a child audience: *There are things here that we teenagers can't be doing. Sitting around cutting things out and coloring butterflies. We can't do that, you know?*

In the focus groups, the motivators report that the age range of those who participate in the proposed activities is highly diverse. The participants include children, youths, adults, and senior citizens. This makes up an assorted clientele with wide ranging necessities. While the youths are present, they do not always constitute the main public.

Our clientele on Saturday includes men and women. We've had students' parents here. We've got mothers who play badminton, volleyball, soccer. But most of the participants are between 10 and 15 years old. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

Even though this Program is for youths, there are a lot of children in our community. Another thing is that if you only focus on the youths...The children are tomorrow's youths! And this is the age when they start to learn. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

3.3.2. What Motivates the Youths to Take Part in the Program?

Recognizing the school as a legitimate space is probably a decisive factor for the parents to stimulate the participation of the youths: *My mom talks like this: Go to the school, it's good, it's the Peace Project. We really do have a good time there.*

It's clear in the reports of those who take part in the program that there is a great desire to take advantage of the activities that

are offered and of the opportunity to meet other youths: *Am I going to stay home watching some stupid TV show? No, I'd rather go to school, talk to my friends, and get a girlfriend.*

Different motivating factors for the participants can be perceived in the table below:

The number of youths that take part in the Program with the objective of meeting friends (66.9%) reinforces the perception of the school establishment as a legitimate place for the construction of sociability, a characteristic the Program seeks to maximize.

Contrary to the idea that going to school is connected purely and simply to getting the complementary meal, this was the least cited reason for participating in the Program (9.6%), even though the food is considered to be good by the majority of the participants (73.4%). In the focus groups the students thought that offering food was a good idea: *Everything was really well planned. We could develop the activities without worrying about having to leave when we got hungry, because we have lunch and a snack.*

The statements from the Program Coordinators from SEE/RJ show that offering food has a special social meaning. This occurs mainly in the schools in the interior of the state, as it offers an alternative for entertainment, for the use of public space, and for socialization.

You could see whole families coming here to have a meal together, because they don't have the chance to go to a restaurant, to a cafeteria. And they come in with an attitude, like they're going somewhere, you know?...It's really interesting. They come to eat together, to be together. (Interview, Coordination, SEE/RJ)

TABLE 9

Reasons for Taking Part in the Schools of Peace Program,
According to the Youths

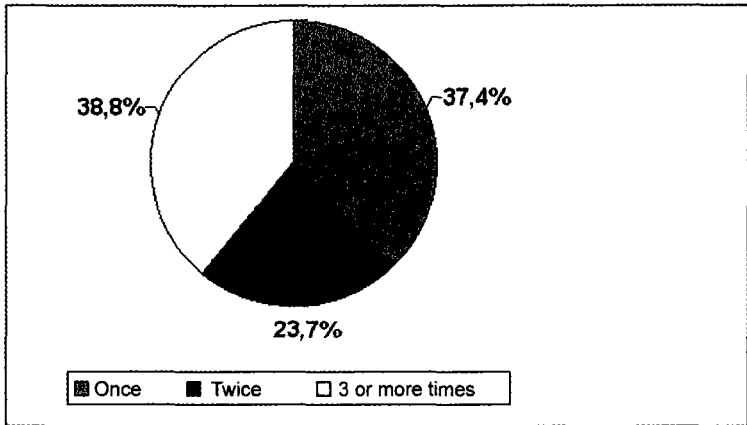
Reasons for Participating	%
To Meet with Friends	66.9
Likes the Activities	54.8
Likes the School	52.1
To Meet New People	49.3
To Use Free Time	45.2
Likes the Coordinating Team	40.6
Time is Convenient	40.4
The School is Close to Home	31.3
Likes the People Who Come	29.6
Access to the School is Easy	28.8
Parental Support	27.7
To Not Hang Out on the Streets	26.4
There's Nothing Else to Do	23.1
Because of the Meals	9.6

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

The attendance rate of the youths who participate in the Program is quite high, considering the time from the beginning of the Schools of Peace until the time of evaluation, in addition to the total number of times the Program was developed or that the students participated, as shown in the following graph.

It can be observed that the number of students who have already participated in the Project three or more times is larger than the group that participated only one or two times. When added to those who participated two times, this percentage corresponds to almost 2/3. This shows that a larger portion of students (62.5%) do not limit themselves to a one time only experience in the Program.

GRAPH 4
Program Attendance, According to the Youths



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

3.3.3. The Activities Offered by the Program

The activities offered, according to participants and motivators, can be seen in the following table:

As shown, activities that involve physical activity (soccer and other sports, competitions/games, dance, capoeira, etc.) are the highlighted activities.

It should be noted that a high number of participants (43.1%) mention religious activities in the school, within the sphere of the Program.

In the motivators' reports, which were not necessarily the same as the youths, the most developed activities are handcrafts, followed by soccer and other sports, competitions and games, dance, and music. In an attempt to define the top five activities described according to the physical location of the schools, a small difference is found:

TABLE 10
Activities Offered by the Program,
According to the Youths and the Motivators

Activities	% students	% resource persons
Soccer or Other Sports	84.2	81.3
Music	66.6	71.2
Competitions/Games	65.7	77.6
Dance	62.9	73.8
Handcrafts	57.1	82.3
Capoeira	48.7	59.6
Theater	43.5	55.7
Religious Activities	43.1	31.8
Storytelling	23.9	53.5
TV and/or Video	18.6	59.5
Bingo	15.9	27.9
Computers	15.0	11.3
Tutoring Classes	13.1	18.9
Dance Parties	12.7	20.2
Fashion/Modeling Courses	9.6	3.7

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

In the interior of the state the most frequently offered activities are soccer and other sports, handcrafts, competitions, dance, and capoeira. In the metropolitan area they are handcrafts, soccer and other sports, competitions, dance, and music. It is interesting to observe that this distribution does not exactly match what is reported by the youths, particularly in regard to handcrafts.

Conflicts about the selection of the activities when putting together the use of space on the weekends were foreseeable. For example, some motivators acknowledge the fact that the youths get interested in capoeira, even while the motivators themselves have some limitations:

(...) it's the capoeira I don't like. You hear that 'pim-bim-bim' rhythm all day and all week long. They stay here from morning to night. They have free time, but they have capoeira. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

There needs to be a balance among the wide variety of activities that contribute to a Culture of Peace. The activities must be based on the preferences of the youths but at the same time must consider the knowledge and ability of the motivators. This balance has to be achieved through institutionalizing planning mechanisms and preliminary discussions in the initial phases of the Program.

Other perceptions that were collected equally in the focus groups indicate forms of negotiation, adjustments, and receptivity on the part of the motivators. They also indicate strategies to guarantee the youths' participation in the activities on the weekends:

CHART 2

Sit Down and Write

(Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

On the first day of the project, everybody got stuck when we asked them to write. 'Why do we have to write an essay?' When they saw the project that came to us in writing, it said what the activities would be. And it was from the Secretariat! But, later, on the next projects, we saw that we couldn't fit everything in. We just started fitting things in according to the needs of the place, you know? And writing essays just didn't fit in, no way! Nobody wanted to write. They already study here from Monday to Friday, right?

Now, the teenager, the adult, they're not going to come to school on the weekend to sit down and write.

There is an effort to bring new activities to the project.

One of the ways is video. They love videos, the room was really full. The question of theater...we had a guy doing theater, but he couldn't stay. It was full of teenagers, of kids. I think that in the beginning, to start the project, we needed to bring them some leisure, because as soon as they arrive and are feeling good about being here, then that's when we manage to show them new activities. For example, they get here and we could put on a play. Things they normally can't afford. Take them in another direction. From there, it's a different situation. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

The motivators were clearly observed stating that they could still see other possibilities or innovating alternatives:

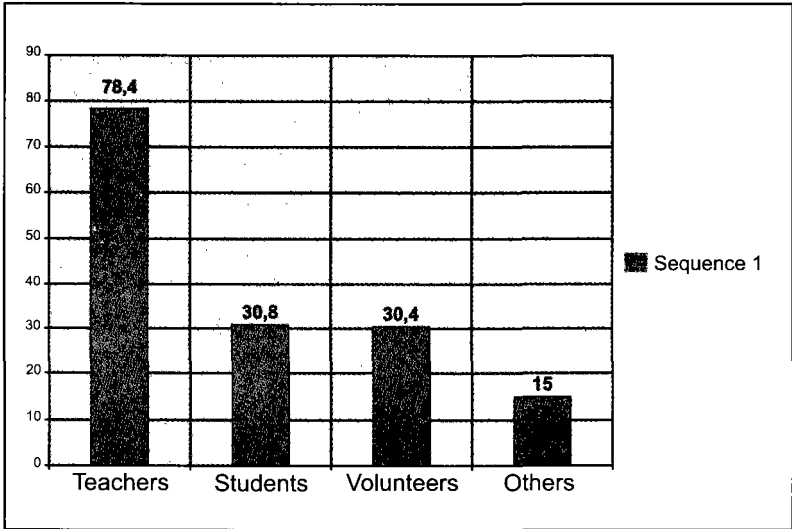
So, I know that my student here likes funk. So put funk in the school, a dance, you got it? We have some people who are organizing this here. Why don't these people get together with us, you got it? The school is here, the space is here. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

The foundation for greater approximation between youths and motivators has already been established, given that the perception the students have in relation to the teachers is highly positive. The teachers who have an interest in the social, personal, and emotional life of the students are highly praised. The greatest challenge goes to the teaching professional who keeps the line of communication with the students open, whether they are a teacher, coordinator, principal, or inspector.

In fact, teachers are the professionals that are most identified by students as the ones who organize the activities offered, according to the following graph:

GRAPH 5

Identification of Organizers of the Program Activities, According to the Youths



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

It can also be observed that even when added to the percentages related to the other team members, the role played by the instructors is still the most predominant. Thus, given the necessary means, the motivator teams would have the greatest ease in this approximation.

The majority of the students consider it easy to relate to their teachers. They associate this situation to the fact that they already know them. Many consider this relationship to be better in the Program than it is in class. Given this, it's worth considering that the Schools of Peace are contributing to improving the class teacher-student relationship as well.

On the other hand, the statements of other Program observers express some of the difficulties met by the motivators:

The graffiti workshop was really popular. Some teenagers who had never come before were there. We asked some of them where they wanted to do graffiti and they all said on the school walls. But the principal and the team didn't agree, because they were afraid it would stimulate illegal graffiti. (Costa, 2000)

The focus group statements show that the Culture of Peace is a permanent construction, full of challenges. The comment of one Program motivator reinforces this idea: *But wouldn't it be something to choose, for example, from among the secondary school students themselves, students that could participate or be responsible for some kind of activity?* (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

As the evidence shows, ways to mobilize the youths are not completely unknown. The motivators believe that it is possible to change the arrangement of the team, the clientele, and also the priority activities that are to be developed. This means breaking away from traditional strategies used in the daily life of the school, in which the student frequently has no voice.

A lot of the time, the school would do this beautiful business card workshop. It's really practical, but it's not what the student really wants to do. The student wants to play pagode²¹, and there's no place for that, you got it? So, what is it to work with this youth protagonist anyway? So, it was this growing process, we're still discovering things. Because it's really not the teacher's habit to work with this theme. (Interview, Coordination, SEE/RJ)

²¹ Pagode is a type of samba that originated in Rio de Janeiro.

3.3.4. How Did the Participants Find Out About the Program?

The teacher is the biggest advertiser for the Program, according to table 11. This finding suggests that it's worthwhile to think more about ways of involving the media. Television for example, would be a good way to attract more youths to the Program's activities.

TABLE 11
How the Youths Found Out about the Program
According to the Youths

How They Found Out about the Program	%
Teachers	63.5
Posters at School	46.1
Classmates	32.5
Posters Outside the School	15.0
Radio	9.5
TV	6.1
Newspapers	3.2

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

In field observation it could be seen that advertising happened many times in a one time fashion with not enough time in advance. Many times there were no local partners, like associations, schools, churches, cultural movements, or other institutions. Flyers and posters distributed with the collaboration of community residents and the school itself were some of the ways found to advertise in addition to using the local radio station.

When asked if they knew youths who attended the Program but who were not from the school, a large number of the participating students answered yes (77.8%), while only 16.2% said no. This could signify a substantial participation by people from outside the school, which indicates that, even if there was limited advertising, the Program reached more than the school's immediate clientele, the youths.

TABLE 12
Knowing Other Participants in the Program,
According to Youths

	Frequency	%
Yes	3037	77.8
No	631	16.2
No answer	236	6.0

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO 2000.

3.3.5. Youths that Don't Participate in the Program: Reasons and Expectations

Tables 13 and 14 are related to the reasons students do not take part in the Program. These reasons include factors that could make their participation possible, according to them.

Lack of time is by far the most cited reason interviewed students have for not taking part in the Program (51.3%). This reason is closely followed by wanting to rest (26.9%), followed by work at home (23.1%), inconvenient time (17.9%), lack of company (16.4%), religious activities (15.6%), and lack of interest (15.3%).

The data in table 13 corroborates the necessity of not thinking of youth as a homogenous group. It leads to an understanding that they have very different lifestyles. For example, the youths indicate the limited existence of space and leisure activities and also the lack of time to go to the activities.

It is worth noting that the items that are directly connected to the Program – not liking the activities, the participants, or the team in charge, or having already participated and not having liked it – were not significantly marked.

TABLE 13

Reasons for Not Taking Part in the Schools of Peace Program,
According to the Youths

If you do not participate in the Program, what are the reasons? (Mark the True Reasons)	Frequency	%
I don't have the time	3360	51.3
I'd rather rest	1761	26.9
I work at home	1514	23.1
The time is not good for me	1175	17.9
I don't have anyone to go with	1072	16.4
I go to mass, church, youth groups	1023	15.6
I'm not interested	1001	15.3
The school is far away from my house	834	12.7
I'd rather be with my boyfriend/girlfriend	816	12.5
I play sports at this time	734	11.2
I'd rather go to the beach	662	10.1
I didn't like the activities	538	8.2
I don't have the money for transportation	472	7.2
I'd rather hang out on the street	391	6.0
I don't like the people who go	355	5.4
It's difficult to get to the school	350	5.3
My parents won't let me	261	4.0
I don't like the school	239	3.6
I have to take care of my children	214	3.3
The school neighborhood is violent	207	3.2
I've already taken part and I didn't like it	205	3.1
I don't like the coordination team	197	3.0
I work on the street	185	2.8
Boyfriend/husband doesn't allow me to go	143	2.2
There is violence at school	136	2.1

Source: Schools of Peace Research, UNESCO, 2000.

The following table presents some hypotheses for participation.

TABLE 14

Stimulus for Possible Participation in the Schools of Peace Program, According to the Youths

You would feel more stimulated towards taking part of the Program IF...	Frequency	%
Participation counted for school grades	2818	43.0
The activities were held on Friday nights	1088	16.6
The participants had more freedom	853	13.0
There were more police guards on location	719	11.0
You could choose or organize the activities	604	9.2
You could be a monitor	235	3.6
No answer	235	3.6

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

The eye-opening fact is the impressive number of students who would take part in the Program if it counted for school grades. This suggests that if on the one hand, the school is composed as a space for socialization, integration, and leisure, on the other hand it plays a more important role as an institution of evaluation and formal certification of scholarly knowledge and that this value is sought out by the students:

I don't know what happens. I don't like betting on something that I really don't know about. I know about the school, the principal, the teachers, and the classmates, but the Program. Does it count for a grade? (Focus group, Non-participants, Rio de Janeiro)

The following speech illustrates that for some the Program is linked to the daily routine of school:

Weekends are tough. I already wake up early every day. So on the weekends, I take advantage and sleep a little more. And also, I live really far away and I already make this trip Monday through Friday to go to school. So it's hard to go, only if it were something really "wow." But at school... (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ).

On the other hand, the things that reveal the largest opportunities for the youths to take advantage of the Program as subjects – “being a monitor” or “choosing and developing activities” – were the least indicated. This could suggest a lack of identification with the Schools of Peace as a channel of expression and active participation for the participants. It could also suggest a lack of willingness or small value given to their participation in the layout of the activities, which could mean low self esteem. This situation reinforces the need to search for effective means to expand the viability of the youth protagonist even more.

3.4. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PROGRAM TO THE REDUCTION OF VIOLENCE

The great expectation on the part of the participating students is that the Schools of Peace become an alternative for reducing the violence in a number of situations in their lives – school, neighborhood, family, and other places.

In relation to the monitors, difficulty in mobilizing the participants, limits on team training, short deadlines, and other problems were not enough to damage their perception of the results

of the project. The main result is tied to the possibility of reducing violence within the school itself, followed by reducing violence in the participants' families. Considering how much violence exists within the school space, these observations, made as much by the monitors as by the students, take on greater significance.

TABLE 15

Evaluation on the Impact of Program Activities on Violence Levels, According to the Youths and the Monitors

Evaluation Regarding the Impact of the Program	% Students	Freq.	% Resource Persons	Freq.
Helps Reduce Violence in the School	69.5	2712	82.0	763
Helps Reduce Violence in Other Places	43.2	1686	72.3	673
Helps Reduce Violence in the Neighborhood	43.0	1678	66.7	621
Helps Reduce Violence in the Family	36.3	1418	53.9	502
Does Not Help Reduce Violence	13.9	543	5.3	49

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

The evaluation that the monitors make about Program results as a whole are remarkably positive, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 16

Evaluation of Program Results, According to the Monitors

Evaluation of Program Results	Frequency	%
Improves the Relations Between the School and the Community	873	93.8
Offers Leisure Alternatives to Youths	849	91.2
Develops Ties of Solidarity Among the Participants	789	84.7
Cooperates Towards the Reduction of Drug and Alcohol Use	586	62.9
Changes the Habits of the Participants	556	59.7
Represents an Extension of School Activities	495	53.2
Service to the Participants Leaves Something to be Desired	29	3.1

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

In the focus groups, the motivators put themselves in a favorable light as well, which shows that some results can already be seen. They are conscious however, of the fact that a Culture of Peace is not built in a day.

We never had a Program like this in our school. Sometimes they would even ask to use the court to play but they would wreck the whole pre-school. Now, no. We're opening up the school, they can see that it's theirs, we haven't had anything ruined like that. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

Every teacher that works on the project, for example – me and other teachers – We take it into the classroom and we can see very slowly, gradually, that something's coming out of it. Before, they kicked their neighbor's chair, they didn't care about their neighbor, but as soon as you take out that flyer and start talking about peace, you open this little space to talk about it and you can already see the effects coming out of this. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

The following graph demonstrates the students' evaluation of the Schools of Peace Program.

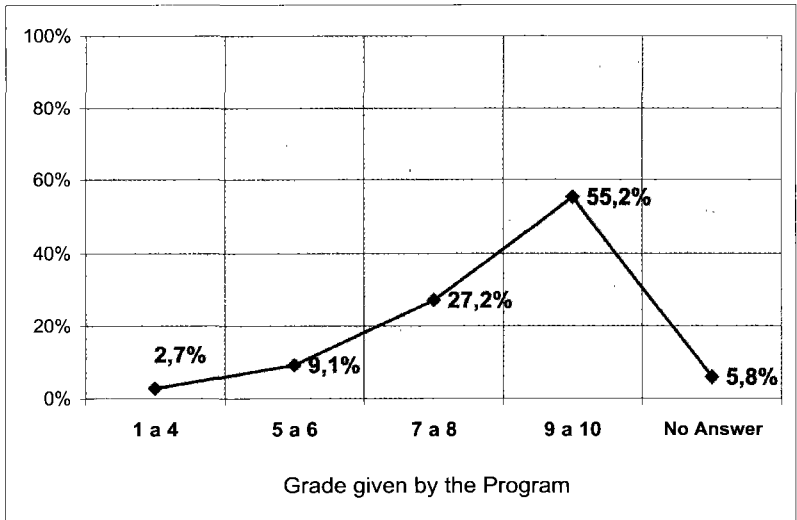
By combining this result with the high approval rate in the item related to how much the activities are liked, there is clear evidence that the overall evaluation of the Schools of Peace is positive among those who participate. It can also be seen that the majority of the grades given to the Program fall between 7 and 10 (82.3%), with more than half (55.2%) falling between 9 and 10, which signifies an excellent impression of the Program.

This evaluation is confirmed when it concerns the space and Program motivator performance. In terms of space, 80.3% of the students think that it is adequate, as opposed to 12.7% that

think it is not. In terms of motivator performance, 65.3% consider it good and 25.8% considered it regular. Only 3.9% of the students evaluate the Program motivators' performance as bad or terrible.

This Program has had an influence even on the way we deal with the teachers, on the way we understand each other, how we listen to different points of view and how we respect ourselves. This is really good. It's really different from the classroom. I think it starts there, I never liked some teachers and now I started understanding them. I think they're cool, I admire them. At home too, I'm talking to my parents. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

GRAPH 6
Grade Given to the Program
According to Participating Youths,



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

When the motivators and students were asked to evaluate the program and give it a grade from zero to 10, both groups responded in a very positive way. The average grade among all of the monitors was 8.25.

For some of the interviewed volunteers, the Schools of Peace Program establishes a new opportunity for the youths to acquire knowledge and “widen their opportunities.” It’s a “chance to meet each other,” and mainly, to be heard. This reinforces the recognition of their own value and responsibility: *The young people of today think they’re worthless because most adults make them feel that way, you know? We value them, we believe that they can do something. They have responsibility!*

Although they all use a different vocabulary and show greater or lesser emphasis, students, volunteers, and motivators all tend to evaluate the basic characteristics of the Program positively. This reinforces the responsibility of public agencies to stimulate programs of this nature.

4 The Youth in the Realm of the Schools of Peace Program

The objective of this part of the study is to offer supporting arguments capable of portraying the general profiles and perceptions of the youths that participated in the evaluative survey of the Schools of Peace Program. The intention is to get to know the youths a little better, and to find out what they think as potential participants of programs of this nature. This is an essential strategy to qualify and consolidate any policy focused on the development of a Culture of Peace.

The general profiles were composed up of the following aspects:

- Gender, age, and school placement:
- Residence: where they live and since when;
- Characteristics of the family group: marital status and offspring.

The following descriptions concern what is in fact the potential public of the Schools of Peace. They describe who they are, what they do, and what they think.

One hypothesis of the evaluation of the Schools of Peace was that there were significant differences among the youths that participated in the Program and those that did not, a result that has only relative value as shown in the following analysis. In some ways, other distinctions such as geographic location (metropolitan area and interior area) and gender showed themselves to be relevant.

4.1. ACADEMIC SITUATION OF THE STUDENTS IN THE STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Some references about the academic context in the State of Rio de Janeiro are presented before the analysis of the profile of youths in the realm of the Program.

According to data from the 2000 Academic Census (INEP/MEC), the State of Rio de Janeiro has 2,472,089 students enrolled in basic education, serving a clientele composed primarily of children and teenagers. Compared to the 1999 figures, a decrease of approximately 0.1% in enrollment occurred in this educational segment, a fact that was also confirmed on a national level (-0.8%).

However, after an in-depth examination of these numbers, it can be observed that this decrease was limited to the first phase of basic education (1st to 4th grades), given that in relation to 5th through 8th grades there was an increase in enrollment from 1,083,451 students in 1999 to 1,093,412 in 2000.

However, after an in-depth analysis of the figures, it is possible to observe that this decrease was restricted to the first stage of basic education (1st to 4th grades) since, in relation to grades 5 to 8, there was an increase in the enrollment figure from 1,083,451 in 1999 to 1,093,412 students in 2000.

In secondary education, the increase in the enrollment figure was even higher. It increased from 641,308 students in 1999 to 675,311 in 2000, which represents an increase of 5.3%. This tendency for growth also occurred on a national scale, with an increase of 5.4% in 1999²².

Although a percentage of significant growth in secondary school could be verified in the state, an extremely high distortion rate between age and grade can be found in elementary education. In the municipal, state, federal, and private schools in Rio de Janeiro, 65.7% of the 2,474,649 students are above the ideal age.

²² According to INEP/MEC "(...) the evolution of enrollment in secondary education expands in a dizzying fashion: 41.2% from 1994 to 1998. Besides the fact that more youths are graduating from elementary school, the growing number of those who finish at a younger age gives them the means to continue their studies. Alongside these two factors, another phenomenon that explains the accelerated expansion of secondary education is the increase in the youths' demand for a higher level of education, given the demands of a more competitive labor market." (MEC, 1998. p. 6)

The school census also reveals a fall in the total number of students registered in the private school system in basic and secondary education. Compared to 1999, a decrease of approximately 7.3% may be observed, with the most sizeable decrease occurring in the secondary schools at 14%.

An enormous percentage of students enrolled in basic and secondary school can be observed today in Brazil. According to Inep/MEC 1988 data, around 90% of the total number of students registered in basic education and 82.4% registered in secondary education were concentrated in the public school system. This percentage certainly increased, considering the tendency pointed out by the educational indicators of 1999 and 2000.

The great disparity of such data speaks for itself, justifying any measures on the part of public agencies, which focus both on improving the quality of education and overcoming the historical and circumstantial obstacles that hold the students back. This concerns especially the students who are youths, and more specifically, from the poorer classes. These obstacles prevent the students from recognizing themselves as citizens in a society where social exclusion is still one of its most marked characteristics.

4.2. PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPATING AND NON-PARTICIPATING YOUTHS IN THE PROGRAM

4.2.1. Gender, Age, and School Placement

Based on the data from the questionnaires, both participating and non-participating groups in the Schools of Peace are, for the most part, made up of women (59.2% and 58.7% respectively).

These numbers have been confirming official documents that point to a progressive percentage of woman in school in the

State of Rio de Janeiro and in the country as a whole. The most visible consequence of this increase in the average time spent in school for females was 4.9 to 6 years for the period from 1990 to 1996. (MEC, 2000a; 2000b)²³.

The age of the surveyed youths was also an object of analysis, according to the following table. It is important to pay attention to the fact that the age groups were formed in order to separate the respondents into groups that included them or not in the youth category, understood to be (...) *an essentially sociological category that indicates the individual's preparation process for taking on the role of an adult in society, as much on the family scene as on the professional scene, covering the ages from 15 to 24 years old.* (Abramovay et al., 1999, p.24)

The concentration of higher percentages fits into the age group for which the sampling was originally conceived for and directed towards, that is, the youths. Although the results of this were already expected, the table below allows for some correlation to be made concerning what was seen in the schools during the observation.

TABLE 17
Age Range of the Youths, According to the Youths

Participants		Non-participants	
Age Group	%	Age Group	%
10 to 14 years old	34.0	10 to 14 years old	18.6
15 to 24 years old	62.0	15 to 24 years old	74.0
25 years old and above	4.0	25 years old and above	7.4
TOTAL	100.0	TOTAL	100.0

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

²³ According to these documents, the situation would demonstrate that "(...) from the point of view of access to education, on its different levels, gender discrimination has been overcome." (MEC, 2000, p. 8)

According to the table, a significant portion of the participants – whose most commonly cited age is 14 (16.4%) – is concentrated in the 10 to 14 year old age group (34%). However, in the field observations there was a high percentage of children participating in the developed activities. It is worth emphasizing that this evaluation's questionnaires were only applied to individuals that studied in the 6th grade or above. This confirms the distribution of percentages by age group that are indicated in table 17.

When those who did not participate are considered, the same percentage concentration is verified in the youth category, with 16 years old being the most cited age (14.6%). Nevertheless, apart from the fact that this concentration is foreseeable because of the reasons previously described, it is elevated to 12% in relation to participants, which includes around $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total.

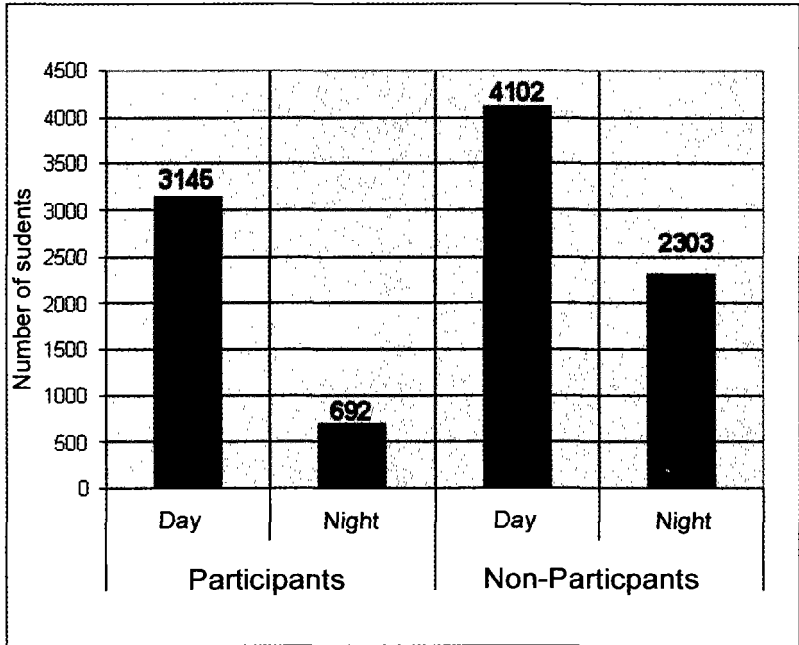
Another difference between the students that participated and those that did not participate in the Schools of Peace is their school level. While the majority of the participants were concentrated in the last three grades of basic education (61.5%), when it came to those who did not participate more than half (53.2%) belong to secondary school, making this school level the one with the least participation in the Program. This percentage becomes even more pronounced when seen in terms of the fact that this level of education has been demonstrating the highest registration levels over the last two years, reflecting a tendency for growth that was also observed in the country as a whole²⁴.

²⁴ Within these measures, it is worth noting the effects of law 9.394/96 (LDB). According to MEC (INEP/MEC, 2000) the automatic implementation of the Maintenance and Development for Basic Education and Magisterial Appraisal Fund – FUNDEF dating from January 1, 1998 in the entire national territory – is considered by the Federal Government to be the most important program of the current government in the area of education.

The majority of students in both groups study during the day. However, some differences in distribution can be seen in the following graph.

GRAPH 7

Youths by School Shifts (N), According to the Students Themselves



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

The percentage of non-participating students who study at night is twice as large in relation to the participating students who study during the day. This indicates the Program's restricted reach to youths who study at night. As will be analyzed in more detail, the picture repeats itself where the motivators' work shift is concerned. This incidence suggests that the Program is directed more towards the students and professionals on the day shift by

the parties directly responsible for the implementation of the Schools of Peace, both the State Secretariat of Education and the school establishments themselves.

This limited participation of professionals and students from the night classes is interesting in contrast to educational statistics which have been pointing to a gradual increase in enrollment in the regular basic education classes at night ever since the implantation of Fundef in January of 1998. This is only because the students who are enrolled in regular classes are considered at the end of the budgetary calculation that is distributed to the state and municipal systems with the right to participation in the fund.

4.2.2. Place of Residence: Where They Live and Since When

An identical percentage of participants and non-participants (84.4%) declared to have lived in the same city for the last five years; 13.2% from the first group and 12.8% from the second came from another municipality.

The perception of the neighborhood where they live did not show significant differences between the groups, according to the following table.

TABLE 18
Perception of the Neighborhood, According to Youths

Participants			Non-participants		
	Frequency	%		Frequency	%
Bad	192	5.0	Bad	396	5.7
Regular	798	20.7	Regular	1455	22.7
Good	2138	55.6	Good	3556	55.4
Outstanding	718	18.7	Outstanding	1042	16.2

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

In summing up the categories for good and outstanding, almost 70% of the respondents value the place they live. This example has been demonstrated in other studies with youths. (Minayo et al. 1999)

This positive view of their place of residence was recurrent in the focus groups. However, the things that the youths said during the interviews explicitly showed other characteristics of the place where they lived:

CHART 3

Basic Shooting

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

I think it's pretty peaceful where I live...Robbery and stuff is everywhere and it's no different here. Shootings are every once in a while, and it's like, basic (laughs). The police go too far every once in a while. Aside from this, it's a pretty peaceful place...

There's not that much violence where I live. When you go out, you have to hide your watch, your wallet, so they won't take it. But I think it's just like that these days. There's no big mystery.

There have been a lot of deaths here and there, but it's not as dangerous as those famous slums that they've got over there...It's really hard to see a flying bullet here, you know?

The fundamental right to safety and well being that every citizen has seems highly relative when dealing with the lives of a significant portion of the Brazilian population. In this fashion, daily coexistence with certain aspects of reality, characterized by the regularity with which violent acts are practiced by some and their acceptance imposed on the majority results in the growing phenomenon of the naturalization of violence. (Adorno, 1995;

Zaluar, 1995) denounces the advance of (...) *a collective process of deactivating the mechanisms for moral self control, in a process of moral exclusion.* (Cardia, 1995, p. 345)

Explicit declarations on the part of the youths stating bad or inadequate surroundings did not occur often. However, when they express themselves further, they are offensive: *I hate this place, nothing here makes me happy. Everything is so ugly: the streets are full of mud, the people are badly treated. It's the last place on earth. Or: Man, this place is a hell hole, it's just bad. If the world has a hole, the hole is here...* In some of the reports, cases bordered on the extreme limit of violence, as shown in the following statement:

It's very bad where I live, there's violence almost every day. One day, these two guys' heads show up. Yesterday, they killed two women on a bus. One with a newborn baby on her lap, and a three year old daughter at her side. (Focus group, Participants, ages 13/17, Female, RJ)

4.2.3. Characteristics of the Family Group: Marital Status and Offspring

In regards to marital status, a great majority of the students that gave this information are single (93.8% of the participants and 89.8% of non-participants). It is worth emphasizing the slightly higher figure for non-participants who are married or who live with a partner (9.1% against 5.2%).

However, this occurrence became more evident in the focus groups where a wide variety of non-participants declared marriage and children as impediments to participation in the Program. They affirmed, for example: *With a husband and a son it would be difficult to do anything besides take care of them, right?* Or even: *Getting out of the house alone on a weekend? Like my wife would let me, hunh?*

When grouped according to gender, a considerable percentage of female students declare themselves to be married, as can be observed in the following table:

TABLE 19

Marital Status of the Youths by Gender, According to the Youths

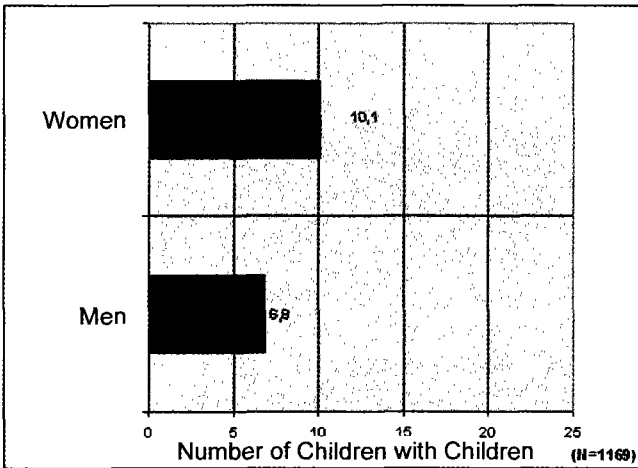
	Male		Female	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Single	4,429	90.9	5,826	88.3
Married/Living Together	260	5.3	586	8.9
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	39	0.8	90	1.4
No answer	145	3.0	94	1.4
TOTAL	4873	100.0	6596	100.0

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Regarding children, 93.1% of the participating students and 90% of non-participants declared that they did not have them. This situation shows a difference when the data is separated by gender:

GRAPH 8

Youths who Have Children, by Gender, According to the Youths (%)



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Graph 8 seems to point to the issue of pregnancy among the youths, as suggested by the fact that 10.1% of the females respond affirmatively to the question about children. For the men, only 6.8% say they have children. This percentage could indicate the persistence of the picture presented by Minayo et al. (1999), based on the data generated by IBGE/UNICEF, stating that in the State of Rio de Janeiro in 1995 6.1% of girls between 15 and 17 years of age had kids, while the percentage of the country as a whole was even higher at 7.4%. It is worth pointing out that teenage pregnancy is cited as one of the principal “problems at school” by 34.2% of the total students and by 54.8% of the principals of metropolitan area establishments.

In the focus groups, there were many occasions where the presence of pregnant girls could be observed in the schools. Some of them were participants in the focus groups, which certainly shows the necessity of discussing the way in which the school has been dealing with this question in its day to day routine.

4.3. THE YOUTH’S PERCEPTION

4.3.1. Youths and the School

The school, together with the family, constitutes the socialization space of the youth *par excellence*. As long as it does not work in one direction only, it can play an important role in the process of finding new meaning, new socialization, and reconstruction of the youths’ identities. This consequently serves as an opportunity for putting social and political references into a new context.

This character gives the school space a special position as a catalyzing force in the social area. It’s not by accident that school is credited with many of the advances and problems of a

determined society. If on the one hand, the school can be seen as a vehicle for new possibilities for cooperative interaction and solidarity among individuals and social groups, on the other hand it can be seen as a vehicle for the processes of the reproduction of violence, whether moral, symbolic, physical, or social, etc. as is shown by a wide variety of studies²⁵.

In general it can be seen that the youths like their school and trust it and their teachers. The Schools of Peace values this evidence and the numerous possibilities that the school space presents for acting in the formation of the youths and in the redefinition of their values and roles.

The Youths' Perceptions About Their Schools

According to the 2000 Academic Census, the State of Rio de Janeiro has 2,472,017 students enrolled in elementary school and 675,396 in secondary school. The High School Equivalency program has 293,780 enrolled youths and adults. These students are distributed in the public (federal, state and district) and private school systems as shown in the following chart.

In the Schools of Peace universe 70% of the establishments are CIEPs – Integrated Centers of Public Education. Built on the political-pedagogical conception that is founded on full time education on a full time basis, the CIEPs gained notoriety in the social political context of the 80's.

Built as an alternative for making opportunities for quality education more democratic and occupying locales with easy access and visibility, the boldly designed buildings together with the political-pedagogical proposal that they represented turned them into a controversial target, creating defenders and

²⁵ See, for example, Adorno (1995).

detractors. Little by little the criticism directed towards them contradictorily turned into an apparently unfounded stigma that associated the schools with school failure and low quality education. Certainly, this stigma is sustained in the relationship established between a project identified as a creation of opportunities for the least favored layers marked by exclusion, and the stigma the constituents themselves carry²⁶. In other words, CIEPs became recognized by a large portion of the population as the school for the poorest of the poor.

TABLE 20

Number of Students Enrolled in Rio de Janeiro, According to Administrative Dependency

Dependency	Elementary Schooling	Secondary Schooling	High School Equivalency Program	Total
State	666,327	480,428	187,865	1,334,620
Federal	10,890	15,920	7,251	34,061
Municipal	1,334,163	13,100	45,937	1,393,200
Private	460,637	165,921	52,727	679,285
Total	2,472,017	675,369	293,780	3,441,166

Source: INEP/2000.

Questions about CIEPs came up out of nowhere in the focus groups that took place with the youths, reactivating the debate. In various statements, it can be observed that the students are

²⁶ Bourdieu (1983) brings an important contribution to the understanding of the hierarchies and of the valorization which the school is subject to as an institution, "(...) the school (...) is not simply a place where different things, facts, techniques etc. are learned; it is also an institution that offers degrees. (...) The effects of school inflation are more complicated than what is often said: Due to the fact that the degrees are always worth what those who hold them are worth, a title that becomes frequent, for the same reason becomes devalued, but it loses its value even more by becoming accessible to people without any social value."

conscious of the stigma attributed to these schools and that many defend them in the attempt to go beyond them:

CHART 4
Terrible School!

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

When he found out I studied at CIEP he said, "You study at CIEP? That school is bad. That school is horrible! Your school must be horrible!"

There are people who tell me, "Your school is the worst school there is in the neighborhood, that CIEP."

Other statements also demonstrate the extension of this stigma to the youths themselves, stubbornly following their educational journey and limiting their future perspectives:

The place in the computer course was already mine. When I filled out the form and the guy saw that I studied at the CIEP, he made something up and said that they didn't have a place for me anymore. I'm sure it was because I put that I studied at CIEP.
(Focus group, Participant, RJ)

Some youths demonstrate a critical view of this stigmatization that one of them called "the rich school of the poor," looking for the underlying reasons for the discrimination.

There's a lot of prejudice. You can see on TV, they only show the CIEPs all covered with graffiti, and people doing drugs. That's why everyone thinks CIEP means violence, you know? (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

Other statements reveal the attempt to break away from the devaluation of the school: *The truth is that I always studied at a CIEP and it's like a big family for me.*

These statements clearly illustrate the powerful hierarchy that exists among the school establishments that make up the public education system. It shows that the hierarchy goes beyond the public school versus private school question. The hierarchy occurs in the very universe of the public schools and divides them up according to the social value of the people that study and work in them, based on categories of discrimination that run through society (class, gender, race, ethnic group) and that are reflected in educational quality. On this theme, Elias (1985) alerts us to the consequences of this type of stigmatization. It ends up becoming natural, causing acceptance of the idea that some social groups are fundamentally superior to others.

It's worth noting that this is not the only stigma about the school space that fills the students' universe. Night school and day school also make up a scenario of contradictions about the desired school, the school that has this is the school that is most valued by the social group that the youths are part of. The following statements illustrate these contradictions.

When I moved from morning to night because I had to work, I thought it was going to be horrible, that the people were going to be different, that there were going to be a lot of fights. I thought it was going to be a drag, but I saw it wasn't like that at all. The night people are even more 'together,' more mature.
(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

Study at night? No way! At night it's the people who don't want to do anything. At night it's violent. Last year it came out in that newspaper 'O Dia' that a little girl was raped when she was leaving school.

There was a teacher who made a pass at a student. In the end he got kicked out. It's no good. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

Thank God, there's no night school here and that's why the school is well thought of by the community. The night people are hard core. They are more independent. It's hard to control. (Interview, Principal, RJ)

The prejudice against night school frequently includes the difficulty and lack of preparedness for meeting the needs of the working student. In the following statement, the student criticizes this evidence:

CHART 5

Yes I work, what's the big deal?

(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

So many people work here! What's the big deal? I think this prejudice is really stupid! I'm seventeen years old. I get up at five thirty in the morning. I clean the house. I wash the clothes. I iron. I make lunch, and it's got to be ready at noon, because the little girl I take care of can't be late for school. Then I give her lunch. I get her ready. I comb her hair. I take her to school and then I go to school. When I get out of here, I go and pick her up at school, take her home, then I give her a bath and her dinner. You think I get to sleep then? After that I still have to clean up and cook! That's how it goes until Saturday. On Monday, I get up early again to catch the van and go to work again.

What does the youth expect from the school?

For many youths, school can be a passport to a better future. Therefore, the students demand technical courses in addition to a

general education. Initially, in their opinion, this will guarantee them a job and work: *There's not one class here that makes us get a better job. With what we've got here, we're screwed...You know what I'm talking about, don't you?* (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

At first the students talked about the school as one of the most powerful means of social ascension, guaranteeing better jobs and the possibility of learning a craft: *Why do people study? To get ready to be somebody later on in life...* (Focus group, Participant, RJ) In one statement a youth focuses on the necessity of accomplishing this quickly, using the premise of the market and of consumption: *If you don't get on this computer thing, if you don't specialize on the machine, in what interests them, you are screwed.* (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

However, after a while, the youths display a consciousness of the limits of the school space for the poorer populations and bring up questions about the possibility of this effort having been made in vain: *What gets me really mad is that you study, you work a lot, and when you finish you are just nobody.* (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

Resisting the daily demands of school has not been easy for many of the students, who show their dissatisfaction by complaining about how monotonous their classes, teachers, etc. have been: *Studying is a drag, it really gets me down. It's really a drag to come to school Monday through Friday, all year long. Man, it's like a joke!* (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

However, the school still represents the possibility of social mobility because of the certificates and degree that are offered:

I used to walk three kilometers to go to school and three to come back every day. I did this for three years every single day, but I had to stop because I had to work. I grew up and saw that, man, I had to make up for some lost time. That's when I went back to study.
(Focus group, non-participant, RJ)

A perverse situation can be seen here in relation to work and school: the fact the search for a guarantee of survival through work “removes” the youth from school and at the same time constitutes the reason for the youth’s constant return. Even given these restrictions, the school is the place to put the hope for daily or basic support and, if possible, social ascension.

Is the school successful?

In the statements obtained in the focus groups, the youths reveal that the essential ingredient for a school to be “successful” in terms of allowing the youths to feel that they are creating their own space, is not only the fact that the teacher is tuned into both the student and the knowledge but that fundamentally, the teacher is tuned into the possibility of establishing relationships that engage the students and the teachers, making them accomplices in the school space.

CHART 6

The Attention Principle

(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

A cool teacher is the one who likes you, who talks to you, who has the attention principle, besides just explaining the subject. The attention principle is, while the teacher is explaining, he looks to one side and sees this sad student and starts asking what happened.

One day I got here and I was crying. I had things going on at home and the teacher just talked to me the whole class, gave me advice, that I took, and this was something that I could really use for my life.

The school appears in the statements as “good” when it takes on an assistance role in terms of furnishing the basic needs of the students and their families.

This school used to be great. They gave groceries to the community, did prenatal care for the pregnant women, there was a dentist and a health service. The families had access to everything. Then, the school started getting run down, it started getting ugly, spiders on the ceiling. When the parents came to enroll their kids, they looked around and thought: ‘Are my kids going to study here?’
(Focus group, Non-participants, Rio de Janeiro)

Problems of the school: perceptions of students and principals

Tables 21 and 22 show the main problems in the schools, according to their principals. While the lack of support personnel seems to be the largest problem in the metropolitan area, in the interior areas the largest problem is lack of student interest. This problem is present in a considerable way in the two areas.

On the other hand, while pregnancy is a problem for more than half of the schools in the metropolitan area (54.8%), in the interior almost half of the schools are preoccupied with discipline problems (44.8%).

In terms of what was said about pregnancy the presence of many pregnant teenagers and extremely young mothers with their babies could be acknowledged in the schools visited during the qualitative phase of the survey. A number of improvised day care centers or even more structured ones were also verified, allowing these young students to continue their studies.

There was a remarkable incidence of parents who are not interested in the school efforts of their children cited by the principals. This was cited as much in the interior as in the metropolitan area. Also cited were discipline problems among the students.

When the students were asked about the problems in school the most frequent answers were extremely similar to those of the principals.

All of this goes to show that the young students of the participating schools perceive the same problems that the principals do, with few differences. The students recognize that they have discipline problems and that they aren't interested in their studies. Among the five most frequent answers the following are highlighted: student lack of interest; discipline problems; shortage of books and other supplies, and teenage pregnancy. These problems were also cited by the principals.

TABLE 21

Major Problems of the Schools in the Metropolitan Area,
According to the Principals

	% ^(a)
Shortage of Support Staff	83.9
Student Lack of Interest	67.7
Parental Lack of Interest	64.5
Pregnancy	54.8
Shortage of Books	38.7

(a) Percentages in relation to 31 schools

Source: Schools of Peace evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

TABLE 22

Major Problems of the Schools in the Interior, According to the Principals

	% ^(a)
Student Lack of Interest	81.0
Parental Lack of Interest	75.9
Shortage of Support Staff	74.1
Lack of Discipline	44.8
Shortage of Books	34.5

(a) Percentages in relation to 58 schools

Source: Schools of Peace evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

However, there is some difference in the indication shortage of staff in the schools. While for the students this means a shortage of teachers, or teachers who are unprepared, for principals this means a shortage of support staff.

These results bring up the discussion of guilt and responsibility that frequently occurs in education, which indicates a historical conflict. Educators are held responsible for school failure and they, in turn, hold the students and their families responsible. Students acknowledge that they are uninterested in their studies and that they cause discipline problems. Neither party has the means to search through dialogue for other ways to coexist that could respect this diversity of interests.

Parental lack of interest in their children's academic performance is mentioned frequently by both the principals in the metropolitan areas and in the interior. This is cited less frequently in the students' opinions, revealing that they don't recognize the same distance, not in the same way, nor with the same intensity: *But there are parents who think their kids are in school and they don't have time to come and see if their kid is going to class. They have to work to support the house, so what happens?* (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

In addition, the students do not see the lack of school space and the problems related to violence as something despicable. These problems include violent neighborhoods, violence in general within the school, and student gangs.

In the focus groups that took place with the students, statements that cleared up some of the questions that had been raised were made by both the students and the principals. It must be mentioned that the students did not see themselves as especially uninterested in the school as a space for sociability. However, in some cases they did reveal disinterest in the school as a place of instruction.

There are numerous reports about the work of the administration and the teams that illustrate their knowledge about the problems and the interest they have in participating in the search for solutions.

TABLE 23

General Problems of the Schools, According to the Students

General Problems	Frequency	%
Uninterested Students	8,980	77.7
Student Discipline Problems	6,746	58.4
Shortage of Books, Videos, Computers	5,789	50.1
Teenage Pregnancy	3,956	34.2
Insufficient Number of Teachers	3,178	27.5
Unprepared Teachers	2,548	22.0
Parental Lack of Interest	2,468	21.3
Shortage of Space	4,155	18.6
Too Many Students per Classroom	1,748	15.1
Dangerous Neighborhood, Criminals	1,746	15.1
Violence	1,672	14.5
Student Gangs	961	8.3

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

It's not only the administration, it's the students too that deserve congratulations because they say that what makes a school is the students. If we are rebels it doesn't matter if the principal is good, or great, or wants to educate us. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

It was hard for us to get a budget for the school last year, because we didn't have a water fountain, the library was like this, really run down. Then we started to do some projects. This year we even managed to get a laboratory. (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

In terms of what was said about the teaching the comments showed that some of the students do not feel motivated. They attribute the ability to make the classroom a pleasant and interesting place to the efforts of particular teachers.

CHART 7

A Certain Sense of Humor

(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

The teachers are really a pain. They give you too much work to make your hand get tired. Yeah, they use up like three blackboards, not to mention the ones that like to argue with the students.

I think that a teacher has to have a good sense of humor. I think this teacher doesn't teach so much for the money, but because she likes it. So, you feel like there's someone who wants to give you something good, that does it because they like it. That way, you get interested.

4.3.2. Youths and Religion

The results of the Schools of Peace Program evaluation reveal a direct connection between the youths and questions about religion. Around half of those who responded to the questionnaires (54.2% of Program participants and 50.9% of the non-participants) spend their free time on religious activities.

This connection also seems to be strong within the school space itself. In the field observations the presence of signs with biblical sayings or messages related to religion and the question of peace could be seen on the walls in many of the schools. There were also posters advertising religious music groups.

The fact is that the youths are concerned about these questions. They are alert to them. In their opinions, this translates into different approaches in their reflections on the inherent complexity of the theme, notably in a society like Brazil's, which mixes extremely diverse roots and socio-cultural influences.

In function of the relevance of the subject, and the importance of the data, only some of the most recurrent or outstanding aspects

of the statements are highlighted here. This is done with the intention of contributing to a more accurate understanding of these youths, as their relationship with the “religion” theme is not central to the current project.

These statements can be understood more clearly when the changes in the Brazilian religious area are considered. (Novaes, 2000, p.4)

Demonstrated by an evident growth in the Evangelical Church, mainly in its Pentecostal branch; growth of those who publicly declare themselves to be Kardecist, Umbandist, and Candomblé spiritists; decrease of those who declare themselves to be Catholics because they were baptized in the Catholic Church.

According to Novaes (2000), the decrease of those who declare themselves to be Catholic does not mean a decrease in their religious participation, but the expression of internal conversions within Catholicism, as in the Charismatic movement, for example.

Rio de Janeiro is a city that still has traces of Colonial Portuguese Catholicism. This is true in many other parts of Brazil and the “specialized power of the saint” is strong: This also covers entities with African origins. Popular Catholicism *puts trust and interest in a certain saint or a constellation of devotions*: (Lessa: 2000, p.340)

Most people are devout to Our Lady of Aparecida. I am to the Boy Jesus of Prague. There are people that connect to a certain saint in some way, you get it? Like if they think the saint is helping, they think somehow that saint is helping them. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

Almost all of the youths say that they believe in God and that they are connected to a religion (Evangelical, Catholic, Kardecist, Spiritist, and even Messianic). Many already attend many of these, others are members of religions different than those of their parents.

In the statements the disciplinary character of the Church can be clearly recognized as well as its role as an agency that influences behavior.

CHART 8

Nobody Can Sit Around Doing Nothing...

(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)
(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

(...) as my grandma used to say, 'Nobody can sit around doing nothing, everybody's got to have a religion, it doesn't matter what religion, but you've got to have one, you can't just do nothing. Ah, you stop doing what you were doing...Dances, stuff like that...Funk Dances, I used to go...That way, you go to some places...nightclubs, that kind of thing...they're dangerous.

If you've got religion, you don't do so many things...things like, like a person who doesn't have any religion, understand? A person who's got religion is calmer, understand? I've got a neighbor who got involved in something bad, hanging around with the wrong guy. I just saw things, ok? But when this guy came into the Universal Kingdom of God Church, he just changed into another person, you know? He's calmer now, he talks to everybody, everybody likes him, he says hi to people right, he's working it out, he's getting on with his life.

Some aspects of religious practices were considered as controversial, bringing up positive and negative reactions, as in the case of paying tithe and other financial duties.

As a religious person, of course I pay the tithe, as a religious person, because the Church [...] has no help from the government, no help from the mayor. The followers themselves help the church, help with the tithe. What is tithing for? For the maintenance of God's house. Have you heard the word, 'maintaining the house of God?' (Focus group, Participant, Male, RJ)

It's really bad. They ask for money. They also ask for money, twenty Reals, to get a blessing... give one third of your salary! (Focus group, Participant, Male, RJ)

Youths hold different opinions concerning the attempt of religious groups to convert them. They also show differentiated expressions of their religiosity. There are extreme views: *Religion comes in first place for me, it's everything! I am a fanatic for God and Jesus.* Others are more critical on the question:

I think that when you go to a church there is only one thing you can't take on, and that's fanaticism. With this fanaticism thing you get away from your friends who don't go to that church, you start moving away from people, from your relatives, your family, you get obsessed with that thing. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

In any case, the appeal of conversion is strong and in general, is related to the possibility of salvation. The popular religious attitude is marked strongly by an intrinsic relationship between belief and grace. *Not because of mere alienation, but with full knowledge of the cause do they ask God or his celestial and infernal intermediates to aid in our survival.* (Chauí, 1986, p.82) This serves as a palliative for the harsh day to day life of the poorer strata of society, which seems endless. On the other hand, it's important to pay attention to *other mechanisms, values, ambiguities, and feelings – socially*

constructed along our economic, political, and cultural history – that can provide a predisposition towards Pentacostal conversion. (Novaes, 2000).

There are still those among the youths that perceive contradictory behavior in their own religious practices. They prefer to distance themselves from religion because of this, in the name of coherence or because they do not believe themselves to be worthy.

There are people that use the Church just to hide, ‘Oh, I am Evangelical.’ ‘I am Catholic’ and they don’t do anything. In my case, that’s what pushed me away, but, I’m not going to go to church just to look good, you got it? I’m not going to go to church wearing a long skirt and a big blouse with a bible under my arm when inside my heart I’m not feeling love for my neighbor, I’m not treating people well, you got it? I’m arguing, I’m talking back to my parents at home. You have to act dignified and think that God is with you, you know? (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The relationship the youths have to religion and the churches is marked by uncertainty as well: Does salvation come from church, from Jesus? Does it come from the youths themselves, with his help? Is going to church less important than pleasing God? These are examples of the most frequently asked questions in the surveyed groups.

I have two things I want to say. The first one is that the Church doesn’t save you, ok? The one who saves you is Jesus. The second thing is that I think that people get into church but don’t have a real encounter with Jesus. They get in just to get in, you know? ‘I’m in, I’m a church member, I’m saved’. And that’s it, right? It’s all over in heaven, its over! (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

I think that having peace in your spirit is the most important thing. Doing things that you know are pleasing to God is most important, it doesn't matter if you go to church or you don't. There are a lot of people who look for the church like some kind of refuge, you know? They do all sorts of bad stuff all over the place and then they look for the church – 'Oh Father, please forgive me.' I don't think that's really the way it works. Then later, when they think they're all forgiven, they go back and do it all over again. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

Considering the questions found in the statements of these youths, it becomes impossible to discard the importance of the role played by religion and by religious institutions. Whatever cults they may represent, attention must be paid to them as catalyzing influences for the youths, even though many times this occurs in a diffuse form.

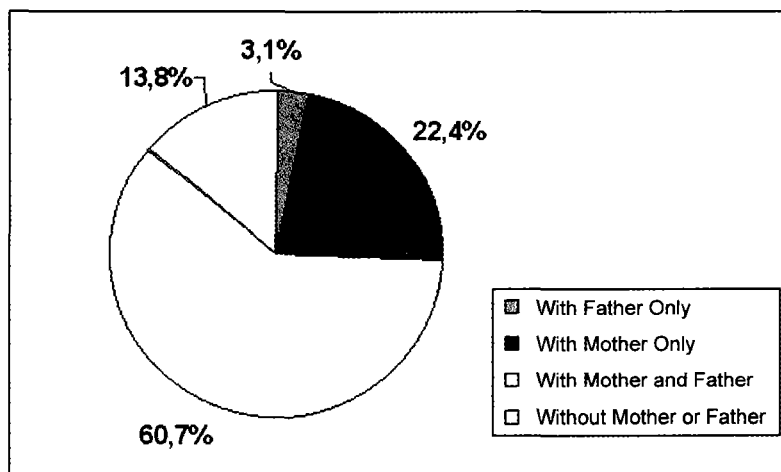
4.3.3. Youths and Family

The relationship between the youths and their families has been modified along the generations. Meanwhile, the relationship is marked by ambiguity. The youths and the researchers all criticize the family environment and the form of the parental relationship, but they all see the family as a basic point of reference.

It's worth remembering that beginning in the 60's important transformations have been observed in the constitution of the Brazilian family. This has mainly occurred due to a marked fall in birth rates. Other changes are equally revealing showing a family that is no longer structured on a "head provider" (Montali, 2000) with a significant increase in family separations and an increase in single parent households, especially those headed by females.

This portrait is illustrated in the information contained in graph 9, which allows for conclusions to be drawn about the family structures of the surveyed youths.

GRAPH 9
Who the Youths Live with, According to the Youths



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

The majority of the youths (60.7%) live with both parents under the same roof. Nevertheless, two other aspects of the graph are also worth our attention. The first is the percentage (around 20%) of youths who live with their mothers only, confirming current tendencies in the family structure based on the mother figure as the head of the family, especially in the families of the poorer classes according to a variety of studies in the area of gender and family. (Castro, 2001; Berquó, 1998) The other refers to the high incidence of surveyed youths who live without their mothers or fathers (13.8%).

These results are similar to other studies developed by UNESCO, such as the research of *Say it People: Youth, Violence*,

and *Citizenship on the city of Rio de Janeiro* (Minayo, 1999), which took place in Rio de Janeiro as well, especially in terms of the significant presence of the mother as the only one responsible for the family.

In general terms, the majority of the youths state that their mothers dedicate themselves exclusively to the home or to “work in someone else’s house.” The fathers mainly work as construction workers, drivers, house painters, electricians, and waiters, among other activities that are not valued socially or economically. In addition, government worker appeared frequently, whether civil or military.

A large number of the youths state that their parents are either temporarily or permanently inactive, being unemployed, retired, or “living off of others.”

As illustrated in table 24, half of the youths consider their own and their family’s economic condition to be “well off.” This is surprising when seen next to other information obtained in the focus groups: they are public school students, many are already working, they confront difficulties getting money together for the day to day life they and their families lead, etc.

TABLE 24
Youth’s own Situation and that of their Family, According to the Youths

Participants			Non-Participants		
Economic situation	Frequency	%	Economic situation	Frequency	%
Very poor	64	1.7	Very poor	101	1.6
Poor	1695	44.5	Poor	3120	49.3
Well off	2031	53.4	Well off	3096	48.9
Rich	16	0.4	Rich	12	0.2

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

In the statements it could be established that asking their parents for money was not always easy. As can be seen in the following chart, this difficulty is related to poverty and the lack of money. It is also an expression of the domestic tensions in the context of a lack of perspectives and a perpetuation of dependency on the part of the children caused by economic difficulty and a break in traditional family values, especially in the idea of the paternal capacity for providing the fundamental necessities.

CHART 9 Family Scenes

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)
(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

...I went and asked my dad for a book, so you know what he told me? To go and get a job working for some family. I ask him for one buck and he cries, he yells, he swears at me then, ok, he gives me one real. Then if I ask tomorrow he's going to say that I'm asking all the time, that I only go to his house to ask for money.

Sometimes I just want some little thing, I get really quiet, but I say to myself, there are so many things, so many books, so much stuff to buy, English courses I take and I can't pay for, so I'd rather, oh, I want a shirt. I get really quiet, if I can't get my little coins together, I ask for a little change here, a little change for my little bank so I can buy it, but if I have to ask my dad to give it to me, I won't do it.

If I say: Dad, give me money so I can go out. He says: No, in my day it wasn't like this, we didn't say dad give me money, we went out and worked and earned our money to go out, if our father let us.

However, in the focus groups the majority of the statements made in relation to the family talk about the lack of freedom and the difficulty of having a positive relationship with parents.

This happened to me last week. I said, 'Look, mom, I'm not going to lie, I am going to tell you the truth. Can I go out with my friend whoever?' Then she said, 'The one with the cap? No!' I said, 'Man, why didn't I lie?' I think this is what is missing with our parents, giving us more freedom. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

But they are afraid of freedom. They give you information so you can use your freedom. That's what's missing. If they don't give you freedom, you are going to lie. If they don't let you do something, then it's going to be worse, because then you say you are going to be somewhere but you go somewhere else. So, they have to put their trust in the training they're giving you. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

It can be seen that the family is a place for conflict. Good levels of family health, as shown by Wagner, Falcke, and Meza (1997) many times, are found to be associated with situations that favor both the expression of aggression, anger, and hostility as much as warmth, tenderness, and affection.

He's scared I'll get involved somewhere else. He says he's afraid because I almost died there once. Man, I was really little, the guys came to kill someone else, I was there just keeping to myself, the guy just started shooting out of nowhere. I was lucky because I left, I got out of there. So, that's why he's all scared. He's scared because of that thing. (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

In the youths' statements, the parents come across as frightened by the violence, fearing for their children's safety when they are not home. However, the dangers and the limits vary a lot among them.

My father is always really strict, he doesn't want to know about it. Sometimes he calls one of the youngest daughters to talk, but only when he feels like it. He doesn't talk to anyone. I think the only one who really talks is my brother. So I talk to my mom, to my aunt, much more than to my dad. My dad I just treat like some regular person. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

The father figure appears to be the most problematic aspect of the family situation in the analysis of the surveyed youths. Authoritarianism is the aspect that is brought up the most when this relationship is touched on.

My father is stupider than my mother. He just wants to beat up on us for no reason. He wants to be the macho guy in the family. Yeah, that's an easy way to be a father! He thinks that because he's the man of the house, he's the one who has to boss us around, he has to take care of everything. This gets me a little messed up, because I don't know if I should talk to him, or my mom. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

Today, however being a father and family provider is getting harder and harder. The concrete impossibility of the head of the family being able to sustain the family and also maintain authority should provoke in the short run:

...changes in the family: initially in the family's internal division of labor, through alterations in the participation of its members in the job market, and in the second place in the gender division of the work inside the family, which will imply changes in the hierarchical gender relations within it. (Montali, 2000)

If on one hand, the family still constitutes the base for sustenance and preservation of values that many times only exist as ideas, on the other hand, the perceptions of the youths offer us a picture of the real dimensions of the family, as a place for conflict, affection, and daily clashes. The family environment is also associated with feelings of security and trust: as Barreira says (1999), the family appears as the most important institution, and it is certainly where the youths feel most secure.

4.3.4. Youths and Work

In these uncertain times, when unemployment and unstable professional situations are visible for the majority of society, joining and staying in the job market are, with different intensities, part of the major preoccupations of the youths²⁷.

If working is beyond the surveyed youths' immediate plans – *“Next year I’m going to see if I can’t work, I’m thinking about it.”* – for others it represents the possibility of being seen as dignified and deserving of respect from society. *“If you go into a store and you have... a job, a profession, they come up and say, ‘would you like something?’*

The evaluation research of the Schools of Peace showed that about one-third of the youths are currently working or have already worked. This indicates that the larger percentage of those that work are part of the group of non-participants in the Program. Working is

²⁷ The situation of the salaried worker, which is valued nowadays, was for a long time undignified and wretched, for those who just had the strength of their arms to offer. Only recently, since 1960, (CASTEL, 1998, p.230) has this situation become the basis for the “modern payroll society”, the Statute of the Main Source of Revenue and Protection. This change gains importance in order to more clearly understand how the society, including the youths, sees the question of unemployment nowadays.

pointed out as one of the reasons for not participating in the Program: *I work on Saturday so when I get home I rest. I spend the whole night resting. Then on Sunday I help my mom clean the house.*

TABLE 25
Work, According to the Youths

Participants			Non-participants		
	Frequency	%		Frequency	%
Yes, regular job	576	15.0	Yes, regular job	1459	22.8
Yes, occasional job	397	10.4	Yes, occasional job	733	11.5
No, I just study	2722	71.0	No, I just study	3893	60.9
I'm unemployed	137	3.6	I'm unemployed	311	4.9

Source: Schools of Peace , UNESCO, 2000.

If the majority of the youths just study, we find in their statements the desire to work combined with the difficulty of finding a job. Some of the reasons given for this were the difficulty of finding the first job, poor qualifications when faced with the current demands of the market, and discrimination against race and physical type. This shows that the market imposes certain profiles that go beyond professional competence.

CHART 10
Youth Wanted

RESIDENT OF A NON-VIOLENT AREA

In certain places when I go looking for a job, when I fill out the application I put Jacarepaguá, I don't put Cidade de Deus. It hurts your application, it could hurt your chances.
(Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

WHO'S NOT GOING TO ENLIST

I can't work now, I went to enlist in the army, I am going to serve next year. Nobody wants to give me a job. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

EXPERIENCED

What's missing for us is experience, because they won't give you a chance and a lot of us don't have a profession yet either. It's kind of tough. You do the basic High School stuff, you get out of it without anything, no qualifications, you've still got to take some kind of English or computer course. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

"GOOD APPEARANCE"

If you look like me you're going to be out of a job for the rest of your life. And there's another thing: you've got to have a good body to be able to wear the clothes they sell in the store. Because the person has to be skinny, you can't have a belly, you have to have a good body so you can wear the clothes... (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

LIGHT-SKINNED

In some of the stores they even tell you, like, 'Oh, man! Find someone to work with me. Only she can't be black. At most, light brown, light-skinned. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

Exclusion from the job market doesn't affect only Fluminense youths. This is shown by the number of youths who are part of the job market with low salaries, around 1.73 minimum salaries on the average. In 1995, for the youths, the Active Economic Population of the country (PEA) was 18.8 million. This number represents 65.2%, which is lower than the figure for 1992, according to the National Research for Samples of Residence (PNAD) from IBGE.

This decrease configures accentuated exclusion from the job market for the youths, and it shows additional inequalities in the rate of activity for youths from families with income of up to half a minimum salary, which is even lower than in the families with higher income.

Unemployment is a form of exclusion that takes on worrisome proportions within the youth population of urban areas in all the regions of the country, mainly affecting the age group of 15 to 19 years of age, females, and low-income families. (Arias 1998)

It seems important to point out that the changes that are inherent today in the job market have profound implications in the process of incorporating youths in the professional market²⁸. The participants of the survey showed that they were aware of this reality, even though they did not have a clear understanding of its reasons.

People today are replaced by machines. So, like if you don't know how to work with a computer...you don't get a cool job, you got it? You've got to have at least the basics. But I don't have anything. (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

In some statements the youths, as spectators, identified that the number of available jobs had decreased significantly: *It's a very serious demand problem, right? Because there are a lot of people who want to work and there are only a few jobs. So, what happens? Sorry, but only the ones who are prepared will stay.*

²⁸ The effects of the metamorphoses in the production process and its repercussions in the work world can be observed to affect the way the working class has acted since the 70s, according to Antunes. (2000, p.180) *This has occurred in the context of a structural capital crisis. The microelectronic revolution changes the working processes, constituting forms of flexible accumulation, alternative models to Taylorism/Fordism. This ends up generating a significant reduction in the number of available positions, exclusion from the job market for the youths and the elderly, and an increase in the precarious forms of work, among other changes.*

Furthermore, the youths put the weight of the responsibility for a solution to these questions on themselves in an isolated, individualized form: *You've always got to be the best. In the old days, if you were one of the best, that was ok. Not anymore. You've got to be number one, if you're not number one...you're out of the market.*

Occupations are highly diversified among the youths who work. These occupations are concentrated in the commercial and service areas. A lot of them do not require any special qualifications and are traditionally badly paid: construction assistant, assistant painter, mechanic, waiter, dishwasher, cafeteria worker, auto parts store workers, small neighborhood store owner, senior citizen escort, tutor for children, housemaid, office clerk, disc jockey, salesclerk, painter, musician, store clerk, trainee, computer assembly worker, amusement park worker, golf caddy, and community van driver.

As in the other metropolitan regions of the country, in February of 2001 the rate of unemployment for the population of 15 years old and over is higher than for the metropolitan region of Rio (3.4%), according to the IBGE Monthly Job Survey in relation to the previous year. This rate is even lower in the service sectors and higher (4.7%) in the transformation industry sector.

Around 50% of the economically active population in the Rio de Janeiro metropolitan area is located in the service sector, while 14% is in the area of commerce. Half work without the proper documentation required or they work on their own. At the time of the Schools of Peace survey, the average time for a job search was 26.2 weeks in the Southeast region, the highest rate of the period.

It is worth noting that informal work activities have occupied a significant portion of the population for a very long time. Nineteenth century Rio already served as a stage for street vendors, cane chair makers, shoe-shiners, candy vendors, and seafood and meat sellers, who used the streets as their working space.

Among the surveyed youths, street vending activities were also identified, *"(...)...so, I asked my father to buy candy near my house where there's a candy factory, and then I sold them on my doorstep and on the street and then I kept the money.*

Poverty is naturally conservative... Rio preserves vestiges of its colonial past, of the old street vendors. The non-specialized street vendor emerged. They sell ice cream in the summer and popcorn in the winter. They sell plastic purses, umbrellas... They offer fruit and vegetables to bus drivers and passengers. If they can get two square feet of a busy street without getting kicked off, they become established street sellers. (Lessa, 2001)

Certainly, a long process of economic lethargy made Rio's job market, especially in the industrial area, one of the least dynamic among the large metropolises of the country. Even the recovery of industrialization that had stagnated in the last decades of the twentieth century did not have sufficiently positive results. On the contrary, a period of new losses can be observed which included the closing or transfer of industries and foreign banking headquarters to other states.

In relation to the 2000 data, the Central Foundation for Information and Data of Rio de Janeiro – CIDE concluded that the impact of the disconnection was not equal for everyone:

Workers with a higher income and lower levels of education were the most affected. This confirms a job market tendency to pay lower wages and at the same time recruit people with a higher education level. In this way, education became one of the criteria for job exclusion. (CIDE – Formal Job Allocation in RJ – Jan./Sept. 2000)

This tendency of reduction in salaries may help to explain the participation of the surveyed youths in the family budget. This participation is even greater among the non-participants of the Program.

The Schools of Peace evolution indicates that the “gig” – an expression for informal jobs – is a reality for a portion of the youths.

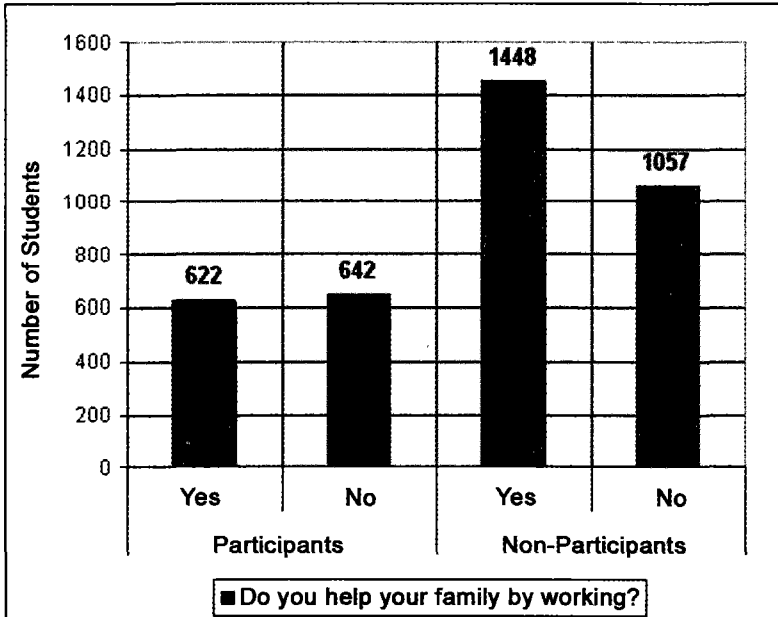
In general, the gigs appear in the informal small family business, without being subject to state regulation. At times, these turn out to be precarious jobs:

I am working with my family, with air conditioners, so then the client calls and I do the service he wants me to.
 (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

I used to work with my mother because she had a bar. I sold hamburgers and those kinds of things.
 (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

GRAPH 10

Help the Family with Work, According to the Youths



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000

I work with my father, at his store. I handle the counter, I'm the messenger, I'm the janitor. I'm the last one to be able to say anything and the first one to get blamed and the pay is bad. (Focus group, Participating student, RJ)

The participation of the youths in the informal illegal market in Rio de Janeiro was also discussed in the focus groups as well as in the interviews. Until the 80s this market was dominated by gambling in the animal lottery. However, at the end of the 70s a more lucrative business, drug trafficking, began to gain more space.

This retail type market is currently present in around 500 areas of the city. In the case of marijuana it has been identified since the beginning of the century. (Misse: 1997, p.99)

In the drug trafficking hierarchy the “soldiers” are the ones who maintain the internal order and who use guns for external “wins”. “Rocketeers” are the ones who are paid to set off firecrackers as a warning for the arrival of new drug shipments. “Vapors” are the sellers, many times teenagers:

Many youths today are into pot, they're in the slums, because 'oh, you can get what you want there, above all you're going to make some money, you're going to get women and all that. It's the quickest way to get all that. (Focus group, Participating student, RJ)

People earn a lot of money. It's just that you've got people who think it's easy. Nothing in this life is easy, you always pay the price. If you're going to sell, one day you're going to die... (Focus group, Non-participating student, RJ)

Unfortunately, the number of youths involved in drug trafficking has been increasing, not only because of the attractive

remuneration. The breach lies in the fact that the youths are treated differently under the law. Beyond that, they take advantage of their youthful energy and characteristic efforts to broaden their activities (Zannetti, 1999/2000):

For a little while now, I've been seeing more youths because of the prisoners we've been getting. The age is getting lower and lower. Usually it was eighteen, nineteen years old, now it's around fifteen, sixteen, fourteen years old. They aren't classified as felons. They can't even go to jail. They get caught, and they go back to their activities right away. (Military Police Official, RJ)

Among the youths who are part of the legal job market, working is far from being viewed as a creative and transforming possibility. It appears as an immediate requirement for survival, at the cost of a lot of sweat.

I already worked delivering bread. And I still had to wake up at what time... around four in the morning. It was only good because I always had my money at the end of the day! (Focus group, Non-participating student, RJ)

I'm a waiter. On hot, sunny days we make 35, 40 reais per day. I'm working from 7 in the morning to 7 at night, I can make it but you really work, you know? I run back and forth all day long in the sand and in the end I still have to take everything back. Man, we're talking 40 tables, a million chairs, you're already tired, but in the end it's worth it, you know, because you leave with some honest money you earned with your own sweat. (Focus group, Participating student, RJ)

The vision of work as something boring and not very motivating can also be seen in the statements of youths who are not yet a part of any working activity.

No, I don't work. It's because I really don't want to, I'm lazy. Next year I'll see if I work, I'm still thinking about it. (Focus group, Non-participating student, RJ)

Among the surveyed youths, especially those from the lower classes, the need to work was cited as one of the reasons for abandoning school, whose value seems to be minimal at times.

Well, in my case I left school because I went to do some work on construction for him and it doesn't matter if I leave school and go help him because then he doesn't have to spend a lot of money, because this job here is very hard to get. (Focus group, Participant, Male, RJ)

I was an assistant mechanic and I had a good salary, ok? I thought that would be enough for me. I was in eighth grade. But then I got discouraged, you know, too much time in school, I was 18 years old, I'd studied too long. I thought that the money I was getting would last forever, I didn't need to go to school anymore. So then I dropped out. (Focus group, Participant, Male, RJ)

In general, it was observed that the professional dreams of the surveyed youths are linked to immediate survival. Upper level professions that require educational continuity are not cited.

The lack of more audacious plans is related to a certain feeling of impotence when faced with the competition in the current job market. It can be seen that these youths have the sensation of being losers, conscious that money defines the social hierarchy and that the lack of it stops them from having bigger dreams, forcing them to manage the moment's insecurity on their own.

The only way out for these youths is to be trained in their own school, a fact that seems to be directly connected to joining the job market and the urgent necessity of generating income.

CHART 11

The Size of the Professional Dream

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

(...) I can manage to get a good job because my aunt works in an auto parts store as a salesperson.

(...) I don't work, but I would like to work in a market, a bakery, something like that. I don't work because I am not used to it and because I am still very young.

Next year I plan to change my job, and go back to working at night, yeah, start working again during nights, shows, I used to do shows, samba groups...I earned good money... (...) it was good money, that is why I want to go back, do something I really like, make money doing what I like.

I don't want to get a job in some little store working on commission, you know, I want a job where I can make some real money, man, if I had money (...) money is the thing. I do want a job, but a cool job, one where I get good money and some breathing room.

Oh, changing it into a technical school (...) you could try for a better future, because today the basic education is not very good. You don't have any classes where you're going to get a better job. We can consider ourselves trained for nothing, (...) unqualified. You get a job with what you learn in school. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

Studying is nothing more than just that. What do people study for? To prepare themselves so that later

on they are prepared to be someone in life. (...)the competition of life. (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

It is worth thinking, like Mendes (1974), if the problem of the school couldn't be...

Not only to determine the moment for specialization, but also to bring the school closer to the richest resources of the individual, through the process of general education. Instead of giving the subject an instrument, it's preferable to explore their own unending and infinite instrumentality.

The statements and thoughts exposed here undoubtedly reflect the importance that work takes on for the youths and how this relates to the school universe.

4.3.5. Youths and Leisure

Certainly, leisure constitutes a relevant opportunity for the building up of cooperation and solidarity among the different social groups. Above all, it shows itself to be one of the most important mechanisms of interaction the youths have for internalizing values.

It is precisely in the area of leisure, culture, arts, and sports that a more intense investment can be made in the youth protagonist and in self esteem, as has been demonstrated in a wide variety of successful experiments in the area of the youths²⁹ that try to break away from the negative vision that is constructed

²⁹ Projects developed by a wide variety of groups dedicated to the valorization of the youths in socially precarious situations are recognized, such as the Cultural Afro-Reggae Group and the *Nós do Morro* Group, in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

socially by contrasting the idea of leisure³⁰ to that of work. Today, work is classified as superior, as a moral duty, as an end to itself. Leisure is classified as inferior, as a form of laziness or indulgence. (Elias, 1985)

In these experiments space for leisure is recognized as a public place with a unique character, where the youths can make individual decisions, where the youths can make and externalize their own legitimate choices.

The Schools of Peace evaluation shows that many youths recognize the Program as a leisure opportunity.

The youths' free time is spent in several ways, showing no significant variations among those who participate in the Schools of Peace and those who do not. Television and music are the most predominant forms of leisure, according to the following table.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight three intriguing points presented in the table. The first relates to the prominent role religion plays in the lives of the youths, occupying the free time of more than 50%, as previously discussed in the item Youths and Religion. The second concerns the fact that in both groups a small percentage of the youths admit to practicing graffiti. This type of statement was not verified in the focus groups, although the presence of graffiti was frequently observed in the schools or in the surrounding areas. The third and final point had to do with the incidence of "doing nothing" in their free time. In spite of the fact that this statement came in next to last on the table, it was a constant in the focus groups, both with the participants and the non-participants, which attested to the lack of leisure opportunities for the youths, as the following speech demonstrates:

³⁰ According to Warneck (2000), the first meanings of word leisure were related to idleness, which for the Greeks meant detachment from servile activities, a condition linked with contemplation, reflection, and wisdom. Since it depended on certain educational, political and socio-economic conditions, leisure was a privilege reserved for a small portion of 'free men.' In this sense, the notion of leisure was linked not only to work, but also to education, since in order to enjoy it a solid foundation was needed. Therefore, the Greco-Roman societies reserved a specific space for this – the school, from the Greek *skhole*, 'place of idleness'.

Oh, I stay home. I don't go out. My husband is a real spoilsport, but sometimes, when it's sunny, we go to the beach. Apart from that, I stay home. Or even: In terms of leisure, we almost don't have any. There's no place to play soccer (...) There's school in the middle of the week, but no one let's you play, because there's Physical Education. That's it. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

TABLE 26
Use of Free Time, According to the Youths

Participants	%	Non-participants	%
Television	88.3	Television	85.9
Music	82.8	Music	80.5
Friend's house	74.5	Friend's house	68.5
Going out for a walk	65.8	Going out for a walk	60.9
Dating a boyfriend/girlfriend	55.0	Dating a boyfriend/girlfriend	52.5
Church	54.2	Church	50.9
Books	52.5	Books	47.3
Sports	47.6	Videos	44.4
Videos	44.1	Beach	35.5
Soccer games	43.7	Dance Parties	35.1
Dance Parties	38.5	Sports	34.7
Beach	31.3	Soccer games	34.6
Hanging out on the street	25.7	Bars	24.5
Bars	24.4	Hanging out on the street	21.6
Video Arcades	23.1	Video Arcades	19.3
Extra Classes	17.5	Extra Classes	17.7
Clubs	16.1	Movies	15.2
Movies	12.2	Clubs	12.1
Computers	11.9	Computers	10.9
Doing nothing	11.2	Doing nothing	10.9
Graffiti	2.4	Graffiti	2.3

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

This perception of the lack of leisure opportunities for the youths is not exclusive to youths. According to the statement of the president of a neighborhood council who was interviewed for the Program: *There are no leisure activities in our neighborhood. There's no theater, there's nothing for the youths.*

In the focus groups with the motivators the Program is mentioned recurrently as a leisure alternative for those who live on the outskirts.

This is a really needy area. If you are looking for a sports court, you have to pay. You have to get a group together to pay for that area so you can use it. Then, these youths come here, and in school they find the area for the leisure they need and cannot find outside, precisely because of how needy it is here. (Focus group, Motivators, RJ)

In fact, the situation the majority of the youths from the poorer classes live in is marked by the lack of the most minimal material means for survival. The spaces for leisure that are available in their residences are small in number and their dimensions are inadequate and do not facilitate meetings or gatherings with friends. This leaves only public spaces for these interactions: *Sometimes on Sundays we have a barbecue on the sidewalk. Then there is a lot of music and flirting going on."*

The statement of a motivator illustrates the satisfactory results of this type of activity:

What the boys really like best is the capoeira classes. The movement and rhythm really wake up their curiosity. The classes are all full. In the middle of the class I stop and talk to them. I talk about everything – health, religion, etc. I have a really good relationship with the students at the school. I think these activities let the youths keep off the wrong track. (Interview, Motivator, RJ)

Clearly, the informality and the utilization of a distinctly different lingo from those conventionally used in the academic arena is obvious. This prompts stimulation for communication and dialogue among the involved individuals.

4.3.6. Youths and Violence

Despite the enormity of the space violent acts against different segments of social life occupy nowadays, space that is becoming larger and larger all the time in the formal and informal media, the violence that affects the Brazilian population is not a novelty. On the contrary, violence is deeply engrained in our culture and its practices date back to the pre-colonial period, steadily increasing since then. It has formed a curve that, instead of pointing to short or middle-term solutions, reveals a future where the possibility of reversing this present state seem quite challenging.

Some authors call attention to the fact that (...) *the history of Brazilian society may be told as a story of social and political violence* (Adorno, 1995, p.303) due to the fact that since its origin *conflicts resulting from ethnic, class, gender, and generation differences were frequently resolved using the most hideous forms of violence.* (idem, ibid)

The youths are a significant part of the population, and they occupy sad first place in terms of being victims of violence in the country. Numbers related to violence in Brazil speak eloquently all by themselves. According to research performed by UNESCO (1998, 2000) the rates of homicide and other forms of violence registered in the country affect the population as a whole. Despite being lower than the rates for countries that are characterized by endemic violence, as in the case of Columbia, the rates for Brazil are 20 times higher than those for countries like Norway, Spain, or Ireland. However, in regard to the population between 15 and 24 years of age the Brazilian rates assume frightening proportions, being 50 times higher than those of the above mentioned countries.

According to a recent study of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE (O Globo, 04/05/2000, p.27) – violence is the primary cause of death of 15 to 19 year old males in the country. Based on the data from 1998, the so-called external causes (i.e. homicides, traffic or domestic accidents) are certified to be the main factors responsible for the obituaries in this segment of society in all Brazilian states except for Maranhão, where they make up 67.9% of the total deaths. Compared to the numbers from 1992 an increase of 6.8% can be verified. In the state of Rio de Janeiro – fourth in the ranking³¹ – the situation is even more alarming. There, these causes correspond to 73.7% of the deaths of these youths³².

The profile of the victim or the agent of violence in the state of Rio de Janeiro is characterized by being *poor, black or dark youths (using police categories), male, between 18 and 29 years old – but also between 15 and 17 years old but in smaller proportions* (Garotinho, 1998, p.65). This portrait, besides taking into account the person who *is on both sides of the gun, aimed at and pulling the trigger*, makes up the portrait of the majority of the imprisoned population of Rio de Janeiro. (idem, ibidem)

Violence According to Area and Knowledge

When separated into different groups according to school location by region, the results reveal some particularities. Based on

³¹ Coming before the states of São Paulo (77.4%0, Pernambuco (74.7%) and the Federal District (74%).

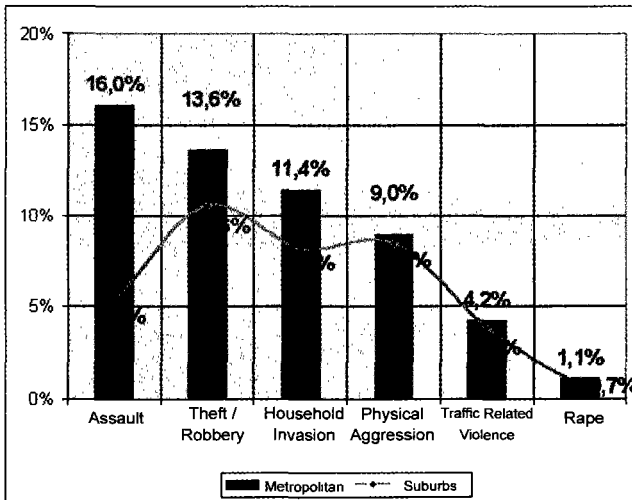
³² The size of these numbers shows the real scope of the epidemic of violence all over the country. This is because, “(...) when there are over 10 homicides per 100.000 inhabitants, criminality becomes an epidemic phenomenon: going beyond the capability of societal control,” (Ratinoff *apud* Abramovay, 1999, p.17) If according to official statistics this type of situation is a calamity, it becomes even more serious when considering the hypothesis that other deaths originating from violence may be under reported, in virtue of inadequate or insufficient information about the causes, becoming part of the list of “badly defined causes.”

the information in the following graph, it can be verified that youths in the metropolitan area are affected by various forms of violence in a larger percentage than those who live in the interior. However, it can also be observed that with the exception of the assault variable, the most frequent forms of violence the youths experience do not differ significantly in the two areas.

Therefore, the data presented provokes a series of reflections about the common notion of looking at cities located in the interior as “oases of tranquility” in comparison to those of the metropolitan zone. In reality, the worrisome similarities that the graph shows suggest that any young resident of the State is exposed to a wide variety of situations of risk, regardless of geographical location. This data points to a generalization of violence, occurring not only in the more largely populated urban areas which are traditionally favored by the majority of the studies on the theme, but in the most varied locales of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

GRAPH 11

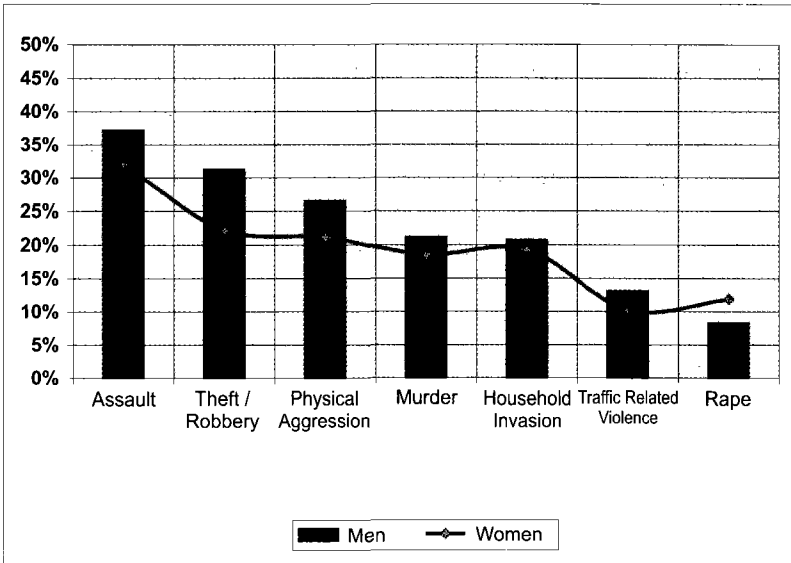
Violence Suffered by Youths from the Metropolitan and Interior Areas, According to the Youths Themselves



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

Another item in the evaluation inquires about knowledge of friends affected by violent acts. This question generated percentages that were much higher than when the youths talked about the types of violence they themselves had suffered.

GRAPH 12
Violence Suffered by Friends of Youths, According to the Youths, by Gender



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

It can be noted that the universe of knowledge of incidents of violence differs according to the gender of the informant. The men refer more to violence linked to public spaces. In order, assault, robbery, and physical aggression were the most cited means of violence. The women denounced a type of violence linked to the home and the body, in other words, household invasion and rape. The cases of rape, where the victims are most probably women, are the most cited by the women.

Violence

From a general point of view, the figures from table 27 show the most common types of physical violence that victimize the surveyed youths respectively:

TABLE 27
Violence Suffered by the Students, According to the Youths

Types of violence	Number of students	%
Burglary/Robbery ³³	1,351	11.7
Household Invasion	1,088	9.4
Assault ³⁴	1,069	9.2
Physical Aggression	1,008	8.7
Traffic Violence	460	4.0
Rape	102	0.9

Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

As can be seen, burglary/robbery is the form of violence that affects most of the surveyed youths (11.7%), followed by household invasion (9.4%), assault (9.2%), physical aggression (8.7%), traffic violence (4%), and rape (0.9%) in order of incidence.

The forms of violence described in the previous table, with the exception of rape, were also targeted by youths in all of the focus groups in denunciations in their statements. On those occasions, declarations stating that they had never been victims of any kind of

³³ According to the The Merriam-Webster Dictionary – 1998, burglary and robbery are synonyms, meaning: “To take and carry away without right or permission by using violence or threat.”

³⁴ Also according to the previous source, assault means: “1. A violent attack. 2. An unlawful attempt or threat to do harm to another .”

violent act were rare, and occurred in a proportion that confirms – and broadens – the enormous contingent of youths affected by violence, as shown in table 27.

In regards to what was said about physical aggression in some of the statements, a vast panorama of the multiplicity of feelings related to the theme could be observed. This could mean fights, arguments, or provocations among the youths themselves in some cases:

You can't even walk around a little distracted. If you bump into the senior guys you get beat up...Sometimes people fight really serious within the school. But the worst thing is when they make you go through the Polish Corridor, where they line up and they beat you. Some days I'm just bruised all over, I'm purple. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The theme of violence provoked controversy in the focus groups. Despite the fact that the youths spoke about violent situations they had lived out and were familiar with, the most forceful and dramatic statements were made as a rule by the girls, who many times were weeping.

Crooks and Policemen

The intensity of the statements acquired in these groups allows for a better and broader qualification of the information brought about by the quantitative research. On the one hand, household invasions with the intention of robbery or with disrespect for private property can be observed:

Nobody respects anything, not even people's houses. They all [policemen and crooks] just go in, they don't care. And they still make you give them food and buy drinks. My mom's bad luck is that she's famous for being a good cook... (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

On the other hand, there are a wide variety of statements that attest to household invasions performed both by policemen and crooks in routes of persecution or escape, as for example:

Crooks go into my house to hide, but police go in looking for them too. Man, it looks like some kind of kid's game...(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The crooks go into your house to ask for help. They go into the backyard, really, they went in a lot of times.
(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The previous statements illustrate the level of banality that violence reaches in certain strata of society, where the territorial markers represented by private homes are meaningless, as much for those who break the law as for those who – in theory – have the obligation of maintaining law and order for the citizens.

Faced with this portrait, it is easy to agree with Adorno (1995), when the author affirms that despite all the democratic advances experienced by the country after 21 years of authoritarian regime, the Law of the State has not been effectively established given that:

The emerging power did not conquer the monopoly of the 'legitimate use of physical violence' (Weber, 1970; Elias, 1987) within legal limits. Serious violations of human rights persisted, which were the product of endemic violence, violence that is ingrained in the social structures and rooted in its customs. This manifests itself in the group behavior of the civil society and in the agents incumbent with preserving public order. (p. 303)

Statements about violence that is practiced not only by crooks but also by policemen are common. Various and extensive reports describe situations involving events that range from

humiliation, extortion, coercion, and all types of discrimination, to explosions of violence for no apparent reason. Concerning what was said in respect to violence practiced by the police, it is without a doubt the most practiced violent act against the interviewed youths. The following statement is a model:

CHART 12

Hit, hit, hit...

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

This armed cop inside the car fires three bullets in our direction for no reason at all. One hit my cousin's leg, the other my friend's arm. I was so scared that I stopped and pissed on myself. Then, they didn't even want to know. Hurt the way we were, they grab us and put us inside the car. They take us to this place really far away, where there are all these old cars – I think they call it a car cemetery – they stop the car. Then they put us close together, all up against the car, with our backs to them. Then they start to beat us up. Hit, hit, hit. Then, after they finished hitting us we were all messed up, all weak. (...) We ended up in the Emergency Room and we only went home the next day. I've got a scar on my head, where they got me. I've got the scar to this day, you know? That's why when I see the police I just start to shake. I don't like to get near them, no...

When asked about who they were more afraid of, the police or the crooks, nearly all of the youths answered immediately, 'the police!'. This was the motto for a series of declarations about the difference between policemen and crooks. Many times these stories show the inverse of what is morally acceptable, the crooks are treated as heroes and humanized, while their marginal position in society is considered to be secondary:

The police always hurt the boys. The crooks never do anything. They came and talked to us and

sometimes they would even give us candy. They would buy bags of candy and give it to the kids, to us. They didn't do anything bad with us. (Focus group, Participants, Female, RJ)

We're all human, right? Nobody here likes to be treated badly, you got it? If the guy is a crook, even if he's doing something wrong, if he treats me right, the rest is his problem, you know? (Focus group, Non-participating youth, RJ)

At times the youths also take the opportunity to praise the qualities of some hired killer or local drug dealer, in contrast to denouncements of police inefficiency, corruption, and violence. The youths highlight the efficiency and good service in the community on the part of certain “parallel security groups.”

The mess they used to make... Not now, if anyone comes here to mess up, the (...) ³⁵ man goes there and kills them. He really kills them. If there's someone around here he doesn't like, he gets them and kills them, I mean it. And then, he walks away and starts laughing. He doesn't even think about it. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

If you move a muscle around here, you're going to get really messed up. (laughs) If you fight with one of them, you're going to see how much you get hit. (...) Here, they say that here, there are these guys

³⁵ Owner of local commercial establishment who assumes the function of local hired killer.

called 'mineira'. They say that for 'mineira' that if you start something, they kill you. They kill you or really mess you up. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

CHART 13

Mineira: A Type of Intimidation

(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

"But what is this 'mineira'?"

"Oh, it's an extermination group."

"And why do they have this name?"

"Mineira? I don't know. I think they put the name of mineira because, like... Let's pretend the person is a cop. But a policeman already has the name of police, you know? So, I think they put the name of mineira so they can call attention to themselves. It's a name that means something to them. I think they are police too. They're like this police force with this name mineira. It's this kind of intimidation thing."

Extermination groups, the police, and crooks are intimately related in the popular imagination. They develop similar actions, which almost always involve humiliation, domination, and even murder. However, in terms of what is said about the police, nearly all of the statements reflect an enormous fear of this institution, as if instead of defending the rights and preserving the well-being of the citizens, the police were much more committed to the practice of illicit, violent acts involving the abuse of power. Furthermore, this dread does not seem to be restricted to the youths in the poorer classes: according to the work of Novaes (2000), Abramovay (1999), Minayo (1999), Sallas (1999) and Waiselfisz (1998), among others. Fear of the police is possibly one of the strongest and most common traits of youths nowadays, regardless of their socio-economic status.

Family Violence

Many of the denouncements of physical aggression include punishments received within the family itself. On these occasions some depositions describe parents – mostly men – with extremely violent attitudes, portraying situations that take place in the private realm. Most of the time these incidences are not reported.

CHART 14

Every Day, Every Day, Every Day...

My father got home at one in the morning, we were all in bed: 'Nobody's going to sleep! I am home. Everybody's going to stay awake!' Because he got home drunk and he thought like this: 'Ok, I'm home so nobody's going to sleep.' You know what he did? He went to the toilet, defecated and threw shit on top of us. Water, piss, everything! My dad, you know, he was out of his mind, he used to spit in the pan so we wouldn't eat. You know, you wouldn't believe it. He was...I think he was abnormal, but nobody did anything to stick up for us...This was every day, every day, every day... (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

One day my father got it into his head that I was with some guy inside, inside this abandoned house, you know, smelling pot. I don't even know if you smell pot! He thought I was there, having sex with the guy. And for what: he hit me in the face and I saw stars. He kicked me in the belly. 'Oh, you're pregnant?' and he kicked my belly. He even put a gun to my head. And that's when I told him 'I'm going to put you, I'm going to put you in jail!' So then he stops, real fast. (...) I'm going to grow up sick with this. Children aren't punching bags. I'm not going to hit my daughter. Violence gets you nowhere... (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

The importance the role the family plays in the development of individuals is unquestionable. This importance was shown in a recurrent fashion in the statements, showing how much the surveyed

youths idealize the role of the family, especially the nuclear family. This data is confirmed in the majority of surveys that deal with youths, even though part of the violence that makes victims of the youths, above all the women and children, occurs in the domestic realm itself.

Sexual Violence

The violence of rape was not mentioned in the focus groups. Despite this fact, almost 1% of the surveyed youths denounced the violence of rape, which is worrisome. This is especially true when the fact that this type of violence, for a number of reasons and taboos, is still rarely recognized in Brazilian society, reported in numbers much lower than its actual proportions. In light of this, having 102 youths claim themselves to be victims of sexual violence should not be ignored. Although the percentage is low, it may represent the tip of a submerged iceberg or the beginning of a process with extremely perverse characteristics that is already taking place and that could begin to grow if not confronted in a definitive way.

Daily Violence

Some of the statements described the existence of a type of sociability among themselves that, while not always recognized by the surveyed youths as manifestations of violence, contained the use of physical force and in some cases, domination with consent. This type of sociability is expressed through inter-subject relationships (boyfriend/girlfriend, classmate, friend) to others with a more collective character (dances, youth group meetings, ballgames, etc.)³⁶.

³⁶ Although it was not the case of the youths heard in this evaluation – since none of them declared being part of a similar group – an interesting parallel in regards to certain practices among the youths involving the use of physical

CHART 15

Get out of there!

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

That's it, I'll just get right into it and start hitting any girl who starts looking at my boyfriend. And I'll get him too! Sometimes, you know how it is, I'm no saint, I get hit sometimes too! (laughs) Getting hit for love doesn't hurt!

We fight, we hit each other, but in the end everything works out ok, we're all friends.

At the funk dance parties that I go to, when I want to let loose or hook up with some chicks it's like this: side A and side B. Suddenly, the fighting begins, and get out of there! What for? It doesn't have to be for nothing. It's just like that.

Finally, it is never too late to remember that, even though this view of violence was based on the perception of the youths from the poorer classes of the Fluminense society – a segment of the population to whom the Schools of Peace Program is addressed – in no way is this violence considered to be related to this or that segment of the population. On the contrary, our guiding vision recognizes the occurrence of violent acts, whether subjective or objective in nature, broken down in a way that allows the particles to compose in a complex and diffuse picture of tension that may be expressed in a certain way, in a certain locale, and appear later in a new and surprising way.

force and consenting violence may be found in Abramovay (1999), in a project where the author, analyzing youths who are members of gangs and crews of the Federal District, describes the methods of becoming a part of and remaining in these groups. One of the most violent practices, the so called “ass on the corner” should be noted. This is when the youth, in order to show commitment to the group’s code of values, voluntarily lets the others grab one of his arms and legs and throw him against some corner.

This conception of violence is echoed in the words of Maria Stela Porto (1995). The author warns that:

(...) although violence may be admitted as something diffuse in the sense that it penetrates almost the whole of the social fabric, it is not viable to think of it as a singular phenomenon with ramifications that spread uniformly through the social constellation.

Using this logic brings us to the affirmation of the existence not of violence, but of violences, “(...) whose roots are multiple and whose identity is complex, to the point that any tentative explanation has to consider this multiplicity in a compulsory fashion. (idem, ibidem)

Not being singular, but plural, violence cannot and should not be indiscriminately identified with a certain class, segment, or social group and even less confined to certain territories. To associate violence with living on the edges of society, poverty, social inequality, spatial segregation, etc., is to reveal only one of its facets. This facet is of undeniable importance, but constitutes only part of the sociological explanation of the phenomenon, whose starting point can be found most appropriately in the nature of social relations themselves and not only in the different ways they are expressed. (same as above).

Faced with the complexity that this picture implies, we seek to offer some contributions that are inherent to and occur from the current study, through the voices of the surveyed youths, the concrete, and therefore historic subjects of this society.

Racial Violence

The state of violence youths of the poorer classes live in takes on broader dimensions when discrimination, prejudice, and intolerance are focused on. This also broadens the concept of violence as something that goes beyond physical force. This perspective is basic in the debate on environments for and obstacles to the construction of a Peace Culture. Among the widespread violences, which are symbolic and which materialize in a wide variety of situations, racial prejudice appears as something fused with violence. This is expressed by the youths mostly in the realm of police relations.

Over the centuries, the Brazilian elite has been producing a myth of harmonious coexistence. Brazilians are proud of not having stories of “declared” segregation or of hatred towards blacks, as noted in other countries. However, this vision does not manage to camouflage the existence of economic disparity among blacks and whites. This disparity is present, and is demonstrated by the differentiation in wages and levels of education, among other things. According to Da Matta (1984):

The thing is that when we believe that Brazil was made up of blacks, white, and Indians, we are accepting, without much criticism, the idea that these human contingents meet in a spontaneous way in a sort of social and biological carnival. (...) the mixture of races was a way of hiding a profound social injustice against blacks, Indians and mulattos, placing the question in the biological realm when it is profoundly social, economic, and political. This leaves the most fundamental problem of society aside. In fact, it is easier to say that Brazil was formed by a triangle of races, which leads us towards a myth of racial democracy, than to

assume that we are a hierarchical society that operates in terms of gradations, which, for this very reason, may allow a series of classification criteria between the concept of the superior white and the poor inferior black.

The stereotypes attributed to blacks, such as indolent, lazy, inferior etc., are still present throughout our entire society. Gradually, however, this image is being modified because of the pressure of organized civil movements and of the anti-discriminatory law in vigor³⁷.

The statements obtained from the youths through the focus groups show that the police incorporate these stereotypes and that their vision of blacks is based on these prejudicial clichés. Therefore, declarations of racial discrimination are common, both in ostentatious and superfluous police magazines or in put downs and jokes made by policemen referring to black youths. One of these youths referred to the explicit racist attitude she suffered when a policeman approached her:

CHART 16

Hey you, sitting on the floor!

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

Once, during this school club demonstration, a march for peace, we were tired and I sat on the sidewalk. Then this policemen told me, 'Hey you, sitting on the floor. You look just like tar.' I stared at his face like... What? 'For me, you and tar are the same thing.' That day ended right there for me.

³⁷ Law 7,716, 01/05/1989 – Law CAÓ, which defies crimes resulting from race or skin color prejudice.

In relation to men, the situation is even more serious. The police approach is much more acute and violent, in that blacks are always considered to be suspect “elements³⁸.” The belligerent practice of searching blacks and treating them as suspects was a recurrent theme in the youths’ statements in the focus groups. Aside from being afraid, they portrayed themselves as critical of the police and skeptical about justice in regards to these successive violations, “(...) *search who? The black, the poor guy who is screwed. Why? Oh, a black man is a thief. Because in reality they’re the ones that go to jail, only the poor black man goes to jail. The police have to change the way they act...*”

However, they themselves de-mystify the association between blacks and crooks, which shows the existence of youths in poor and white families who commit crimes on the peripheries of the city:

(...) People, I don’t know, people judge you a lot by the way you look. Since I have black friends we get to a party and everyone looks at us like we’re thieves. I’ve got white friends who look like playboys but who really are thieves underneath. (...) They’re bank robbers. So if I introduce them to you, you’re going to think ‘Wow! These kids have money,’ but you’ve got no idea what they really do. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The formula ‘black + poverty = crook’ is still a trait in the behavior and attitudes of the Brazilian police. This vision is the justification used for the constant and distressing searches done of blacks in public. Pinheiro (1997), in his studies of violence, reveals excessive immoderation in the police attitude concerning crime, calling attention to the lack of fulfilling the international agreements ratified by Brazil in regards to human rights:

³⁸ Note: this is police vocabulary.

(...) Nowadays, the main target of arbitrary police activity is the most vulnerable and defenseless individuals of Brazilian society: the poor, rural workers and union members, minority groups, and abandoned children and adolescents who most of the time live on the streets. Much of this violence is nurtured by discrimination against the poor and racial minorities that is ingrained in society. These individuals represent the majority of homicide victims.

4.3.7. Youths and Drugs

Due to the fact that this evaluation is related to a program developed within the school space, the question of drugs was approached in an item related to other school problems in both the student and motivator questionnaire, as well as in the focus groups.

The presence of drug abuse (17.3% and 17.2%), alcoholism (8.9% and 13.9%), and the selling of narcotic substances (4.2% and 2.8%) were significant indications on the part of the youths and the motivators respectively. This makes for an extremely troubling scenario in respect to the reach drugs have in the public schools in the State of Rio de Janeiro.

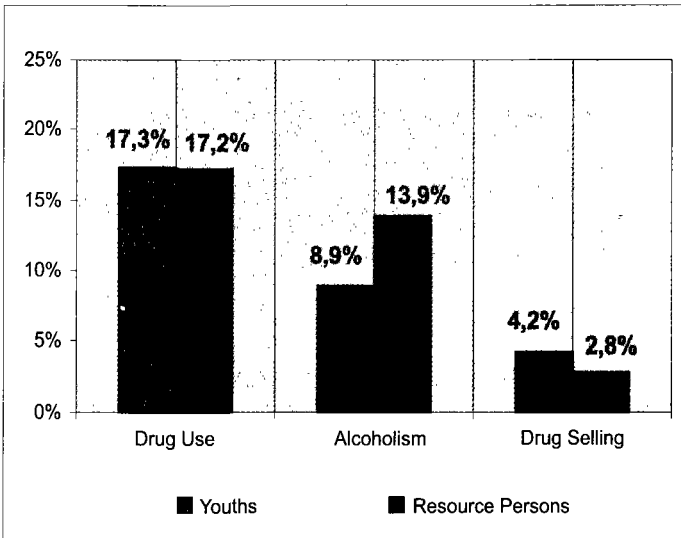
In addition to confirming a series of denunciations made mainly by the media in regard to the domination of the schools by drug trafficking, this data may go beyond the denunciations when drug dealing in the schools is considered above and beyond drug use. This contradicts the general idea that sees the school as an institution with the capacity to “free” the youths from practices which are considered to be delinquent in the context of the standing social contract. In reality, the school is one of the ways the youths enter in contact with these practices, with all of the resulting implications.

Furthermore, in the focus groups neither the motivators or the students gave statements that affirmed drug abuse or drug trafficking within the surveyed schools. However, almost all of the participants

in these groups – with the exception of those that took place in a specific school – situated the schools in areas near or practically within locations where narcotics are sold and/or in areas that were obviously dominated by drug trafficking, where access to them many times depends on whether “the pot suppliers are at war or not³⁹.”

GRAPH 13

Drugs in School, According to the Youths and Motivators



Source: Schools of Peace Evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

³⁹ Two events involving situations concretely related to the schools’ proximity to pot sources were witnessed by the team responsible for the evaluation of the Program. The first one took place during one of the training sessions offered to the motivators of the Schools of Peace, due to a war between different drug trafficking gangs. On this occasion, at a certain moment, the project had to be interrupted and cancelled due to a notice given to the school that at **that specific time** the shooting would begin and the school might not be left unharmed. The other situation took place during the work done with the student focus groups, in the same district, but in a different school. At this time, while one of the focus groups was taking place, one of the motivators was personally threatened with being ‘knocked down’ by a youth after he tried to invade the room where the reunion took place. The youth was identified by the students as belonging to the drug trafficking.

Shoot outs with a set time, with the purpose of measuring the warlike strength of antagonistic drug trafficking groups, coercion, or being barred from moving about freely were situations that were experienced by the researchers themselves during the survey. These situations, among others, are well known in Brazilian society, in addition to the public domain and enormous power of penetration and corruption of what are called the great leaders of drug trafficking.

The broadest dimension of organized drug trafficking was also discussed by some of the youths in the focus groups when they relate the problem without limiting it to just their relationship to the next guy or to a family member, but to larger circumstances: *Drugs? The problem with drugs is that they don't want it to stop being a problem...*

CHART 17

They've got it down!

(Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

Oh, from my point of view, I think that the drug thing is a political issue. For me, it's political, because if they wanted it to be over, it would be. So for me it's political, political! (...) if they wanted it to end, the politicians would end it. But because in reality, they are the ones that give the orders about the drugs, the guns, they are the ones who rule... It's amazing if you really think about it, they're the ones who could really stop it, and they stop what? They get a lot of money, they put it in their pockets. They've got it down!

In the focus groups, some youths acknowledged using drugs, always stressing that this practice was sporadic when associated with illegal drugs, and was restricted to the use of marijuana. When making this sort of 'revelation', vehemence and skepticism were merged in phrases such as: *This won't leave this room, right?* or *Yeah, I think I've tried it...* or even open confrontations, *Yes I've tried it. So what?* It was noted that during these moments of

“revelation” no reproach, shock, or approval by the other group members was observed. These attitudes can lead us to infer that they already had knowledge of the related events or that stories of this type were common in their daily lives.

In some groups, the youths used the opportunity to redeem themselves publicly of past drug abuse. Statements were found attesting to previous drug use caused by the influence of friends, for example: *I just wanted to do it so I wouldn't get put down, so they wouldn't call me a nerd or something like that. Things like that,* and also for the opposite reasons:

No one makes anyone do anything. Every person does what they want to do. The problem is taking responsibility for it later on, saying that you wanted to do it. That's when the thing gets complicated, and I mean complicated...Me, I already did some really bad things, but I admit that I went there all by myself. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

I already smoked pot about three times, but I didn't like it. But I didn't do it because someone wanted me to, I did it because I wanted to. My father asked me if we had tried it and I said that we had. He asked me what kind of drugs and I said I only smoked pot, nothing more. My nose is clean, get it, my nose is clean! Now I've got a clean conscience, I don't do it anymore. One day a friend gave me a joint. I told him: 'if I want to smoke I'll go and I'll buy it and I'll smoke it. I smoke alone, I don't need anyone giving it to me.' (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

In other cases a deep sense of self punishment for previous drug abuse was observed when the youths revealed their experience with some type of drug. In these situations, the youths behaved as

if they were making declarations or as if they were in self-help groups or in churches as is shown in the following statements:

I was addicted to alcohol. Alcohol. And I'm a smoker too, I'm trying to quit. My family was always really well structured, I always had everything, I didn't need anything, but I was bad and I went down that road. Anyway, I was bad because I went along with everyone else. But it wasn't them, no, I went because I went. I started to drink, drink, drink, and I couldn't stop. It just snowballs, it was just everyday. I would get to school drunk, then one day I felt really sick, my body couldn't stand it anymore. That's when I said, enough, enough alcohol. It's been 1 year, 4 months, and 22 days since I stopped. (Focus group, Participating youth, RJ)

Look here, when I was 13 till I was 18 I had a problem in my life. And what was that problem? I started snorting. First I started smoking pot, then I saw that it was too weak and I started snorting coke, you know? I worked as a bag boy in the grocery store and I studied too. That's how I got my money. Half would go for my school stuff and half would go for cocaine. It's not because I didn't have anyone to guide me. My mom was always there to tell me what to do, (...) but I didn't want to listen to what she was saying. One day I thought the food was really bad and I threw the plate in my mom's face. I was full of it. I was full of drugs. (...) I was the reason their marriage broke up, me. Now I know I was wrong, because I just couldn't see straight. How do I feel? Like the family destroyer.(...) But today I got off that road, I'm saved. Now I'm a member of the Church. (...) (Focus group, Participant, Male, RJ)

Another point that kept recurring in the focus groups was the inclusion of both alcohol and cigarettes in the generic category of ‘drugs’, without there being, most of the time, any discussion about the legality of these drugs – a characteristic that generally accompanies the debates on this theme (Carlini-Cotrim, 2000; Sallas, 1999):

I, for example, have already tried tobacco, I mean cigarettes, but it was because I was younger. I'm 17 years old now, and I was probably about 12, 13. But my mom came up to me said, 'That's bad, it will only bring you sickness, there's nothing cool about it, but if you have to try it, I'd rather have you do it in front of me, so you can tell me what you think about it'. (...) In my case, I tried it and didn't like it, you know. My mom smokes and drinks, but she lets us know that it's bad, that the reason she doesn't quit is because she doesn't have any willpower. She can't do it. If she could stop, she would. We can see that it's wrong. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

Another recurring theme was that of describing experiences – all of them negative – involving drug use by family members, relatives, or other people closely related to these youths, such as neighbors, friends, etc. In some of these statements the consequences of getting involved were external:

I know a lot about drugs. I met this guy, his name was B. I hung out with him a lot, we'd known each other since we were kids and recently, now, the guys went there and killed him right in front of me and my sister. They said that's what happens to the youths who take drugs nowadays. There are only two ways to go: God or drugs. A lot of people prefer drugs. B.

ended up dying because of them. I don't think I want the same fate he got. So, I'd rather not use. (Focus group, Non-participants, RJ)

An example of some of the situations described by Sallas (1999), in a study performed with the youths of Curitiba as well as in the evaluation, reveal a series of generic and “demonized” statements about drugs:

Drugs! Even the name sucks! / I don't take drugs because they're bad for your health / My God! Drugs are from the Devil, not from God, no... / As soon as the guy starts he doesn't have strength to do anything else, he can't stop / I'll never take drugs. In my church's newspaper, there are always a bunch of people talking about how easy it was to get into that life and what hell it was to get out / If I'm already crazy without drugs, imagine if I were high! / The ones who use drugs have their eyes popping out like this, look! They beat up their father, they hit their mother, they hit their brothers and sisters...They don't see anyone, they're possessed. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

Another point to be considered in regard to the illegal drug commerce, aside from the perverse role it plays in increasing the statistics of homicide among the youths, is the fact that it fulfills a function capable of confirming itself as a true social solution. This is because, according to Minayo (1999):

In Rio, organized crime flourished and became institutionalized, spreading fear, but also opening up job perspectives and opportunities for social ascension for a large portion of the youths to whom public policies have presented few alternatives.

Regardless of this truly critical portrait, some lessons relating to what should not be done are already known. According to Sallas (1999), repression in and of itself, in the way it is practiced also constitutes a big problem, besides being completely inefficient in terms of decreasing drug consumption:

Literature has appointed the 'war against drugs' as justification for all types of human and civil rights violations mainly against blacks and the poor (Betram, 1997; Procópio, 1999; Riley, 1995), but also as a form of control of the so-called dangerous classes (Christies, 1998), and in some cases, even with the characteristics of a war of ethnic extermination. (Hernman, 1994) (p.108)

In general, both the quantitative data and the numerous statements heard about the question of drugs attest to the fact that the drug world is very much a part of the surveyed youths' world. A series of discussions encompass physical and territorial proximity, references of practices and conduct – almost always negative – and instances involving hidden and subliminal future perspectives, mainly work in the organized and competitive network that characterizes Fluminense drug trafficking. Therefore, a previously outlined situation was discovered, one where all of the youths have some kind of opinion, experience, or involvement with the subject.

4.3.8. Youths and Perspectives for the Future

Several projects (Novaes, 2000; Castro and Abramovay, 1998; Abramo et al 2000) show the importance of the youths' context, their different lingo and the ways they have of expressing themselves, in addition to the contradictory universe that surrounds them. Not all conditioning factors are necessarily controlled In this

project – categories such as difference in social class, race, gender, age, place of residence, and others – when discussing the future perspectives of the youths. However, the social situation in which a large part of the youths are found constitutes a condensed sampling of what characterizes these differences.

In this scenario, the capacity the youths have of permanently redefining their experiences represents a solid possibility for change and innovation.

The statements point to a certain conflict between generations that exists among parents and children. Some of the youths complain that, *parents think they have the right to control our lives. They want us to do it their way.*

The youths seem to fear the imposition of having to fulfill the wishes and frustrations of their parents. Moreover, they are worried about the eventual necessity of having to support their parents later on without having the means to do so:

Parents think you have to be what they want you to be, but it can't be like that because we're very different. But the problem is that they see their future in us, the one they couldn't have. Then they plan their future on us, to give them some kind of security, and I ask: Is it going to be possible? (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The tension among the youths and their parents is aggravated by the necessity of consumption that is imposed on the current economic model that generates discriminatory situations:

I think the youths are being forced into being excessive consumers. The media throws it at you all the time, 'Buy chocolate, buy chocolate, buy chocolate! Your son deserves chocolate!' Then, that psychological game begins, father and son, who deserves what...it's all there in your subconscious. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

If you don't dress well with brand name clothes, you are out of it, out of the conversation, out of the group, your own friends end up discriminating against you. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

To me, what affects the youths the most is that we don't have a lot of things, a lot of resources, and this ends up generating an enormous conflict with our parents. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

The consumer culture seems to determine that having is being someone, that it's a way of leaving behind anonymity and gaining an identity to differentiate yourself from the rest: *You go out at night to a club – there are a lot of discos here – and people look you up and down. They don't care about how this person is, what she thinks.*

Acquiring something ends up being the passport for becoming a part of a certain group. When the youth has access to places that are different from those they normally circulate in, the shock is translated into a feeling of exclusion:

In school there are lots of different cultural projects. One day, a big group went to the theater downtown. We felt out of place because the way the people acted there was very different. The girls here have better manners, they are more mature, you know? The guys too. It was like this was the interior and the people there were people without a family. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

The declarations are ambiguous even when you don't consider discrimination. The negative becomes positive because of strategies that are dictated by self-esteem and by the necessity of feeling they belong to a social group, making it valuable.

Criticism also falls on the youths themselves who are produced by and are producers of prejudice. Social inequality and

racial discrimination can also be observed to be present in the daily lives of the interviewed: *In reality, the youth is considered to be white not because of his skin color but because of his social position.*

It can be perceived that youths of today were born under the stigma of urban violence and that fear has been a common denominator among them. Their perspectives for the future are certainly scarred by this fear and by insecurity since, *what you want is to be sure that you'll be able to stay at home and no one will invade your home all of a sudden. I live in this little shack and I keep hoping I won't be robbed. What should we do? Make the house bullet proof?*

The imposition of role models is very criticized by the youths, though they are conscious that it is hard to resist them:

If Carla Perez⁴⁰ starts wearing pink, everyone thought it was horrible, but if she starts wearing dark pink with some black thing, like a mixture, really disgusting, and they say it's the fashion, everyone will end up doing it. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

If you don't buy, you feel out of it, and you want to be in. You've got to have something imported from the United States, you want to have it too, you want to copy it, do it just right so you can be in fashion. (Focus group, Non-participant, RJ)

This behavioral pasteurization and the non-acceptance of those who resist it are also perceived by the groups of youths, as the next statement shows:

I think that one of the biggest problems of society is acceptance. I think society accepts too many of

⁴⁰ Carla Perez is a popular dancer and hostess of a television show.

the things that are imposed on it. I think we should resist a little sometimes, to see if our perspectives improve. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

It can be perceived that it is this resistance movement, an attempt to not be excluded, but at the same time to leave its mark, the one in which the youths march an arduous path of confrontation and interchange between social spaces on distinct levels. It is the space where they find themselves confined, and the broader space where their access is limited by mechanisms of exclusion imposed by the political-economical model. Prejudice affects this trajectory and marks the youths' universe beginning with different codes and meanings. In this way dyeing your hair blonde can become a strategy of belonging: *if you want to look cool, be just like the rich guys*, and at the same time affirming the widely held view: *if you dye your hair blonde, you're a delinquent*.

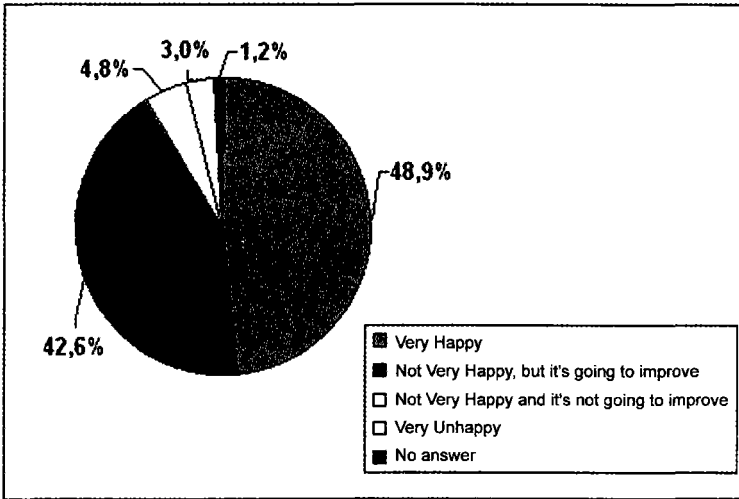
I'm fed up with all of these prejudices. My grandma likes funk, so what? She's not a delinquent. You have to do a lot of research before you get to be friends with anyone, so you don't get into something bad. (Focus group, Participant, RJ)

According to the Schools of Peace Evaluation, when asked how they feel at the moment, the youths basically separate themselves into two different groups as shown in graph 14: the very happy ones (48.9% of the youths heard), and the not very happy ones (42.6% of them). However, within the not very happy group, a significant number of the youths believe that life will improve.

However, this possibility of improvement is related to their opinion of the contemporary world, it seems to be based on the condition that great changes will occur, as table 28 shows. More than half of them feel this way.

GRAPH 14

How the Students Feel About Their Lives, According to the Youths



Source: Schools of Peace evaluation, UNESCO, 2000.

TABLE 28

How the Students Feel about the Present World, According to the Youths

	% Participants	% Non-participants
Needs great changes	53.8	57.2
Has problems, but also has good things	41.9	37.9
It is terrible and it is better to blow everything up	2.2	3.2
I feel satisfied with the present world	2.0	1.7

Source: School of Peace research, UNESCO, 2000.

In the focus groups, when asked about concrete measures needed to change the world, many of them brought up subjects directly related to citizen's rights – work, health, and safety – as well as questions related to corruption, drug trafficking and abandoned children.

CHART 18

Getting Your Feet Out of the Mud

(Focus group, Participants, RJ)

I would give jobs to the unemployed and this, consequently, would diminish the violence. After that, I would put on a lot of policemen who aren't corrupt so they could stop the drug traffic, and also a health service post that functions, and paved streets so we could get our feet out of the mud.

However, others seem to regard the situation in a more complex way. Therefore, the real perspectives for change are even harder, suggesting the need to widen the scope of the Program as a possibility for sensitizing the youths to the consequences of being involved with the drug traffic, to drugs, and to delinquency.

Ending this situation is going to be hard, but I think it has to begin now, with the youths that are not involved in the Program. The ones that are already involved with drugs, with drug trafficking, and with violence are harder to do something about. It's tough, wanting to bring a criminal here. The best thing to do is to start by reaching out to the youths that haven't gotten involved yet, getting them to start paying attention to what is happening here at the school, to get them here while there's still time, right? (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

I also think that more attention should be given to the kids who are out on the street. The children in some institutions get there and don't get very good treatment. They leave those places and they're completely revolted and it doesn't do anyone any good, right? That way, you just stimulate more violence. (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

5 Considerations and Challenges for a Program of Peace

It's a challenge to evaluate a program in the process of construction like the Schools of Peace Program; a program conceived towards public action and focused on promoting alternative spaces for leisure and artistic, cultural, and athletic activities. Furthermore, it is also a program concerned with providing weekends of activities in the schools, which follows the ethical and aesthetic principles considered capable of promoting a Culture of Peace.

Opening the schools on the weekends is thought of as a possible alternative to exposing the youths to violence⁴¹ and for legitimizing protected spaces. That the Program is notable for its innovative character in the realm of projects with youths must be considered as well. Due to its nature, the Program demands a long-term maturation process, since its major objective is to construct a Culture of Peace.

UNESCO's concept of an evaluation in process is one that focuses on the initial experience, and which must not be limited to rigid parameters and guidelines – for example in the negative or positive valorization of the Program itself. It should only serve as a support in the continuity of the Schools of Peace, pointing out areas that require great investment, which may effect punctual change and possible innovations. All this considered, this evaluation reaffirms the importance and nature of the Program, crediting it with positive political efforts and betting on the structure of an experiment of this magnitude, whether because of the way it was conceived, its characteristics, or the situations that the target population experiences⁴².

⁴¹ See footnote 2 about the projects developed by UNESCO, concerning the increase in violent deaths of youths mainly during weekends.

⁴² A concrete multiplying effect of the Schools of Peace Program of the State Government of Rio de Janeiro, with the cooperation of UNESCO and the *Fala Galera* Program, was put into action with the goal of forming a social network among non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the socio-artistic cultural field, which contributes to broaden not only the exchange of experiences among these NGOs, but also the future formatting of the weekend activities of the Schools of Peace Program. *Fala Galera* is also a UNESCO initiative.

In the search to understand the social reach of this experience, the offer of assistance for modifications in the process and the direction of the Program and its previous work and growth, all of the actors involved were of fundamental importance.

There has been an increase in investments in programs focused on youths all over Brazil. They are public initiatives and non-governmental agencies that seek strategies to encourage social development. They use many different languages, such as music, circus, dance, and theater. (Reis, 2000; Castro and Abramovay, 1998; Abramo et al and others) What differentiates this program from the others is the fact that it chose the school as its main site.

The evaluation of the Program seeks to get to know how the surveyed youths live, how they relate to their families, what meaning religion has for them, how they enter the job market, what their expectations are in relation to school, how they have fun, and how violence affects their perspectives on the future. On the other hand the Program analyzes itself, emphasizing the perceptions of a wide variety of agents, youths, teachers, motivators, and school principals.

The Surveyed Youths

The main results of the evaluation may be classified in the following items:

- The majority of the youths, participants or non-participants, in the 89 schools are between 15 and 24 years of age, female, and single. Over 60% of them live with both parents and approximately 10% already have children;
- The perception of these youths in regards to the schools, the majority of them CIEPs, is ambivalent. The youths' perceptions oscillate between appreciation of the schools and disbelief in them. Even with all of the criticisms made about the school institution, it represents the possibility for social mobility. In the majority of the statements, attending a technical high school appears to be a

dream and at the same time a guarantee of joining the professional world that reality stubbornly denies them. The good teacher is the one who is in tune with the student and who knows the subject. Dialogue is a basic requirement in school relationships;

- The family, the first social institution responsible for the formation of an identity, showed itself to be a space full of affection and conflict. In daily life friction is caused by a lack of liberty to go out, the difficulty of dialogue, and the fear that parents have about violence in the streets, among other things. The paternal figure, when present, is more problematic than the mother, authoritarianism being the most mentioned attribute of this relationship;
- Almost a third of those surveyed work, or have worked – generally in activities that are not highly valued. Many of them are looking for a job, in the context of a reduced number of job positions and work conditions. The difficulties are even greater for the youths in relation to a wide variety of existing prejudice. There were many reports of discrimination in terms of race or where they live;
- TV is highlighted among the available leisure activities, as are music and going to a friend’s house. The lack of leisure space is frequently mentioned by the youths;
- Those surveyed said that assault and burglary/robbery are the most common form of violence that the youths suffer. However, there was no scarcity of statements about household invasion, including descriptions of household invasions by the police. The youths say they feel more afraid of the police than of the crooks, who are many times treated as heroes. Reports aggrandizing the qualities of hired killers or parallel security groups were not rare. These groups are portrayed as responsible for the “protection and tranquility” of many communities where public agencies are absent;
- With the exception of assault, violence reaches the youths of the metropolitan areas and those from the interior in practically equal

proportions. This evidence pulls back the curtain on a fertile and still little explored field of study. It also reveals the necessity for the Government to develop strategies to fight for the prevention of violent acts.

- Violence within the family was also shown to be present. Descriptions of experiences of extreme gravity involving especially the paternal figure appear in the statements. There are gender markers in reference to domestic violence, the girls are more emphatic when it comes to confirming domestic violence and indications of rape. If many youths, especially those who call themselves religious, show disgust at the different forms of violence, others apparently make it banal, including the violence that occurs in their relationships with their boyfriends/girlfriends, with friends, or at funk dance parties;
- The students mention drug use and trafficking in the schools and the motivators confirm it. Few students admitted to being consumers;
- Nearly half of the youths consider themselves to be happy, while the other half states being not very happy, demonstrating that they are conscious of the complexity of the current times, although a good portion of them believe that life will improve. Uncertainty about the future and insecurity about the present are evident. Fear of the responsibility that will fall on them in relation to their parents was also observed.

Perceptions about the Program

In addition to providing a summary of the Program⁴³, this item discusses problems detected in some situations, pointing to possible ways of confronting and overcoming them.

⁴³ A more detailed operational evaluation of the Program, developed by UNESCO, was handed in to the State Government of Rio de Janeiro.

The appropriation of the Program and the way the communities accepted its presence was stated. The greatest innovation was found in the fact that the Program points to the construction of an educational project founded in opening the physical, pedagogical, and social spaces in the schools. In this way, the Schools of Peace contributed to making public agencies legitimize this innovative process of democratizing the school spaces where the Program is developed.

This inference points to the necessity of thinking about and above all, of implementing strategies to put the knowledge of the Program into action, as well as spreading the innovative activities that have been developed. This needs to be done by the schools and the other social institutions in the area of Rio de Janeiro, with the intent of fighting against the violence in the State and building fundamental values for citizenship.

Among the positive characteristics of the Program, one is evident: its high approval index among the subjects that were “heard” during the study. This approval is expressed on many different levels, from the excellent grades given to the Program to the evaluation of the improvement in the work of the school itself and the optimization of the relationship with the community both inside and outside the school.

Another important aspect of the Program was the significant efforts made by all of the professional teams involved. They all gave numerous demonstrations of the commitment they had to the success of Schools of Peace.

It is important to highlight that the Program occupied a space for discussion, which had been left behind by the involved parties, concerning a number of issues that are fundamental to the life of the citizen. Necessary discussions promoted to confront violence revolve around the following issues:

- Democratizing cultural assets and services;
- Offering facilities and equipment for leisure, arts, and sports;
- Education for citizenship;
- Legitimizing the school as a meeting place for different generations, families, and communities;

- Considering the school establishment as a privileged place for sociability among the youths and for the development of games, cultural, and sports activities.

Another important perception the evaluation brought was to point out the challenge the schools must face themselves in terms of questioning – and eventually surpassing – pedagogical standards, postures, and proposals that are not in synch with a social project for youths.

Fundamentally, the school seems to be an institution associated with the possibility for dialogue in opposition to violence, yet it is not accustomed to working with programs of this nature, programs that value youths as protagonists. Finally, it must be noted that we verified a prevalence of the concept of education as something linked to the universe of the child.

Culture of Peace for the Youths

Many efforts still need to be made in order that society in general – the family, the school, the public agencies and especially the non-governmental organizations – are brought to discuss and prepare themselves to understand and serve the youths in this fertile, challenging, and complex phase of life. It's clear that the question requires the joint elaboration of public policies that deal with youths, and the creation of spaces of reference that make it possible for the youths to meet in order to promote a reunion of society and its own youth.

Although the statements have indicated serious occurrences of prejudice, exclusion, and violation of the rights of the young citizen, at the same time they reveal ways towards constructing values capable of promoting roots of solidarity, accepting differences, understanding of the roles generations play, peaceful coexistence between the new and the old, and an encounter between tradition and creation, among other progressive innovations.

In the statements of the interviewed youths, peace has been built on the redemption of rights that were formally won by a democratic

society, but that are frequently violated in social practice. That means that for these youths peace means respecting and being respected.

Believing in these values – even though some of them are weak for the youths – is the bet that might make them win. They might win peace, or better yet, they might catch a glimpse of peace that would give them direction and meaning in their lives. The values that are desired in the search for peace – solidarity, respect, equality, dignity, and trusting others – have been suffering a profound wearing down process, corroded by a world where exchange, sale, and purchase become the most important values. In the tension between the real world and the desired world the youths grope around trying to build a better world. In this back and forth motion, other tensions impose themselves: the individual and the collective, the equal and the different, the public and the private, etc.

However, one youth's statement allows a glimpse of alternatives for reconstructing these old and new values:

Peace is when parents and children talk. Agreeing or disagreeing, (...). it's being able to do what's been talked about and practice what you preach. For peace you can't live with discrimination in your face and at your door. Like this, there'll never be peace anywhere... (Focus group, Participants, RJ)

ANNEX 1

Dimensions and Selection of the Sampling of Classes⁴⁴

An effort was made to define a sampling which would be capable of both assuring diversity and representing the students

⁴⁴ Text adapted from the document originally developed by statistics-consultant Antônio Carlos Brito Monteiro Gonçalves, in collaboration with the UNESCO National Coordinator of Research, sociologist Mary Garcia Castro, and consultant Ramon Ortiz, econometrist from IPEA.

involved in the quantitative phase of the study in terms of what was said about the shifts and grades involved, for diversity in relation to the age or life cycle of the respondents. The following procedures were adopted:

- Taking the last three grades of primary school, (6th to 8th grades), the three grades of secondary school and the high school equivalency course, in the three different shifts (morning, afternoon, and evening) of 96 state schools as a reference. School maps for the year 2000 were provided by the State Secretariat of Education – SEE/RJ – which showed the distribution of the schools by Rio de Janeiro’s municipal districts and the number of classes per grade and shift.
- Integral coverage (all students) of the selected classes;
- Guaranteeing that there was a random sampling of classes from different shifts, (morning, afternoon, evening);
- Reaching schools from all the districts where there was a Schools of Peace Program;
- Reaching the populations of the 96 schools in their entirety, without worrying about an individualized analysis for every school.

Based on these parameters, the study opted for the method of sampling student (class) conglomerations, being that the calculation of the size of the sampling emerged from information from SEE/RJ, taking into account the existence of an average of 40 students in each class of the focused on grades.

The option of student conglomeration assumes a certain degree of homogeneity in relation to some of the characteristics of the target population. For example, each group fits into a group of common previous schooling and similar educational experiences. Therefore, the students of a particular class are part of a similar group in regard to their schooling. To some degree, they are in a similar phase of life, once it is also assumed that the average age in each class has some degree of homogeneity.

Procedures

The number of classes of the sample was defined primarily through calculations that will be detailed in the following section. Next, the total number of classes by grade and shifts was selected. In the selection of the classes this referred to a table of random numbers, carefully selected to assure that the different shifts would be included in the sampling.

Different classes were selected for each grade, taking care that if a grade existed at the school, it would be represented by at least one class. Furthermore, the size of the school was not a major concern, meaning the proportion of existing grades in the school for each grade and the existence of students/grades in all of the grades and different shifts.

The morning shifts were prioritized for the sixth grade in basic education, a grade that has the largest concentration of the youngest students. The largest majority of selected shifts for the seventh grade were from the afternoon. For the eighth grade, where the students tend to be older, preference was given to the night shift. In the case of secondary school, the same scale was used. For the high school equivalency courses, where youths and adults predominate, they were all night shifts.

Another step was the creation, also random, of a cast of units that would substitute classes if necessary. In this way, the auxiliary line of substitution for the classes (sequence of classes by grade and shift) was created in case the first class selected for the survey did not exist at the school.

For the calculation of the sample, a second source was also used, the 1998 Academic Census done by INEP, using the age distribution – at least 15 years old – of students enrolled in regular education in the Southeast Region. It should be noted that two other hypotheses were adopted due to this procedure: first, that the temporary references of those sources, even though they were different – 1998 in the case of the INEP and 2000 in the case of

the data from SEE/RJ – would not bring about distortions when they were combined. The second one was that the spatial differences – the Southeast Region in the case of the INEP source, and the state of Rio in the case of the SEE/RJ source – would not produce errors that would compromise the calculation process of the sample.

Finally, it should be added that an appeal was also made to the Academic Census/98 from INEP, to make the age distribution of the enrolled students available – data used as a control variable for the calculation of the size of the sample. Our premise was that the variance of the variable “age” would guarantee greater variability in relation to other available variables (gender and the study shift of the students for example), therefore generating a larger size for the sampling.

The Dimensions of the Sample

Considering the sampling by conglomeration in stage 1⁴⁵, the size of the sampling by class for each school was obtained by means of the formula⁴⁶:

$$m_i = M_i \cdot z_{\theta}^2 \cdot \gamma_e^2 / M_1 \cdot dr^2 + z_{\theta}^2 \cdot \gamma_e^2$$

As previously mentioned, the source for the total number of classes by school (M_i) was the State Secretariat for Education

⁴⁵ For further details see Nascimento, W. A., *Amostragem por Conglomerados*, ENCE, 1981.

⁴⁶ Where m_i = total number of selected classes in the school ($i = 1, 2, \dots, 96$); M_i = total number of classes in the school i ; $\theta = 95.5\%$ = degree of confidence; $z_{\theta} = 3.84\%$ = abscissa of the normal curve to the degree of confidence θ ; $\gamma_e = 0.286$ = variation coefficient of the totals of conglomerates of the age variable; $dr = 20\%$ = precision, or margin of relative error admissible in relation to the average by conglomerate.

of Rio de Janeiro. The degree of confidence $\theta = 95.5\%$ and the precision $dr = 20\%$ were arbitrated, while the variation coefficient was obtained from the Academic Census/98 survey from INEP (Basic Education Statistic) relative to the totals of the conglomerates of distribution by age (minimum of 15 years of age and maximum of 20) for enrollment in the regular education of the Southeast Region.

The degree of confidence $\theta = 95.5\%$ means the probability that the precision or margin of relative error, admissible in the average of the sampling in relation to the average of the conglomerate of students, does not surpass 20% being that the abscissa of the normal curve is an immediate consequence of θ .

The total sampling of surveyed classes, that is, the summation of the samplings of all of the schools, was 480, from an initial universe evaluated initially in 2,003 classes. In this way the sampling was expected to reach 24% of the estimated universe.

Considering the evaluation of the State Secretariat of Education that each class contained about 40 students, the total number of questionnaires sent to the field was 19,200. The return was smaller, being that only 11,729⁴⁷ of the questionnaires were answered. This discrepancy was due to the fact that in the field, the average number of the classes was far smaller than the one estimated by the SEE/RJ, being actually about 30 students /class.

After the field research was completed and the questionnaires were returned, the degree of confidence in the sampling was recalculated based on its detected reality and on the observed variance of the age variable for the total set of 96

⁴⁷ This number was later reduced to 11,560 student questionnaires, due to the mistaken inclusion in some schools of students from the 5th grade of Basic Education.

schools. Therefore, the following relative precision was obtained:

$$\begin{aligned} dr &= Z_{\alpha} \cdot [(N-n) / N \cdot \gamma^2 / n]^{1/2} \\ dr &= 1.96 \cdot [(61.478 - 11.729) / 61.478 \times 0.090 / 11.729]^{1/2} \\ dr &= 0.005 \text{ or } 0.5\% \text{ }^{48} \end{aligned}$$

Usually, dr (relative precision) is considered to indicate good approximation between the estimates of the sampling and the population when it is lower or equal to 10%. In this survey, a relative precision of 0.5% was observed, which gives us the certainty that the size of the present sampling is sufficient for the inferences that took place in relation to the population of the study.

⁴⁸ Where: $N = 61.478$ (total population of students for a 30 student class); $n = 11.729$ (size of the sample) and $\gamma^2 = 0.090$ (relative variance of the age variable in the sampling).

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7 **List of Tables**

TABLE 1	Educational Offerings in the Surveyed Schools, According to the Principals	44
TABLE 2	Social Equipment in the Schools, According to the Principals	46
TABLE 3	Principals' Perceptions about the Socio-economic Status of the School's Surrounding Areas by Physical Location	48
TABLE 4	Existing Associations in the Neighborhood, According to the School Principals	50
TABLE 5	Relationship of the School to its Surroundings, According to the Principals	50
TABLE 6	Extra-curricular Activities Developed on the School Premises, According to the Principals	51
TABLE 7	Relationship of the Motivators to the Schools, According to themselves	53
TABLE 8	Reasons for Taking Part in the Program, According to the Motivators	55
TABLE 9	Reasons for Taking Part in the Schools of Peace Program, According to the Youths	64
TABLE 10	Activities Offered by the Program, According to the Youths and Motivators	66

TABLE 11	How the Youths Found Out about the Program According to the Youths	71
TABLE 12	Knowing other Participants in the Program, According to the Youths	72
TABLE 13	Reasons for not taking part in the Schools of Peace Program, According to youths	73
TABLE 14	Stimulus for Possible Participation in the Schools of Peace Program, According to the Youths	74
TABLE 15	E valuation on the Impact of Program Activities on Violence Levels, According to the Youths ...	76
TABLE 16	Evaluation of Program Results, According to the Motivators	76
TABLE 17	Age range of the youths, According to the Youths ..	86
TABLE 18	Perception of the Neighborhood, According to the Youths	89
TABLE 19	Marital status of the Youths, by Gender, According to the Youths	92
TABLE 20	Number of Students Enrolled in Rio de Janeiro, According to Administrative Dependency	95
TABLE 21	Major Problems of the Schools in the Metropolitan Area, According to the Principals	102
TABLE 22	Major Problems of the Schools in the Interior, According to the Principals	102

TABLE 23 General Problems of the Schools, According to the Students 104

TABLE 24 Self and Family Situation, According to the Youths 112

TABLE 25 Work, According to the Youths 117

TABLE 26 Use of Free Time, According to the Youths 129

TABLE 27 Violence Suffered by the Students, According to the Youths 135

TABLE 28 How the Students Feel about the Present World, According to the Youths 160

8 List of Graphs

GRAPH 1	School shifts, According to the Principals	45
GRAPH 2	Existing Associations and Clubs in the Schools, According to the Principals	47
GRAPH 3	Shifts with Higher Activity, According to the Motivators	54
GRAPH 4	Program Attendance, According to the Youths	65
GRAPH 5	Identification of Organizers of the Program Activities, According to the Youths	69
GRAPH 6	Grade Given to the Program, According to Participating Youths	78
GRAPH 7	Youths by school shifts (N), According to the Youths	88
GRAPH 8	Youths who Have Children, by Gender, According to the Youths (%)	92
GRAPH 9	Who the Youths Live with, According to the Youths	111
GRAPH 10	Help the family through Work, According to the Youths	122
GRAPH 11	Violence Suffered by Youths from the Metropolitan and Interior Areas, According to the Youths Themselves	133
GRAPH 12	Violence Suffered by Friends of Youths, According to the Youths, by Gender	134

GRAPH 13 Drugs in School, According to the Youths
and Motivators 149

GRAPH 14 How the Students Feel about their Lives,
According to the Youths 160

9 **List of Charts**

CHART 1	Spatial Distribution of Participating Municipalities in the Schools of Peace Program of Rio de Janeiro State	43
CHART 2	Sit Down And Write	67
CHART 3	Basic Shooting	90
CHART 4	Terrible School!	96
CHART 5	Yes I Work, what's the big deal?	98
CHART 6	The Attention Principle	100
CHART 7	A Certain Sense Of Humor	105
CHART 8	Nobody Can Sit Around Doing Nothing	107
CHART 9	Family Scenes	113
CHART 10	Youth Wanted	117
CHART 11	The Size of the Professional Dream	126
CHART 12	Hit, hit, hit	138
CHART 13	Mineira: A Type of Intimidation	140
CHART 14	Every day, every day, every day	141
CHART 15	Get out of there!	143
CHART 16	Hey you, sitting on the floor!	146
CHART 17	They've got it down!	150
CHART 18	Getting Your Feet Out of the Mud	161