



**International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
(IPEC)**

**Brazil
Children in Drug Trafficking:
A Rapid Assessment**

**By
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February 2002, Geneva

Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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Geneva, 2001

¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A research project on drug trafficking requires the formation of a research team that is committed and mature, the establishment of negotiations at various levels with the different actors that deal with the subject, and the maintenance of a coherent and transparent attitude towards the interviewed groups. For this reason, we would like to thank a number of people and entities that made this research possible:

- The IETS research team, for its dedication, seriousness and competence.
- The ILO/IPEC for the project's financing, and for their suggestions that helped to improve the study; especially those of ILO/IPEC Brazil.
- The children's court (2ª Vara da Infância e da Juventude) and DEGASE that attended to us with great attention and respect, and where we gathered the fundamental information necessary to elaborate on the work.
- Elizabeth Leeds from Ford Foundation; Ignácio Cano from ISER/UERJ; Rubem César from Viva Rio; Leonarda Musumeci from CESE/UFRJ and all others who participated in the workshop and gave valuable contributions about the subject in question.
- The interviewed, who believe in our work, and who this work is aimed to help by improving the unequal social system that contributes to their entering and remaining in the drug trafficking system.

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FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The International Labour Organization (ILO), through the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), has made a major commitment to the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. In what has been considered to be one of the greatest successes of IPEC, the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), together with Recommendation 190, was unanimously adopted by the ILO Conference in June, 1999. By the end of January 2002, 115 countries had ratified Convention 182.

The mandate of the Convention is clear. It requires ratifying countries to “take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.” Recommendation 190 states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.”

Against this background, the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC, has undertaken 38 Rapid Assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. These investigations have been made through application of the rapid assessment methodology prepared jointly by ILO/UNICEF. The overall objectives of the programme are that (i) quantitative and qualitative information related to the worst forms of child labour in the selected 38 investigations is produced and made publicly available, (ii) magnitude, character, causes and consequences are clearly described, and (iii) the body of methodologies – especially the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology on child labour – for investigating the worst forms of child labour is validated and further developed.

Rapid Assessments are uniquely suited to meet these objectives. Balancing statistical precision with qualitative analysis, rapid assessments provide policy makers with insights into the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the worst forms of child labour quickly and at low cost. These insights can then be used to determine strategic objectives for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in each country or region, to design and target policy packages, and to implement, monitor and evaluate those programmes.

Executive Summary

Introduction

The central subject of this Rapid Assessment to investigate the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) is the involvement of children¹ in the drug trafficking business, in low-income communities, “Favelas”, in Rio de Janeiro. This study seeks to establish the variables that best explain why children enter and take part in this line of activity. The project was commissioned to the Instituto de Estudos Trabalho e Sociedade - IETS, a Brazilian NGO, recognized as a public interest organization by the Brazilian Ministry of Justice. IETS forms a network of researchers from a diverse set of Rio de Janeiro’s main academic and research institutions. The institute aims to generate and induce the generation of information relevant to the investigation of poverty and inequality and to monitor, evaluate and propose initiatives in the field of public policy, seeking its reduction.

The present project compiled and organized data concerning living standards of children working in drug trafficking schemes in several low-income communities in Rio de Janeiro. A workshop bringing together researchers, people active and interested in the field and representatives of grass-roots organizations who work in low-income areas was also an important part of the project. This enabled an exchange of knowledge and the production of new public policy proposals that may improve the circumstances at hand.

Contents

This document starts with a presentation of some general socio-economic data of Rio de Janeiro, setting the background and context in which the children live. Next it provides a synthesis of the specific labour market for children and young adults in the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro, with particular stress on the indicators of 52 low-income communities. The theme’s general introduction is completed by a brief review of the literature on child and youth criminality and drug trafficking. The second chapter presents the methodology used in the project.

In its main body, the document presents a number of tables that organize part of the data surveyed in the project. Firstly, tables of crimes and misdemeanors committed by children and adolescents in Rio de Janeiro from 1996 to 2000 are exposed, which have been provided by the Children’s Court (2ª Vara de Infância e Juventude). Next, the profile of the children is presented. Finally, views of different actors are exposed on the reasons that lead children to, and keep them working in, drug related activities, and on measures that should be undertaken to keep children from joining the trafficking business or to help them abandon the scene. The document is concluded by a brief description of the workshop, a final analysis of the activity and policy proposals to address the problem.

¹ In this project, all individuals up to 18 years old at the time of the interviews are considered children. This is in keeping with the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182) that states that “the term child shall apply to all persons below the age of 18.”

Results

The data on infractions committed by children and adolescents from Rio de Janeiro during the past years shows an increase in misdemeanours committed by the under-aged during the 1990s, in which drug abuse and trafficking are the most expressive. A decrease in the age of entry into drug trafficking is also worth stressing. The average fell from between 15 and 16 years in the beginning of the 1990s to between 12 and 13 in the year 2000.

The main characteristics of the children involved in drug trafficking are as follows:

- They belong to the poorest families of the popular communities- favelas; their schooling is below the Brazilian average- today around 6.4 years; the great majority of children involved are black or pardo (Brazilian with partial African ascendance); they marry much earlier than the average Brazilian adolescent; they live with a partner or with friends; they believe in God and are approaching the Neo-Pentecostal religions while distancing themselves from Afro-Brazilian cults.
- The children enter and remain in drug trafficking activities in order to acquire prestige and power, fulfil emotions – adrenaline – and earn money for the consumption of goods that they could not buy otherwise. Their main friendships are with others in trafficking and their bond with the group is an important factor for permanence in this type of activity. Another important reason why they remain in this field is that after a while the children become known to rival groups and the police at which stage it is no longer possible to leave the social network of trafficking. The children's greatest fears are imprisonment, death, and betrayal by their friends, which can leave them in a difficult situation in the group.
- Most of the children's main desire is to buy a house outside the community. By leaving the area, their families will be exposed to less risk. According to the children, the most probable way of leaving drug trafficking would be through the accumulation of a large amount of money. This would allow them to move to another state and start some sort of business. Most of them are not able to gather much money, however, as they do not have a habit of saving. However, extortions by the police are pointed at as the main obstacle for financial accumulation.

Opinions of family members of children involved in drug trafficking, of professionals that work on the topic, of members and leaders of popular communities, of children and adolescents who use drugs and who do not use drugs, and of police officers are presented in the project. The main suggestions proposed by the interviewed to confront the problem were of a structural perspective: investment in education and leisure in popular communities, and generation of employment and income for the children's families.

The document proposes four paths for policies as a result of the survey and the workshop. These are generation of income and employment for families of children involved in drug trafficking; investment in education and social protection instruments; conduction of integrated actions in popular spaces embracing generation of income, leisure, education, urbanization, etc.; and creation of measures in the legal field such as discrimination of drugs.

Chapter 1: Context

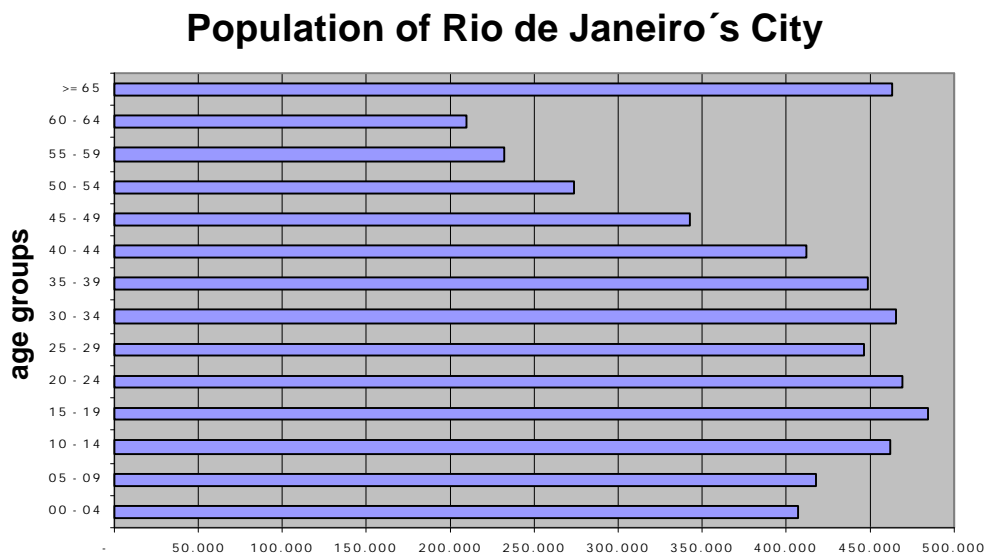
1.1 City of Rio de Janeiro: educational and economic profile

In the year 2000, the city of Rio de Janeiro had approximately 5.9 million inhabitants. The city's population accounted for 53.8% and 40.7% of the populations of the Metropolitan Area of Rio de Janeiro (RMRJ) and of the State of Rio de Janeiro respectively.

The city's rate of population growth of 6.8% between 1991 and 2000 was the smallest among Brazilian capitals. A greater level of male deaths, mainly among the youth, contributes to an increasing female population ratio, which is around 53%. Moreover, it makes female life expectancy eight years higher than that of men.

It is worth pointing at the rapid aging process of the Brazilian population in general and especially of Rio de Janeiro's. The younger age groups of Rio de Janeiro's adult population² are shrinking, whereas the older are getting larger. This fact is shown in the next two graphs.

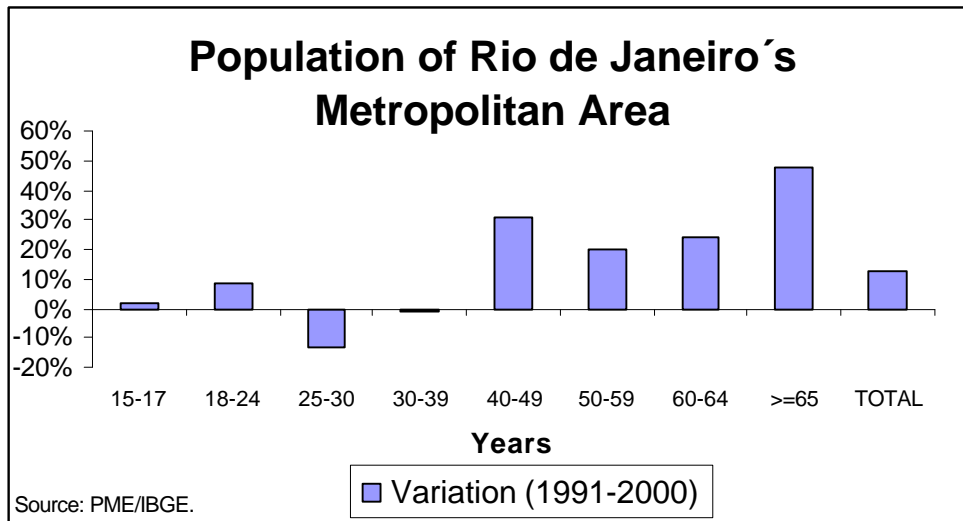
Figure 1:



Source: IBGE, 1996.

² In this case adult population is defined as the population above 15 years.

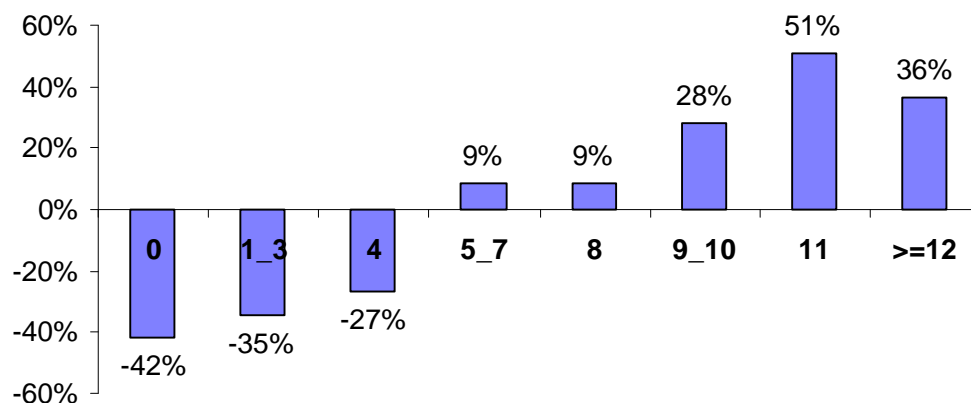
Figure 2:



The educational level of the population of Rio de Janeiro, with an average of around 6.5 years of schooling, is the second highest in Brazil behind the Federal District, with a level of 7.4 years. The last decade was marked by important improvements in educational indicators. Illiteracy rates dropped from 8.3% in 1991 to 6.3% in 2000. However, there is still a significant section of the adult population (30%) with less than five years of schooling.

Figure 3:

Labour Force of Rio de Janeiro's Metropolitan Area (Variation 1991-2000)

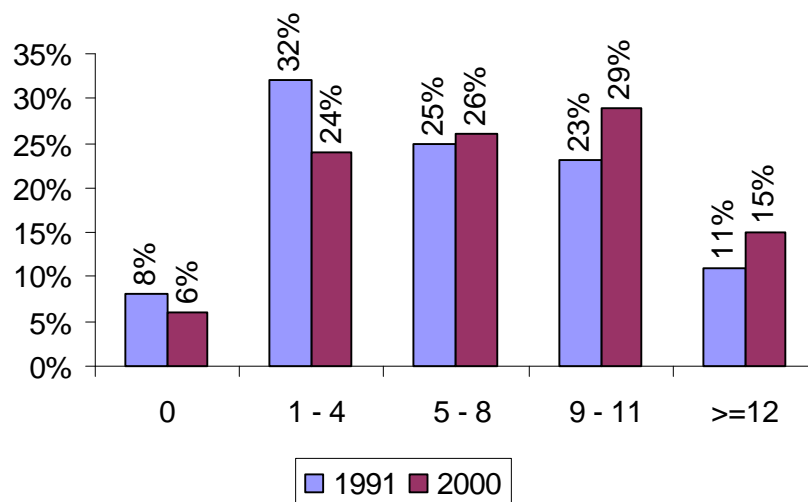


Source: PME/IBGE

Educational levels are increasing in Rio de Janeiro and in the country as a whole. Nevertheless, the metropolitan area's labour force is still poorly educated; around 3.4% have less than one year of education, half have completed up to eight years of schooling, and only 20% completed secondary education.

Figure 4:

Adult population of Rio de Janeiro's Metropolitan Area by schooling years



Source : PME/IBGE

Due to its relatively large population, the city of Rio de Janeiro strongly influences the metropolitan area's labour market. There are no clear boundaries between the labour market of the city and of the other 18 cities that form the RMRJ. Around 54% of the metropolitan area's labour force lives in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Over 80% of its formal employment is placed in the city. In this sense, an analysis of the Metropolitan Area as a whole reflects the labour market situation in the state's capital.

According to the monthly survey on employment by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (PME/IBGE³), the labour force in the RMRJ is around 4.5 million, or approximately 54% of the adult population. The area has experienced a small increase in its labour force (around 6.6% between 1991 and 2000). Moreover, it underwent profound changes in composition during the last decade in terms of increasing female participation, education and aging. The disaggregated data shows that the increase in labour force perceived in the last decade is a result of a positive variation in the female labour force (14%).

When disaggregated by age groups, the data points at a contraction in the section of the labour force younger than 30. This decrease is most striking among the youth, between 15 and 17, where it reaches 39%. On the other hand, the oldest section of the labour force increased considerably.

³ PME/IBGE is a monthly household survey. It is one of the country's main sources of information on labour, as it publishes statistics on the structure and distribution of the working population, on the levels of employment and unemployment, and on average earnings, among others.

In terms of unemployment, the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro presents the smallest rate: around 5.2%, whereas the national average is 7.3%. However, two further aspects of the labour market must be considered: the low labour force participation rate that may be pointing at a process of discouragement⁴ and the informality of labour relations in the region.

Formal occupation is decreasing in the RMRJ. Today, formal employees represent only 41% and civil servants 10% of the working population. Informal employees constitute 17% and self-employed already represent 27%. Great attention should be paid to the latter group, which has increased most in the last years. The number of self-employed has augmented 30% in the last decade, whereas informal employees only rose by 15% and formal employees retracted by 14%.

Figure 5:
Occupation in Rio de Janeiro's Metropolitan Area

	1991		2000		Variation 1991-2000	
	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%
Industry	635.245	15,7%	455.486	10,7%	-179.759	-28,3%
Construction	311.180	7,7%	279.836	6,6%	-31.344	-10,1%
Commerce	573.652	14,1%	627.848	14,8%	54.196	9,4%
Services	1.619.439	39,9%	1.934.728	45,5%	315.289	19,5%
Public Administration	474.339	11,7%	518.147	12,2%	43.809	9,2%
Others	443.256	10,9%	435.254	10,2%	-8.002	-1,8%
Civil servant	323.828	8,0%	434.005	10,2%	110.178	34,0%
Formal employee	2.033.694	50,1%	1.740.339	40,9%	-293.355	-14,4%
Informal employee	624.061	15,4%	720.571	16,9%	96.510	15,5%
Self-employed	891.032	22,0%	1.155.282	27,2%	264.250	29,7%
Employer	157.329	3,9%	166.797	3,9%	9.469	6,0%
Missing	27.167	0,7%	34.305	0,8%	7.138	26,3%
TOTAL	4.057.111	100,0%	4.251.300	100,0%	194.189	4,8%

Source: PME/IBGE

In terms of distribution by sector, most of the occupations are concentrated in the service sector (46%). Commerce represents 15% and construction 7%. The industrial sector, which has been traditionally weak in generating employment in Rio de Janeiro, showed a constant decrease over the last decade. Today it accounts for only 11% of the working population. The public sector represents an important share of the working force in the metropolitan region, 12%.

Labour and earning conditions worsen considerably when the Survey of Low-Income Communities (Pesquisa Socio-Econômica nas Comunidades de Baixa Renda) is observed. Most of the residents of those communities are young (52% are under 25) and their adult population presents an illiteracy rate of around 12%. The unemployment rate in these communities is 12.4%, much higher than the average in the metropolitan area. The average household per capita earnings is around R\$134⁵ and the average earnings of the working population is R\$ 330. The latter lies much below the city's average, which is around R\$700.

⁴ People who need to work and are not employed, but who do not effectively seek employment. They are put off by the labour market or by casual circumstances and are considered inactive.

⁵ USD \$1 = R \$ 2.50

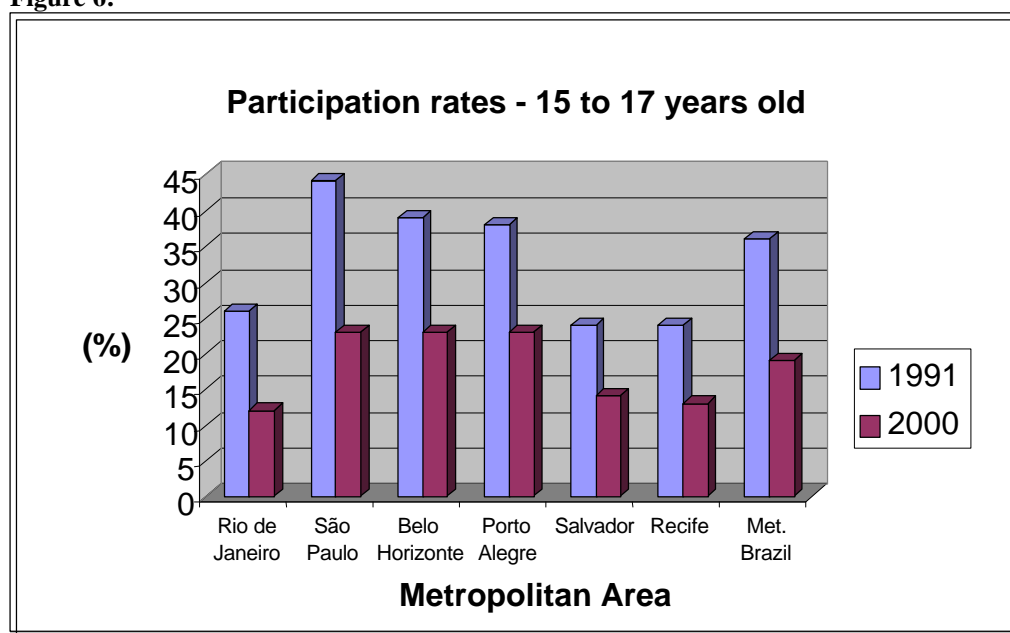
1.2 The labour market for children and young adults in Rio de Janeiro

Child labour in Brazilian Metropolitan Areas has sharply decreased during the last decade. There are several reasons that have contributed to this:

- a) The implementation of new laws protecting the childhood since the Constitution of 1988;
- b) The International Labour Organization (ILO) initiatives with public, private and civil society partners;
- c) The PETI (Child Work Eradication Program) launched in the late 1990s; and
- d) The increasing consciousness of the population itself that a precocious entry into the labour market occurs through the back door, stimulates school evasion and severely limits professional mobility.

Rio de Janeiro, which is known worldwide for its population of street children, was not only the Brazilian Metropolitan Area that recorded the highest decline in the participation rate of the 15 to 17 years old group, but also the one that now has the lowest rate.

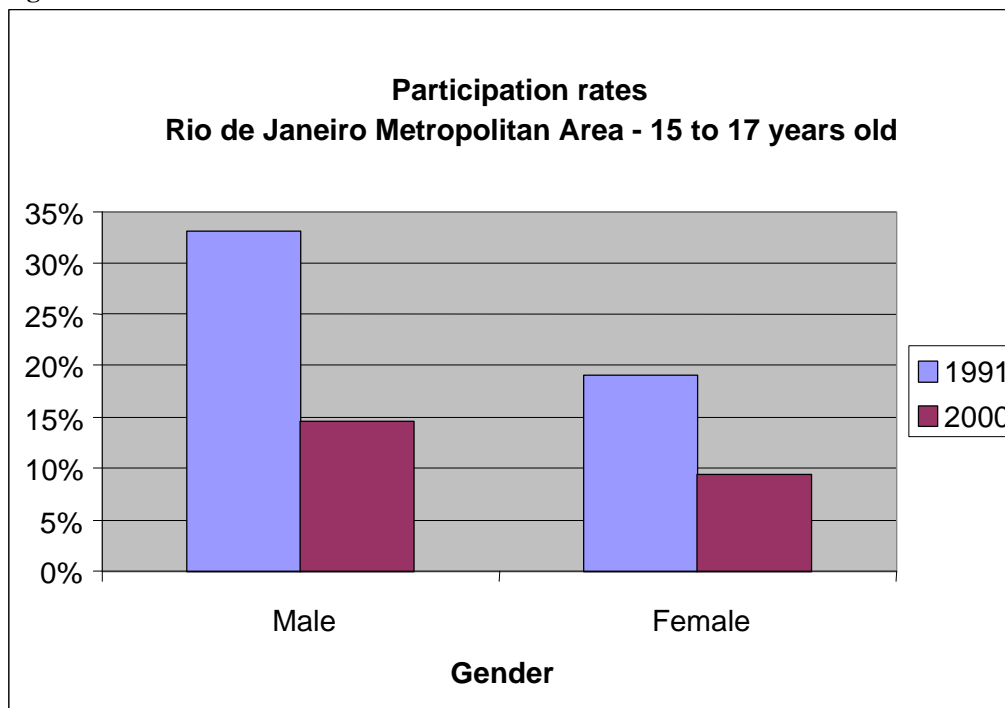
Figure 6:



Source: PME/IBGE.

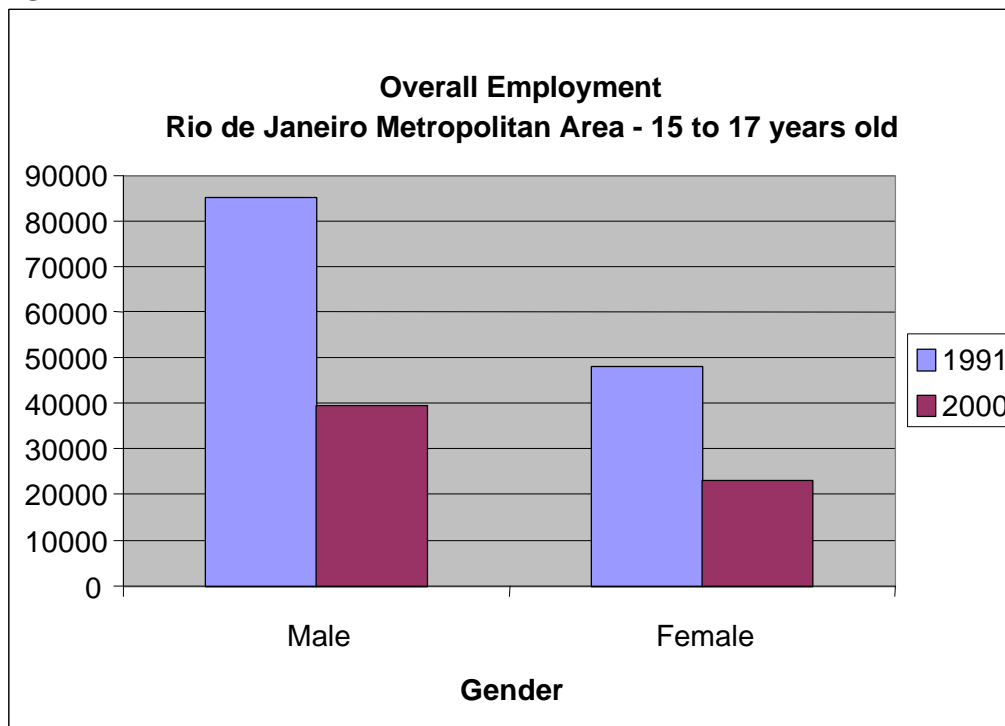
This decrease was larger for boys than for the girls, as it is possible to see in Figure 7. Thanks to these declining participation rates, the overall level of employment for this age group was cut to half (Figure 8), without significant impacts on the unemployment rates (Figure 9), and with a strong decrease of the unemployment level (Figure 10).

Figure 7:



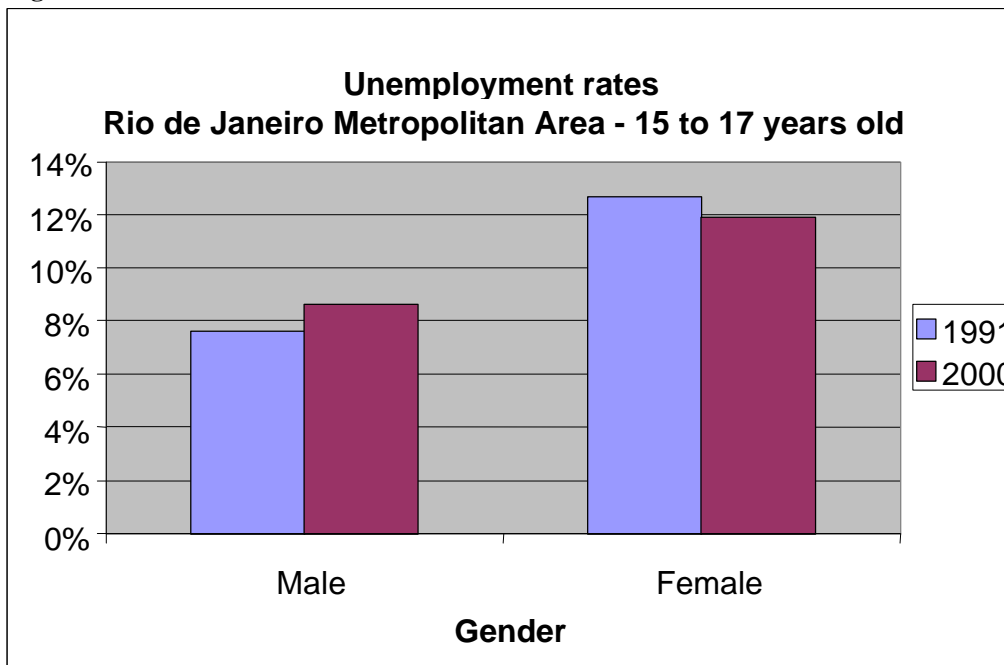
Source: PME/IBGE.

Figure 8:



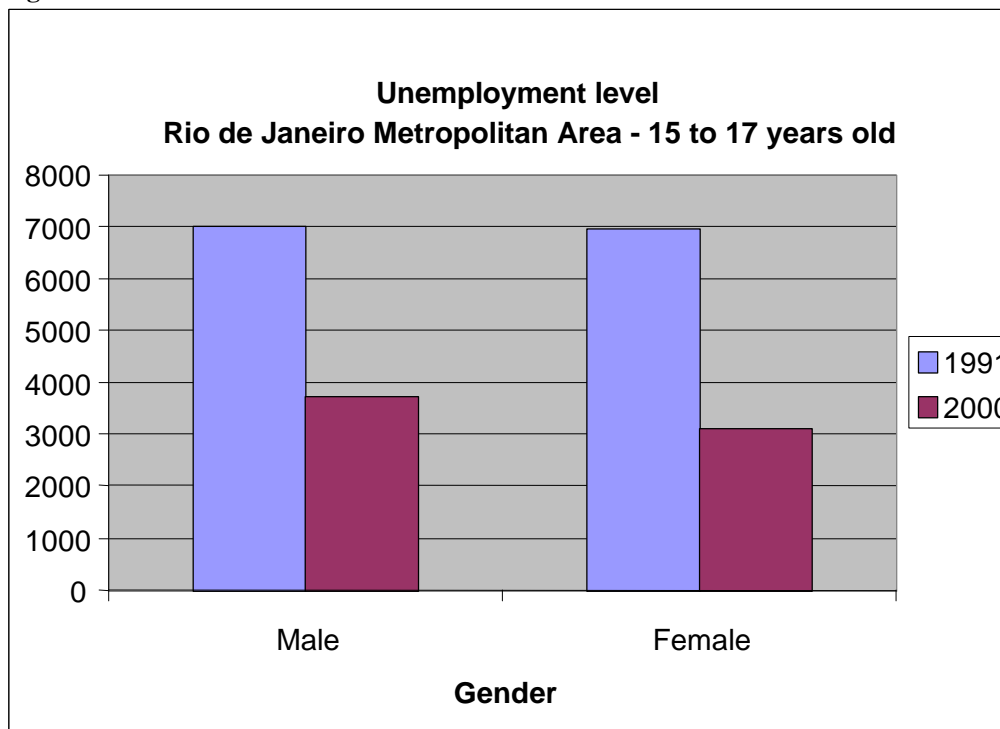
Source: PME/IBGE.

Figure 9:



Source: PME/IBGE.

Figure 10:



Source: PME/IBGE.

In the low-income areas, however, the participation rates of the 15-17 year age group remain very high: they are, on average, almost double what they are in the Metropolitan Area as a whole.⁶ In some of these areas, they reach almost 50%.

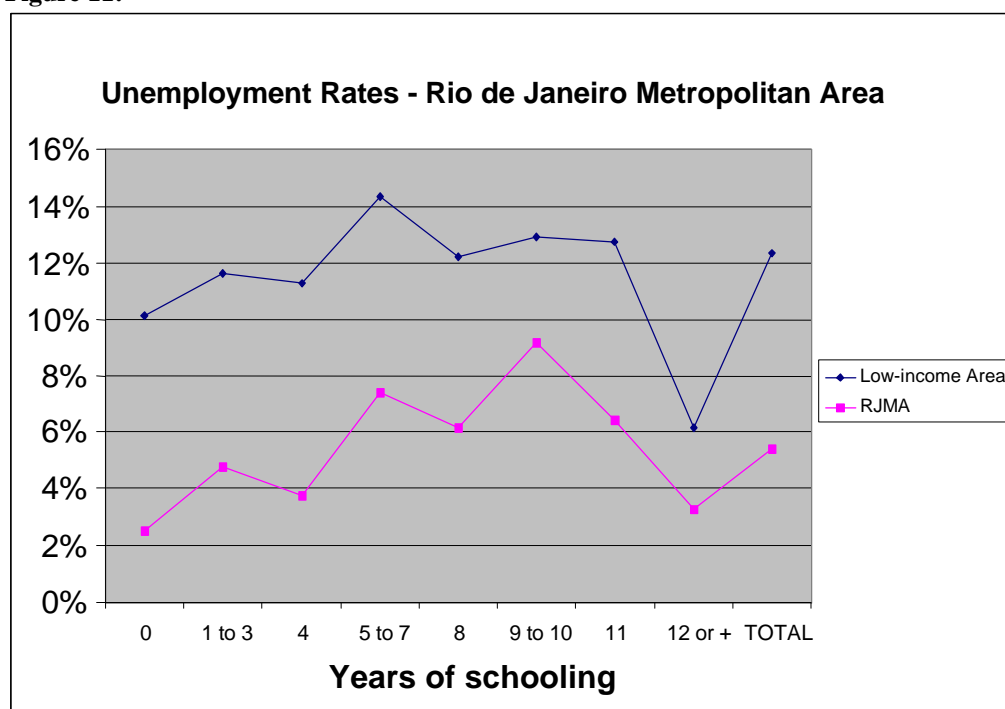
There are basically three factors that determine the pattern of these participation rates:

- the unemployment rates of the household heads;
- the per capita income of the community; and
- the average number of years of schooling of the adult population of the community.

These results suggest that policies designed to structurally decrease child labour in these communities should contemplate both actions directed at the children themselves and (perhaps mainly) at the income generation of their parents.

In these areas not only is the average income considerably lower than in the overall Metropolitan Area, but the average schooling rates are also significantly lower and the unemployment rates much higher, for all schooling levels (Figure 11).

Figure 11:



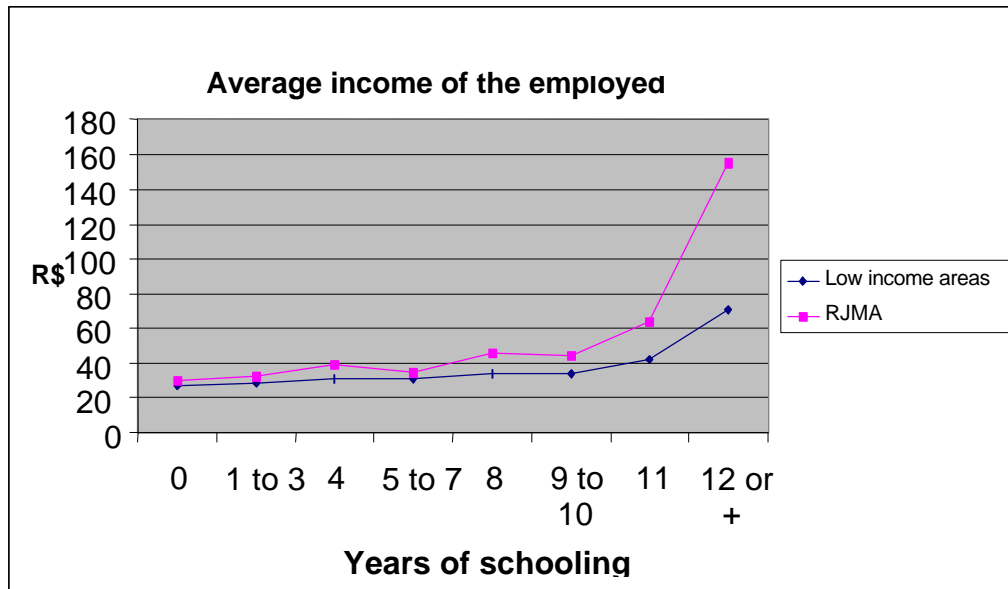
Sources: PME/IBGE and PSECBR.

Furthermore, the data suggest that policies designed specifically for the youngest should not only try to keep them away from the labour market. Forty-eight percent of those who are not participating in the labour market (working or looking for a job) are not attending school. One of the possible reasons for this is the lack of attractiveness of the schooling system for these young people. Figure 12 shows that the returns of

⁶ Data for these areas result from the “Pesquisa Socioeconômica das Comunidades de Baixa Renda” (PSECBR), a household survey made from 1998 to 2000 by the Rio de Janeiro City Government and by SCIENCE-IBGE in 52 communities benefited by a slum-upgrading Program (the *Favela-Bairro*, co-sponsored by the Inter-American Development Bank).

schooling in these communities are considerably lower than in the Metropolitan Area as a whole. For instance: the average earnings of those which have completed 11 years of schooling in the low-income areas is inferior to those who have achieved only eight years of schooling in the overall Metropolitan Area. Among those who have reached the university, the average income is less than half what it is in the Metropolitan Area as a whole.

Figure 12:



Sources: PME/IBGE and PSECBR

Among other things, these results seriously question the anti-poverty strategies that are uniquely based on increasing the numbers of years of schooling. Nonetheless, it is important to notice that in the low-income areas the proportion of inactive girls not participating in the schooling system is around three times higher than the proportion of boys in the same situation; a great part of this differential is due to the high incidence of precocious pregnancies. In reality, these girls are not inactive at all, but taking care of their babies. Even so, over 20% of the boys are neither attending the schooling system nor participating in the labour market; in other words, our data reveal the existence of a sort of industrial reserve army for child work in illicit activities, particularly in drug dealing.

1.3 Review of literature on child labour and drug trafficking

Child labour is a global phenomenon of grand proportions. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that around 250 million children between five and 14 years old are economically active in one or more, paid or unpaid activities, around the world. Some work with their families, others outside their family nucleus. According to the ILO, the problem is mainly concentrated in developing countries.

There is no official estimation of the number of working children, particularly for those between seven and 14. Most of the girls are involved in domestic activities, whereas boys are involved in activities of a diverse variety. Children's involvement in work may limit or prohibit their school attendance. It exposes them to conditions that

violate several resolutions of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989. In this context, an important resolution states that children have the right to be "protected from economic exploitation or of realizing any activity which is dangerous or interferes with the child's education, or that is detrimental for its health or its physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development" (Article 32).

Many of these children are engaged in worst forms of child labour (WFCL), and to address these circumstances ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182), 1999 calls for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency. Article 3 (d) of this Convention particularly relates to this study; it defines "the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties" as a worst form of child labour.

School dropouts and children's entry into the labour market can be understood as a consequence of distinct factors. Poverty, for example, directs children to seek means of guaranteeing some of their basic necessities and/or that of their families. Another relevant factor is the labour market structure, which incorporates this specific type of labour force. In this case, public services may have a decisive influence on children remaining in school or entering the labour market. Access, quality and cost of education, for example, have strongly influence this decision.

The main point, however, is that work is a solution for short-term necessities, or present predicaments, whereas school is an alternative for the future. It is important to consider that long-term perspectives for low-income families are very limited. Education is a long-term investment that cannot be undertaken by poor families that lack personal resources. According to SINCA, an information system on children and adolescents managed by IBGE/PNAD (the Brazilian Government Institute of Geography and Statistics), 80% of working children come from extremely poor backgrounds. According to the Brazilian constitution, however:

"It is the duty of family, society, and of the State to ensure to children and to adolescents, with unconditional priority, the right to life, health, food, education, leisure, professional training, culture, dignity, respect, freedom, family and community life, in addition to safeguarding them against all forms of negligence, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty, and oppression" (Article 227).

For Abramovay (1999), a combination of factors is making youth more violent. One factor is the difficulty in entering the formal labour market, which the author considers increasingly competitive and cruel. According to her, there is a "*crisis of the future*" that "*would be creating situations that are favorable to the consolidation of illegal or criminal alternatives for existence and survival among the youth*" (Abramovay, 199:14).

Another cause noted by the author is the process of progressive consolidation of poverty, exclusion and vulnerability of vast sectors of the population. This process leads to alternative mechanisms of subsistence, such as crime and violence. The third variable suggested by Abromavay focuses on the crisis and collapse of modern society's normative framework. This happens "*when a system of cultural values*

praises (...) certain standards of success, but denies or restrains access to these standards, in a legitimate form, to a considerable part of the population" (Merton, 1949. apud. Abramovay, 1999).

According to the author, the under-aged transgressors excuse their crimes or misdemeanors using ethical arguments - the presumed inefficiency of behaving according to the established rules of society. Moreover, there is a pragmatic judgment: because they are minors – under 18 years old, the risk of imprisonment is small.

For Minayo (1997), drug trafficking reinforces potential violence and makes it more complex. The territorial disputes transform violence into a strategy to discipline subordinates and the market. In the 1980s, with trafficking's institutionalization, statistics on crime have increased even further.⁷

Drug trafficking can be held responsible for rising criminality and violence in Brazil. In cities like Rio de Janeiro, it is allegedly linked to other criminal activities such as kidnappings and bank heists. They are organized as a parallel power that challenges the authorities, corrupts the police force and controls the population of many communities (Biscaia, 1997:214). Apart from this, it is important to stress that drug trafficking encompasses resources and actors at an international level. For example, it is associated with weapons smuggling.

Souza (1996) describes two interconnected subsystems in the structuring of drug trafficking in Brazil: import/export/wholesale (I-E-W) and retail subsystems.

"The I-E-W subsystem is responsible for smuggling in illicit drugs (...), and for establishing contacts to smuggle out the product (...). Moreover, the I-E-W subsystem is by-and-large responsible for supplying those who work in the retail subsystem (dealing not only with drugs but also with weapons)" (Souza, 1996:430).

The retail subsystem is implemented in different forms. There is an emphasis on gangs *"that have low-income communities and other segregated spaces as its basis for logistic support"* (Souza, 1996:430). In Rio de Janeiro gangs (which are generally organized in commands) can involve a diverse set of actors, such as *owners* (they can be an average dealer, depending on the number of points of sales), *managers* (they manage the movement in points of sales); *security* (they are responsible for safeguarding points of sales); *dealers* (they sell drugs to clients); *watchmen* (they warn the approach police force or rival gangs) and others, such as *workers*, who package the stash (many of whom are women) and police officers who racket dealers or who are hired to operate for them (Souza, 1996:431).

According to Alvito (1999), at the retail level *"in the larger communities, activities related to drug trafficking present several specializations – women pack the drugs,*

⁷ For Leeds (1999), the origins of drug trafficking's parallel power lies on the decision by the military forces, in 1969, to separate political prisoners and "common criminals" from the others, justified by the fact that they were considered as a threat to national security. The two groups were transferred to a maximum-security prison (Penitenciária Cândido Mendes) in Ilha Grande, off Rio de Janeiro's southern coast. The political prisoners were mostly well educated, middle-class men of leftist inclination. They brought to prison a collective organizational structure and ideology that were absorbed by the 'common criminals' even in the manner that they denominated themselves.

younger boys are watchmen, older boys deliver the drugs or sell them in community sales points, ostensibly armed teenagers patrol the territories, "public relations" are accountable in the community and "owner" of traffic, are a few of the examples. Whatever the function, most of the people involved see drug traffic as one of the few economically viable alternatives available."

This criminal activity functions as a business enterprise, with basic market principles, in-line with the interests of the economic groups that control the business. Being an illegal activity, thus not submitted to institutional control, the use of arms is the main instrument to guarantee the perpetuation of traffic schemes. This is especially true in Rio de Janeiro.

However, it is interesting to note that although this kind of undertaking is illicit, it allows relevant amounts of money to flow in and outside the communities. Workers, especially the younger ones, in their quest for status, avidly spend an important part of their income on non-essential consumption.

The expression "soldier of traffic" sounds strong and frightening to Moreira (2000); the term is being increasingly used, nonetheless, to characterize one of the most valued positions in drug trafficking. The author points to the fact that this denomination presumes a military logic of war that defines an opposition between "allies" and "enemies." All resources available must be directed against the enemies in the pursuit of their ultimate destruction. For Moreira, at one level, this framework materializes as a war – armed conflicts, deployed weapons, disputes between rival gangs, shootings with the police, etc. However, to acknowledge the situation as a war implies to declare it officially. This would force the police to occupy communities, which would severely affect life in the precinct⁸.

"The "bosses" and "managers" of the "movement,"⁹ after having established themselves inside the communities, acquire weapons, money and autonomy to conquer the necessary power to mobilize people for the performance of hierarchical functions and to expand the business. The former and the latter are generally young, poor residents of low-income communities, "Favelas," and become the most visible components of trafficking. They appear according to common knowledge as "harbingers of violence" and to statistics as the part of the population that is most affected by violent deaths. With delinquency and death, they cover the most profitable sectors of traffic: import, refining and transportation, money laundering and reinvestment. These activities can only be operated by people of high social and financial strata, who have political influence and contacts in the public sector and capital market" (Moreira, 2000:02).

Souza (1996) draws attention to the articulate context among actions in communities of Rio de Janeiro – part of the retail subsystem, and actions of international scale – all part of the I-E-W subsystem.

⁸ Alvito (op. cit.) presents an example of the degree of the drug traffic's interference in local communities. Research was undertaken in a community in the district of Rio de Janeiro that was being occupied by the police in April 1996. The author says that the drastic decrease and almost suppression of drug trafficking in the first months of occupation affected the local economy heavily, even though only around 1% of the population is directly involved with trafficking. Furthermore, people who bought drugs also used to consume them in the local business before the occupation.

⁹ Movement: this term designates the activity of dealing drugs and the set of relations around the activity.

"To understand the unequal nature of drug traffic, it is essential to analyze the system within broad parameters (...); looking at the city in its entirety, at the country in the perspective of its relation to the rest of the world, encompassing bankers and those who, though not living in low-income communities, "Favelas." nor being directly exposed to it, are drug traffic's main beneficiaries. From this viewpoint drug traffic can be observed in a more integral manner, recognizing poverty as functional to its scheme that destroys youths as a cheap, disposable labour force" (Souza, 1996:439).

According to this perspective, co-opting youth from low-income communities is a way of assuring the maintenance of a broader trafficking system that involves international networks. These youth are used in the front lines of a war between the trafficking of drugs and the state. They are the first to be affected by the cruel mechanism that uses social inequality and the basic needs of the low-income population to exploit children and young adults.

For Abramovay (1999:11), *"Today, youths are the ones that kill and die the most. They are also the majority of those who are imprisoned."* Young individuals who live amongst personal and social vulnerability, and in unfavorable family surroundings, may have violent behavioural tendencies, however, one must be careful making such generalizations as some people brought up in violent environments reject such behavior. At the same time, youth may be raised in non-violent environments and be prone to violent attitudes. Crimes and misdemeanors can be understood as resulting from values acquired from the subject's social group, coupled with the state and society's inability to create means for social ascension. Arguably, there is a dialectic relation between the individual and the social conditions surrounding him. The choice may be, therefore, to accept or reject what is offered to the individual.

Constant conflict over points of sales and money settlements are part of the routine of children and young adults involved in drug trafficking, a war that is launched by the desire of rapid and easy financial gains. The desire to demonstrate power by weapons and wealth predominate among drug dealers. Among youth, the desire to consume goods that are status symbols, such as brand name clothes, prevails.

It can be viewed as strange that so many young people are entering drug trafficking simply to own expensive clothes and the like. However, it is important to understand that in a consumer society that confers more importance to what one "possesses" than to who one "is," clothes or the equivalent products acquire new meaning. They become a symbol of power and belonging. They represent an important form of distinction, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1994). The illusion of consumption imparts to these teenagers a sensation of strength; they possess something that inequality, intrinsic to Brazilian society, limits.

"It is so important and gratifying for them to enter a clothes shop in a shopping center, choose the clothes that they like most, try them on and buy them, that it justifies the risks of working in drug traffic" (Moreira, 2000:109).

For Zaluar (1994) apart from consumption, there is another very important factor that contributes to the entry of youth into drug trafficking: weapons. According to the author, young adults are fascinated by a "virile subculture" that reaches children and young adults' vulnerability directly. What matters most is the alleged value obtained by external image and the use of force (weapons, money, clothes, drugs and women).

Zaluar (1994) explains the reason why children and young adults enter criminal activities in the city of Rio de Janeiro, based on this conflict they experience. The conflict opposes the disposition to kill, steal and deal with the disposition for honest work. The facility of earning money in illicit activities allows the consumption of certain goods that would otherwise not be accessible to them. Through their own experiences and observation of the lives of their parents, children and young adults form a negative perception of work, associated with slavery.

Often, subjects refer to the low wages of parents indicating that outlaw activities are a concrete life and survival alternative, regardless of the risks entailed. In the author's opinion, they acquire chauvinist values for they are brought up out of school and without a religious education that would give them a rigid work ethic. In this context, submission becomes even more humiliating. Children and young adults seek autonomy, adrenaline, independence and power, which are essentially expressed by their image and perceived by their peers.

The media contributes to this mentality, by promoting a consumer driven society, where individualism and personal achievements indicate success. It also promotes a "wise-guy" character – one that lives an easy life with little sacrifices, although usually short lived – imparting to it certain glamour. Moreover, especially through television, the media creates role models that draw children and young adults into an aggressive culture. In this sense, as the media's message is incorporated, young members of drug trafficking schemes view murder and death as normal or even trivial. Killing becomes an act of survival or courage. At the same time, early death is predictable for those who wander around their communities with weapons of war.

In her study of the Cidade de Deus community in Rio de Janeiro, Zaluar demonstrates how the acquisition of weapons by youth affected local power relations. What used to be ruled by a rigid hierarchy between generations is now imposed by the will of teenagers linked to drug traffic who use weapons of war of strong destructive power.

For Assis (1999) children and young adults tend to feel powerful as the drug trafficking network deploys its forces in the communities. Respect is mistaken for fear, and is imposed upon other residents. This respect increases as the children ascend in the trafficking culture hierarchy. However, the value of life decreases, almost disappearing from inside these children. The author concludes by providing three reasons through which subjects justify their participation in trafficking: money, women and respect.

The lack of perspective must be considered as a reason for young transgressors to reject basic social values. However, this is not an absolute truth. It is part of a paternalistic script that asserts that young people enter drug trafficking due to dire living conditions. This is equivalent to characterizing them as passive individuals,

mere products of their social environment.

Assis (1999) deems violence theories as being almost invariably partial. It is necessary to reflect theoretically and methodologically in accordance to the topic's complexity and controversy. The author maintains that, within a structural perspective, it is common practice to justify violence as a result of social inequality; to say that people participate in illegal activities because they are socially and economically disadvantaged (Merton, 1957 apud Assis, 1999). In addition to social inequality there is a lack of social perspective, lack of opportunities through "good, hard and honest" work, and the facilities and positive externalities offered by organized crime. These reasons must also be combined to the environment that often trivializes violence. Most importantly, in addition to these reasons one must consider the socio-psychological consequences linked to personal frustration

According to Moreira (2000), children's involvement in drug trafficking reveals an attitude of escape and searching, of turning away from problems and satisfying cravings, a synergy of sensations, feelings and actions. In his research, the author gathered statements from youth attended to by Applied System of Protection – (a re-socialization program in a commitment facility for minors). One of the subjects reveals some of the motives that led to his involvement in drug trafficking:¹⁰

"For some, it's lack of work; others want to buy expensive clothes. Some say they get involved to help their families, but actually they don't. Sometimes a guy is afraid to speak out, spend money in immoral conduct. Sometimes an addict spends money buying cocaine or marijuana. Others cash it in with women, motels. Traffic... say: we only hang around together, since we are all kids. Then you get involved. I'm with you and you are pushing dope. And the other guy asks: 'can you help me, just in pushing'. Then another one, who is with you, ends up getting involved as well and so on. If you're working you won't get involved. But if you are not doing anything...."

For Moreira, the greatest of all limitations is that, if the subject tries to leave trafficking and rebuild his social environment, the predicaments presently suffered remain present: modest education, precarious living conditions, prejudices, stigmas, unemployment, and so on. He believes that people would have to free themselves from discriminatory conceptions in order to face the problem. The young members of drug trafficking are a part of society and their participation in these schemes does not transform them into *soldiers* or *enemies*. Neither does it eliminate the obstacles faced by the population. When devising alternatives one cannot ignore the presuppositions that maintain the city's homogeneous view on the drug issue, on popular communities and of the youth.

¹⁰ All names of subjects used throughout the report have been changed for reasons of confidentiality.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The collection of quantitative data carried out through semi-structured interviews, seeks to gather information on the life conditions of children involved in drug trafficking. Further to this, it seeks to reveal the views of community members and professionals on the topic and possible alternatives to confront this activity. The universe surveyed consisted of 40 children, all male; ten young adults, between 20 and 30 years old, three of whom are female and all of whom are involved in drug trafficking schemes; five family members of the children; five police officers; 10 members of the local branch of the judiciary system; five principals of public schools; five low-income community members, some of whom are community leaders; 20 children and young adults from low-income communities who are not involved in the trafficking business, ten being drug users and ten who do not use drugs. Altogether, one hundred (100) people were interviewed.

This sort of data survey is a delicate task to implement, as it is subject to unexpected situations. Thus, a team with extensive professional experience in working with and in low-income areas and in dealing with low-income groups was created for the fieldwork.

The team managed to collect data on children working in drug trafficking in 21 different communities. The most difficult task of the investigation process was to reach the people who should be interviewed. This was achieved in two ways: (i) members of the research team that live in low-income communities of Rio de Janeiro contacted children active in trafficking directly, and (ii) interviews with children committed to intensive care institutions were authorized by the children's court (2ª Vara da Infância e Juventude). Data were collected from two institutions: Instituto Santo Expedito and Instituto João Alves. Only three girls active in trafficking were interviewed, as the time was limited and female participation in drug trafficking is relatively small. Children who had stopped working in trafficking or who come from the middle classes were not interviewed at this stage. None of the children interviewed in the institutions belonged to this social stratum. Moreover, it was not possible to find middle class children active in drug trafficking as they are dispersed throughout a vast area.

Generally, the children and adolescents involved in trafficking of drugs were interviewed in public spaces, such as bars and trailers, or in residences of people involved in the traffic. The other interviews took place in the subject's residences or workplaces.

There were no serious unexpected situations that arose during the interviews. The interviewers' experience guaranteed the production of questions that embraced several aspects of the children's activities. It was important to recognize that drug trafficking does not fit the forms of labour organization, weekly workload and compensation practices that formal patterns of labour do. These practices in drug trafficking vary a great deal, even for the same individual, as people are involved in several different ways. Drug trafficking could not be considered "regular" work, and needed to be investigated taking into account its hidden and illegal nature.

As the respondents belong to different communities, it is difficult to relate the findings to specific geographical aspects. The study thus seeks to present a global picture of Rio de Janeiro and children in drug trafficking in its low-income communities.

The data collected during the fieldwork were presented at a workshop following the research. The meeting gathered ten professionals from Rio de Janeiro involved in the topic of drug trafficking in several forms. The participants received the document and were asked to present their analysis of the investigation as well as public policy proposals to address the topic.

Chapter 3: Children Engaged in Drug Trafficking Schemes

3.1 Data on children who committed crimes or misdemeanors

The Children's Court is an arm of the Judiciary System designated to prosecute children under 18 years of age. Its jurisdiction may reach young adults, up to 21 years old, as long as the crimes or misdemeanors were committed when they were minors.

Between 1996 and 2000 the 2^a VIJ handled 25.488 children and adolescents, 2.612 – 11.07% - female and 22.876 - 88.93% - male. In the year 2000, 59.5% of the children were first time offenders; 19.11% had one previous registration; 9.33% had two previous entries and approximately 10% had three or more.

The percentage of children in the system increases progressively according to age, until the age of 17 years. Among the defendants, 0.62% is under 12, whereas 30.4% is 17. 15.1% of the children are between 12 and 14 years old and 40.5% between 15 and 16. Tables 1 to 4 are related to children who attended the 2nd VIJ from 1996 to 2000.

Table 1: Children in the Judiciary System by age

Age	Percentage
Under 12	0.62%
13 – 14	15.1%
15-16	40.5%
17	30.4%
18	13.18%

Source: 2nd VIJ

The most arresting data are in regards to the children's educational level: around 30% did not supply the information on their number of years of schooling. Of those who did, 36.7% had attended from between zero to four years. This is half the Rio de Janeiro average educational level of approximately eight years. The Brazilian average is 6.4 years. The number of children in school increases until the 5th grade¹¹ when it peaks at 12.3%; after this, it declines. Only 5.6% reach the equivalent of the North American high school level. A mere 0.02% reaches higher education.

Table 2: Years of schooling

Years in school	Percentage
Did not answer	30.0%
0 – 4	36.7%
5	13.3%
6 – 8	14.6%
9 – 11	5.4%
Over 11	-

Source: 2nd VIJ

¹¹ The average age of children in the 5th grade in Brazil is 11 years old.

The VIJ sources do not contain income data of these children or their families. It is common knowledge, however, that there is a strong and positive correlation between amount of income and level of education. Most of the delinquent children belong to the poorest strata of the population of Rio de Janeiro.

The city of Rio de Janeiro is witnessing a process that has led to the increase of violence practiced by children and young adults living there. In 1996, 3,318 offences practiced by children under 18 were registered in Rio. In 1997, this number rose by 50%, reaching 5,011. The situation peaked in 1998 with 6,004 cases and fell nearly 10% in 1999. In the year 2000, the number rose slightly to 5.898 cases.

Table 3: Statistics by age

Age Group	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	TOTAL	(%)
Under 12	2	13	-	43	100	158	0.62%
12	88	117	121	79	144	549	2.16%
13	166	224	226	151	256	1.023	4.03%
14	343	578	499	341	503	2.264	8.91%
15	596	948	1.030	599	921	4.094	16.12%
16	968	1.387	1.471	1.007	1.353	6.186	24.35%
17	1.154	1.838	1.758	1.378	1.607	7.735	30.45%
18	-	-	550	940	382	1.872	7.37%
Not answered	-	-	-	892	631	1.523	6.00%
TOTAL	3.317	5.105	5.655	5.430	5.897	25.404	100.00%

Source: 2nd VIJ

Table 4: Registered crimes and misdemeanors

Felony	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
Against People	232	299	418	656	866	2471
Against Property	1480	1346	1337	1767	2393	8322
Against Moral & Tradition	44	49	51	76	80	300
Drug abuse or Dealing	1402	1648	3211	1831	1733	9825
Misdemeanor	130	1484	593	738	443	3388
Other	30	185	394	362	383	1354
Total	3318	5011	6004	5430	5898	25661

Source: 2nd VIJ

As the data reveal, involvement with narcotics corresponds to 35.5% of registered offences. Of these, 22.1% is defined as drug dealing (code 12), and 13.4% as drug abuse (article 16). Offences classified as drug dealing or abuse are the most common among minors.

3.2 Profile of children involved in drug trafficking schemes

Table 5: Age

Age	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity ¹²
13	2.50%	-	1
14	10.00%	-	4
15	17.50%	-	7
16	27.50%	-	11
17	32.50%	-	13
18	10.0%	-	4
20	-	20%	2
21	-	10%	1
22	-	10%	1
23	-	10%	1
27	-	20%	2
28	-	10%	1
30	-	10%	1
33	-	10%	1

Source: IETS¹³

There are a great number of teenagers between 15 and 17 years old involved in criminal activities, and a progressive increase in the number of children between 13 and 17 years old who are involved in drug trafficking schemes. It is important to point out, nonetheless, that what the data suggest and what privileged observers confirm¹⁴ is that the age of children employed by the drug trade is decreasing. The table below demonstrates this fact. It compares the age minors and young adults enter the drug trafficking business.

Table 6: Age of entry into drug trafficking

Age	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
8	2.50%	-	1
9	5.00%	-	2
10	5.00%	-	2
11	12.50%	-	5
12	15.00%	-	6
13	27.50%	10%	12
14	17.50%	20%	9
15	10.00%	20%	6
16	5.00%	20%	4
18	-	10%	1
25	-	20%	2

Source: IETS

¹² Fifty people were interviewed: 40 children and 10 young adults. Among the children, every individual corresponds to 2.5%; among the young adults every individual corresponds to 10%.

¹³ All tables relate to data collected by IETS' research team for this report unless stated otherwise.

¹⁴ As in Chapter 1 of this Assessment Report.

Several sources emphasized the change that has occurred over the last few years regarding the involvement of children in the business. This was not a common strategy used by drug trafficking schemes until the first half of the 1990s. Furthermore, in many low-income communities, “Favelas,” the *drug lords* would not allow children to participate. Among other issues, they feared the community’s disapproval, the children’s lack of experience in carrying out tasks, in confronting the police or rival groups, and of professional responsibility.

After the second half of the 1990s, the enrolment of minors intensified, tapping progressively younger children. According to most sources, the main reason for this change is the reduced cost of children in case of imprisonment or extortion by the police. In this respect, the full legal age generates the so-called *perverse effect*: an action to overcome a predicament reproduces another one of similar complexity.

“Fiapo and Branco were on a motorbike. They left the favela, entered the avenue and saw a police car. They slammed the cops and hit the road. The cops came after them and bucked the two. Two kids, one fifteen, the other sixteen; they had a lot of adrenaline, no one can knock them off” – Anailde – general manager, 23 years old, Favela Nova Holanda, Maré

The fact that children are more readily available for these schemes is a second element stimulating their involvement. According to some of the subjects interviewed (children and young adults – over 18 – involved in the drug trafficking business), the children end up *inebriated* by the adrenaline of everyday life in drug trafficking. Children *enjoy* shoot-outs with the police or members of rival groups as well as demonstrating strength and fearlessness, for example, more intensely than their older counterparts. It is not a coincidence that, according to most of the subjects interviewed, most die within the year that they enter the gang. One of the subjects interviewed stated that: “those who survive the first year don’t die.” This, obviously, is not true, however, it demonstrates that time is an essential factor in assimilating the basic rules of survival - some of which many of the children are not able to acquire. Such examples include avoiding exposure to the police force, respecting the local population, avoiding making improper statements, not being ambitious and avoiding cocaine use.

These “rules” are acknowledged by daily observation during first-hand training. Thus, the longer the children’s prior exposure to drug trafficking networks, the stronger the rules that guide the business are incorporated by the children, and the greater their capacity is to handle them.

Table 7: Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Pardo (¹)	45%	40%	22
Black	40%	50%	21
White	15%	10%	7

¹Brazilian with partial African ascendance.

Source: IETS

There is a significantly high proportion of African-Brazilian and "Pardos" working in drug trafficking. While African-Brazilians and "Pardos" represent roughly 45% of the population, in this business they represent 90% of the workforce.

Table 8: Brazilian population by ethnicity

Ethnicity	Percentage
White	54.00%
Pardos	39.90%
Black	5.40%
Asian	0.16%
Indigenous	0.46%

Source: PNAD 1999 –IBGE

This fact is in line with the number of African-Brazilians and "Pardos" in the Brazilian popular strata. Those who have fewer opportunities in the formal sector of the economy are more likely to be marginalized, and thus impelled into illegal activities such as drug trafficking.

All of the subjects under 18 that were interviewed were born in Rio de Janeiro, as were their parents. However, most of their grandparents are migrants, especially from the Northeast. This suggests that the subjects are third-generation migrants who have adapted to the city. Nevertheless, they still face the difficulties their parents and grandparents faced and have few social opportunities. Their parents' income, schooling levels and professions are a compelling register of their limited opportunities.

"In my house, we lived in great financial difficulty and there was never enough money for anything. But my mother has always been a hard worker; she never accepted this drug trafficking story. Today, still, she doesn't accept money from me; she is a cleaner." – William, 16 years old, Morro da Formiga, Tijuca

Table 9: Income of parents, in Minimum Wages (MW), monthly compensation

Income (in MW)	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Up to 1	12,50%	20%	7
From 1 to 2	22,50%	20%	11
From 2 to 3	5%	10%	3
From 3 to 5	2,50%	30%	4
From 5 to 10	2,50%	-	1
More than 10	2,50%	-	1
Does not know	52,50%	20%	23

MW= US\$ 88.00

Source: IETS

Many children are not aware of the amount of their parents' income, however, they

are familiar with their financial woes. Of the parents of those who know how much they make for a living, a high proportion - around 80% - earn up to three minimum wages. This is coherent to the average family income of low-income communities in Rio de Janeiro, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Socio-economic indicators of households in Rio de Janeiro

Index	Low-income communities in Rio de Janeiro	City of Rio de Janeiro
Head of Households with less than 4 years of schooling	20.60%	17.20%
Head of Households with more than 15 years of schooling	1.07%	16.70%
Illiterate Population under 15 years of age	15.30%	6.10%
Head of Households with income up to 2 M.W.	72.30%	35.50%
Head of Households with income equal or above 10 M.W.	0.61%	15.10%
Average Nominal Income of Head of Households in M.W.	1.71	5.84

Source: IPLAN- RIO, 1997 based upon the 1991 Census

It is relevant to note that the parents' income is either on par with, or slightly below the average of "Favelas." Considering that even those who are unfamiliar with their parents' income affirm that they have financial difficulties, it is safe to say that drug trafficking attracts mainly children of low or medium income households. Families led by "high-end" category professionals of low-income communities, "Favelas," - typically shop owners and civil servants - have fewer children involved in drug trafficking than lower-wage professionals with low qualifications. Drug trafficking attracts children from all segments of low-income communities, but mainly from the lowest end of the population.

Sixty per cent of the minors are not aware of their father's educational level and 45% are not aware of their mother's. Only 5% answered that at least one of their parents completed secondary education, that is to say only 5% of the children have at least one parent that studied eleven years or more. Most parents did not complete basic education (at least eight years of schooling). The parents' professions are a consequence of their low education and result in their low income. All of them work in manual activities and are poorly qualified. Many are domestic servants or manual workers in the construction business. The children's educational levels do not vary much from those of their parents.

Table 11: Years of schooling

Years of Schooling	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
1	10.00%	-	4
2	5.00%	10%	3
3	2.50%	-	1
4	37.50%	20%	17
5	30.00%	20%	14
6	12.50%	10%	6
7	2.50%	30%	4
Illiterate	-	10%	1

Source: IETS

“I was going to school and working in drug trafficking; I was thirteen. But I was tired all the time. One day I dropped-out of school. The Principal called me and insisted that I come back. I was a good student. But no way. I enjoyed school, but I wanted to grow in the business, own the favela” – Cláudio, 17 years old, general manager, Morro do Borel, Tijuca.

Table 12: Age dropped out of school

Age	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Under 11	15.00%	-	6
11 – 12	12.50%	-	5
13 – 14	25.00%	-	10
15 –16	15.00%	30%	9
17 or over	-	50%	5
Does not know	32.50%	20%	15

Source: IETS

A higher education level of the parents does not reflect a higher education level of the child. The greater percentage of subjects over 18 with more years of schooling than their younger counterparts, probably reflects the decrease in the age children enter the drug trafficking business.

Around 32.5% of the children do not remember how old they were when they left school. This is testament to the lack of significance they confer to the institution. There is an important difference between the drop out ages of the two groups. This difference is evidence that the children are effectively entering drug trafficking progressively earlier, making it difficult to remain in school. Many children say that they actually like school, but that the trafficking routine and attitude demanded by the drug trade and its social network prevent them from attending class. Most of the

subjects showed little interest in school.

The main negative points of school are reported to be the excess discipline, having to study and stay still for long periods of time and, to a smaller extent, the attitude of the principals. Difficulty in learning and the lack of significance of what is being taught are two other negative points mentioned by the subjects. It is clear that the standards of behavior of the school are not in line with children’s interests.

Drug trafficking demands action, alacrity and *tuning in* all the time. School demands a different kind of concentration to perform tasks in an ordered and systematic fashion. It demands the use of cognitive abilities that are not traditionally used. The main positive point mentioned by the subjects about school is the fact that there they acquire knowledge. In contradiction, however, the dispositions demanded by drug trafficking make it hard for them to learn.

A peculiar aspect of the children’s relationship with school is their perception of teachers’ activities. The work teachers perform is the second positive point mentioned by the children, more than their relationship with other children. Not liking the teachers, however, was the main reason expressed for leaving school. It appeared ahead of not wanting to study, or wanting to earn money or fighting too much. The issue of liking the teachers or not clearly depends on different individuals and reveals the important role that teachers play, especially for children who are at social risk.

“Dimas was in the hands of a bunch of guys with rifles, he and two friends. He was going to die. He was walking and praying, he had faith. Suddenly he disappeared. No one knows what happened. The others died but he escaped. It’s the power of prayer.”
 – Azul, 17 years old, Favela do Rubens Vaz, Maré.

It is important to point out the religion professed by the children and young adults who work in trafficking, as shown in the following table:

Table 13: Religion

Religion	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Catholic	12.50%	20%	7
Protestant	5.00%	20%	4
Neo-Pentecostal	30.00%	20%	14
Afro-Brazilian Cult	2.50%	-	1
Not Religious	50.00%	40%	24

Source: IETS

Half of the subjects do not profess to belong to any religion, nor do they claim to be agnostic nor atheist. All affirmed their belief in God. The most significant factor is the decreasing importance of the Afro-Brazilian cults. Historically, the majority of people from the lower strata of society professed Candomblé and Umbanda, among others, as their religion. The aggressive growth campaign of Neo-Pentecostal churches, especially “Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus,¹⁵” among members of Afro-Brazilian religious groups seems to have been highly effective.

¹⁵ “Universal Church of God’s Kingdom”

The Brazilian Neo-Pentecostal Movement offers an alternative by breaking the subjects' links to the past. It transfers the responsibility of personal acts from the self to spiritual entities. This has facilitated its penetration into the popular sectors. It offers the possibility of belonging to a new social network with different codes and rules. At a theological level, it presents a personal God: a Superior Being that establishes a direct relationship with the individual, and rescues him/her from everyday torments. Another characteristic that is less mentioned is that Pentecostal Religions appropriate words and rituals that have been traditionally linked to Afro-Brazilian cults.

The "Igreja Universal" substitutes "macumba," and other Afro-Brazilian cults, in what is perceived by believers as its most valued blessing: the protection from spiritual evil. Many of the subjects referred to the power of prayer as a means of protection in times of conflict or tension, common during a day spent in drug trafficking. This process is seen not only among the lower strata; it is a widespread trend, witnessed among professional football players, artists and other segments of society.

Religion is a factor that made many subjects, under and over 18, feel uneasy and embarrassed about killing. They say, "Only God can take someone else's life." This does not, however, stop them from murdering whenever necessary to defend their gang or their own lives.

3.3 Life dynamics of children in drug trafficking

"The woman has an easy life, living off a guy's money; when her partner falls, if he's boxed, she can't leave him. Someone who's there during good times has to hold on to the guy in the worst of times. If she doesn't, she'll pay the price." – Mariane, 22 years old, Parque União, Favela da Maré.

"My woman left me and hooked-up with another dude. When I leave this joint the first thing I'm gonna do is slash her nipples and waste her. Then she'll learn not to mess around with me." – Gerson, 17 years old, Cidade de Deus.

Observing the marital status of subjects leads to a better understanding of their daily lives in trafficking. First, the number of married children and young adults is a striking 22.5%. Success with women is one of the most important factors in attracting and keeping children in drug trafficking. Even those who are not married stress the importance of a stable relationship.

This fact may be explained by the difficulty subjects find in preserving a relationship with their families after working some time in trafficking. The family may start to be observed by the police or to suffer aggression from rival gangs. It is not a coincidence that most of the children wanted very badly to buy a good house for their family, somewhere outside the "Favela." By removing their families from the "Favela," the subjects avoid the risks of eventual rival gang attacks.

The respondents' feelings regarding partners are different. A good wife shares the

good and bad times. She has the right to enjoy the perks of her position, especially material goods. But she is also obliged to show her solidarity in difficult moments. The husband's imprisonment is the crucial moment for her to demonstrate her solidarity. A wife or partner who abandons the man who sustained her livelihood in this predicament, can be punished with cruelty, often by death. The feeling of betrayal in this case is so overwhelming that it was one of the few areas of consensus within the group, including the women. However, only some children defend the necessity of tough solutions.

“...Friends are the ones that hold-out with you, when you need them, when you are facing heat or the enemy. Friends are those who you trust, with whom you must have responsibility.” – Zumbi, Morro do Dendê, 16 years old, Ilha do Governador.

Other common elements of the group are the relations established in their everyday lives, as the table below demonstrates:

Table 14: Main relationships

Index	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Involved in drug trafficking	75%	60%	36
Drug addicts not involved in trafficking	5%	-	2
Non drug users and not involved in trafficking	20%	40%	12

Source: IETS

One of the aspects that best characterizes the subjects is their sense of belonging to a group. This is particularly strong among the younger children. Their stark “esprit de corps,” their longing to increase the gang’s influence within the city, and to declare that they would give their own lives for the group are typical of the younger children. However, the longer they remain involved in trafficking, the more their relationship with the group loosens. On the one hand relations in trafficking are valued because they are intense and encompassing: every day is spent within the unit on an integral basis. However, the daily rules of trafficking are difficult and tense. Many subjects, particularly the older ones, say that it is crucial to learn how to listen, talk and see, in order to survive in this sort of environment.

Because positions and situations are fluid, the drug trade’s social network is sustained by rigorous principles, strongly defended by all subjects. The capacity to execute the rules with greater competence will define the process of ascending in hierarchy. The sentence “money is an enemy” reveals the importance of not being dragged down by ambition and is a declaration of being a trustworthy bearer of money or valuable goods. Other characteristics are also relevant to attain a better position within the organization, among them, bravery and audacity in confronting the police or a rival gang.

It is not a coincidence that many assert that the worse aspect of life in drug trafficking is the possibility of betrayal by ambitious or treacherous gang members. Envy, resentment and ambition are elements that are present in their everyday lives. Many say that in drug trafficking “nobody is nobody’s friend, one cares only about oneself.”

People in middle management positions are especially careful with words and fearful of some sort of betrayal that will put them “into the hands of death.”

“I’ve seen a lot of kids sniffing, acting stupid, zonked, mistaking neighbors for enemies, icing the wrong people. He dies. The Blanco is good to make money, blowing it is stupid” – Branco, 16 years old, Morro da Mangueira.

Most of the subjects avoid regular use of cocaine; this is a result of their cautionary attitudes. “Coke” is considered to have a high exchange value, but its use is despised: “cocaine makes the person neurotic, anxious, the person can’t think properly and ends up doing a lot of nonsense.” Moreover, cocaine is more expensive than marijuana, for example, and most people cannot afford it.

Of the 36 children who use drugs, 90% prefer marijuana. Generally, they use it many times a day. A much smaller group – six children total – also uses cocaine, but only twice a week – usually on Fridays and Saturdays. Only a small group of four does not use illegal substances or, on the contrary, uses more than two substances – marijuana, hashish and cocaine. Marijuana, therefore, is the favorite substance among subjects that abuse illegal drugs, and is usually smoked many times a day. None of the subjects use crack cocaine, it is largely known as a drug with rapid destructive effects.

Table 15: Drug abuse

Substance	Under 18	Over 18	Family Members
Marijuana	90%	50%	50%
Cocaine	15%	30%	40%
Hashish	25%	20%	-
Alcohol	22.5%	70%	50%
None	10%	30%	5%

Source: IETS

The trafficking hierarchy is organized as follows (from lowest to highest): watchman; dealer; packaging; security; product manager; general manager; owner.

“I used to protect the boss all around, I was at his disposal, whenever he called me, I was there. I never ran from heat. He started to trust me and gave me the post. You have to work hard, be dedicated, trustworthy and responsible, and account for your business.” – Toni, 17, marijuana manager, Favela de Antares.

Attempts to understand compensation practices and workload in trafficking, by comparing them to traditional labour market patterns is meaningless. As mentioned previously, practices in this specific line of business are different from formal and informal market activities; they are hidden and illegal and should not be considered “normal” work. Compensation varies according to occupation. Those involved may be paid a weekly fixed amount, receive a daily payment or a percentage of sales, or even a combination of both. Value will depend on the revenue of each sales point, which varies by community. Generally, communities with stronger revenues are better

structured, with more effective security schemes and higher compensation.

Table 16: Occupation, weekly workload (WL) & income (values in R\$)

Occupation	WL – Weekly Minimum (hrs)	WL – Weekly Maximum (hrs)	Monthly Income Minimum ([1])	Monthly Income Maximum
Watchman	40	72	600	1.000,00
Packaging	12	36	300	1.400,00
Dealer	36	72	1.900,00	3.000,00
Security	36	60	1.200,00	2.000,00
Product Manager	60	72	2.000,00	4.000,00
General Manager	60	72	10.000,00	15.000,00

¹ USD = R\$ 2.50

Source: IETS

Hours vary according to demand and activity, however, total availability for daily activities is a key characteristic of all members. This element appears more radically among new ones. The variables that guide the behavior of someone in drug trafficking are thus different from those that affect workers in formal activities. Dealers and watchmen are the two positions that have the greatest similarity to formal job relations in a structural sense. The former is not allowed to leave his station until he sells all the supplies for which he is responsible. He earns more than security personnel due to this responsibility and to his greater exposure. Watchmen must remain on duty as long as dealers are working. Security people, on the other hand, do not have a fixed station. They may wander around the community or even go to a party. Hours of managers’ or owners’ bodyguards are established according to necessity.

The total availability of those involved in drug trafficking is a result of the impossibility of leaving the community. Outside the trafficking domain there is latent risk of confrontation with police or rival groups. Escape routes must be carefully prepared beforehand. Individuals are restricted to areas where local drug dealers are allies. Moreover, it depends on the degree of exposure – that is on how much the police and other groups mark the member. The longer one is in trafficking, the harder it is to have free passage in and around the city. This reinforces local bonds and routines.

3.4 Reasons that lead children to drug trafficking

“I was on my way to work when a friend called me to steal with him in the city. He taught me how to do it. I thread my hand in the old man’s pocket and got the wallet. There were R\$ 450,00. My wage was R\$150,00 a month. It was so easy, I never left this life; I was 15 years old. Today, there is no way back.” – Ariel, 23 years old, general

All subjects were asked what led them into drug trafficking. On the one hand, children and young adults engaged in drug trafficking, drug abusers and family members all believe personal choice is the key element that leads children into the business.

According to these groups, the main reasons are identifying with the group, *adrenaline* and, first and foremost, the craving to consume illegal substances. Workers in the community, community leaders, children and young adults who do not use drugs, and civil servants – judiciary system, on the other hand, tend to explain children’s attraction to the business by their lack of financial resources and/or frail family structure. They see external factors as the relevant elements that lead children to drug trafficking. Police officers deem structural factors important, but tend to also highlight individual attributes as relevant factors.

Table 17: Children’s reasons for being involved in drug trafficking

Index	Importance	Quantity
Identifies with group	1 st	15
Adrenaline	2 nd	11
Provide financial help to family	3 rd	8
Desire to earn money	3 rd	8
Prestige and power	4 th	7
Professional and income limitation	5 th	6
Defend community	6 th	5
Family violence	6 th	5
Vengeance / rebellion	6 th	5
Difficulty in school	7 th	1
Craving to use drugs	7 th	1

Source: IETS

Table 18: Young adults (workers over 18 years old) reasons for being involved in drug trafficking

Index	Importance	Quantity
Money and desire to consume	1 st	6
Adrenaline	2 nd	4
Identifies with group	3 rd	3
Prestige and power	4 th	2
Professional and income limitations	4 th	2
Drug addiction	5 th	1
Revolt against the police	5 th	1

Source: IETS

Table19: Family members of children involved

Index	Importance
Money and desire to consume	1 st
Identifies with group, prestige and power	2 nd

Source:IETS

Table 20: Workers and community members

Index	Importance
Family problems	1 st
Adrenaline	2 nd
Poverty, prestige and power, absence of public policies and local environment influences.	3 rd
Unemployment, drawn to consume by mass media, absence of religious values and identifies with drug dealers.	4 th

Source: IETS

Table 21: Civil Servants – Judiciary System

Index	Importance
Poverty	1 st
Family problems	2 nd
Influence of local environment	3 rd
Drawn to consumption by mass media	4 th
Drug addiction, identifies with dealer.	5 th
Unemployment	6 th
School is not prepared to deal with children	7 th

Source: IETS

Table 22: Children and young adults who use drugs

Index	Importance
Family Problems, Drawn to consumption by mass media	1 st
Professional and income limitations	2 nd
Absence of religious values	3 rd
Poverty, identifies with group, adrenaline, drug addiction and school unprepared to deal with children	4 th

Source: IETS

Table 23: Children who abuse drugs and live in low-income communities “Favelas”

Index	Importance
Money and desire to consume	1 st
Family problems	2 nd
Identifies with group, and drug addiction	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 24: Police

Index	Importance
Money and desire to consume	1 st
Poverty	2 nd
Prestige and power	3 rd

Source: IETS

“I only see three types of people earning money from the drug traffic: women, police and lawyers. The dealers are losers really, they never accumulate anything.” – César, brother of the owner of one of the greatest vending points in the city of Rio de Janeiro, detained in a high security prison for three years, Nelson Mandela, Manguinhos

Determining why a child does or does not enter the drug trafficking business can only be analyzed through a multifactor perspective. Thus, the course of lives of individuals from diverse social groups is laid out based upon reciprocal influences of personal subjective attributes and those of the social network to which they belong. Being part of particular social networks – whether family, neighborhood, church, school, and so on – the singular form in the way an individual relates with diverse groups and with his or her own experience, are the variables that may better lead one to understand why one child will be co-opted by drug trafficking while his or her brother or sister will go on to be a hard working individual. The views as to why children do not enter drug trafficking reinforce this premise. The groups that deemed structural variables of great importance in 2.3 tend to value individual choice, while, on the other hand, those groups that emphasize the importance of subjective attributes in the same section tend to value family structure. Family structure, nonetheless, is understood as the central element in keeping children away from trafficking.

It is not possible to ignore fear of death as an important barrier to enter this line of business. This is even a stronger factor than the fear of imprisonment. This derives from the strategy used by Rio de Janeiro’s police force in its fight against drugs, which is supported through armed confrontation, instead of criminal investigation. In addition to police force action, conflicts among gangs have become more bellicose,

with the use of sophisticated armament. Therefore, the murder of children and young adults who work in drug trafficking has increased in Rio de Janeiro’s Metropolitan Area and become routine within low-income communities – “Favelas.”

3.5 Reasons that keep children from entering drug trafficking

“After you enter the trade, there are only two ways out: six feet under or the box. I’m out.”– Ernani, 17, Baixa do Sapateiro, Maré.

Table 25: Family of children employed in drug trafficking

Index	Importance
Moral values	1 st
Fear of prison, fear of death	2 nd

Source: IETS

Table 26: Workers and community members

Index	Importance
Well structured family	1 st
Moral values	2 nd
Fear of death	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 27: Civil Servants in the Judiciary System

Index	Importance
Well structured family	1 st
Fear of death or of prison	2 nd
Integration to social and moral values	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 28: Children who use drugs

Index	Importance
Fear of dying	1 st
Family support	2 nd
Lack of will, schooling, fear of prison	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 29: Young adults who do not use drugs

Index	Importance
Family Structure	1 st
Religious values	2 nd
Fear of death	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 30: Police

Index	Importance
Education	1 st
Family Structure	2 nd
Free will	3 rd

Source: IETS

3.6 Reasons why children are sought to engage in drug trafficking

“When the heat slams a clocker, they ask for less money. They know that the kid will be iced today and leave tomorrow. Apart from that, the kids are testy, they’re not afraid of anything, there’re canned by life in crime.” – William, 27 years, vending point’s general manager, Praia de Ramos, Maré

Table 31: Young adults involved in drug trafficking

Index	Importance	Quantity
Legal status of minor	1 st	7
Fearlessness	2 nd	6
Obedience	3 rd	5

Source: IETS

Table 32: Family members

Index	Importance
Legal status of minor	1 st
Obedience	2 nd

Source: IETS

Table 33: Workers and community members

Index	Importance
Prone to be influenced	1 st
Contact with the business is easy	2 nd
Legal status of minor	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 34: Civil Servants and Judiciary system

Index	Importance
Prone to be influenced	1 st
Law enforcement problems	2 nd
Over supply of workforce	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 35: Children who do not use drugs

Index	Importance
Legal status of minor	1 st
Obedience	2 nd
Fearlessness	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 36: Children who use drugs

Index	Importance
Legal status of minor	1 st
Over supply of workforce	2 nd
Age is of no importance	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 37: Police

Index	Importance
Legal status of minor	1 st

Source: IETS

The legal status of minors – under 18 years of age – appeared as the key element that motivates drug trafficking schemes to use them. Only in the civil servants’ – judiciary system – group did it not appear, probably due to fears that to put this issue up for discussion may add to the efforts to lower the age a minor may face justice with the status of an adult.

Only in crime do children under 18 have near-equal “job” opportunities, even when compared to adults. Compensation is defined more by occupation than by age, and ascension in hierarchy has little to do with chronological attributes. The use of minors in the business keeps the bottom line costs lower than if adults participated in their place, particularly when there are arrests. Since time served by minors is smaller, the cost of paybacks also tends to be smaller. It also leads to shorter periods of time that the “system” has to support the inactive worker.

The definition of an appropriate age at which a child can be brought to justice as an adult was a significant advance in the establishment of children’s and adolescents’ rights in Brazil. The limits of the law that established such an age – 18 years old – is its lack of efficient instruments to deter the rise in crimes committed by children and teenagers. Since the law is based upon chronological attributes, there is a strong limitation in the system’s ability to recognize the criminal act and the profile of the offender.

Today, the risk to this system is that, due to the obvious difficulty in arguing why a young adult who is 17, eleven months and 29 days old should be treated differently from a young adult who is 18 years and one day old, there will be some groups who pursue lowering the age limit a child may be prosecuted as an adult. The only way to deter these efforts is to demonstrate with hard data the efficiency of public policies designed to address this target-group and to broaden efforts that have been successful in the plight to keep children and young adults out of crime. What should not be dismissed is the rise in public opinion of those who defend a lower age-limit to take child offenders to adult courts.

Two other variables are deemed important in trafficking schemes’ preference of children and young adults. These are, in the first place, the recklessness to which this age group is prone even when facing police force and rival gangs, and, secondly, their obedience carrying out any orders given by superiors. It is a fact that children have fewer responsibilities than their parents and family, a fact that could inhibit a soldier’s will to take part in armed conflict.

Combat is perceived as a sort of game and the excitement involved is generally stronger than the fear of being hurt, wounded or killed in action. In the same way, the desire to belong to the gang and to be highly regarded by its members imparts on the children a sense of obedience and, therefore, a strong will to obey orders and rules of their superiors. They tend to not question commands, thus securing the business for managers and owners. It is also important to point out that the people in charge of hiring lower waged workers are the product-managers. Owners and general managers promote employees and determine their job and occupation. Ascending in the organization is not determined by bureaucratic logic, as proposed by Weber. Personal action and the will of superiors are the defining lines for climbing in hierarchy. Thus

the workers in this line of business are particularly keen to keep by their bosses' sides and to gain their admiration.

3.7 Reasons why children stay in drug trafficking

“If I quit this life, the cops won’t buy it, they’ll hunt me down, force me to grease their hands, and I will end up in a box like a blockhead. People want to leave but they can’t, they’re afraid.” – Pedro, Vila Pinheiros, 17 years old, Maré.

“If I found a job like yours, doing nothing, just asking questions, earning half of what I score today I’d quit this job on the spot. I dropped-out after fifth grade; I’ll never get something like that.” – Zaira, 21 years old, Nova Holanda, Maré.

Table 38: Children employed in drug trafficking

Index	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Fear of police action and of rival groups	27.50%	40%	15
Identifies with group	25.00%	10%	11
Money and the possibility of consumption	17.50%	10%	8
Prestige and power	17.50%	-	7
Adrenaline	10.00%	-	4
Difficulty in finding a job with the similar compensation	2.50%	40%	5

Source: IETS

3.8 Comparative advantages in drug trafficking

“Marcus had support, he went to school, was part of the dance-group, earned money, saw new places, had all the support. But he chose this life. He only thought of guns, of becoming a criminal.” – Rosária, Marcus’ mother, 14 years old, Morro do Timbau, Maré.

Table 39: Children and young adults

Index	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Money	57.5%	70%	30
Adrenaline	52.5%	30%	24
Prestige and power	47.5%	40%	23
Identify with group	27.5%	-	11
Drug use	2.5%	-	1
Helps community	-	10%	1

Source: IETS

Purchasing power is perceived as the most positive externality of being engaged in drug trafficking. Extremely relevant in attracting children to the business, this factor’s importance increases with time, since the youngsters gradually accumulate

responsibilities and get used to high levels of consumption. Money, furthermore, is an important instrument in guaranteeing liberty, mainly when one is at risk of imprisonment; bribes and extortion are common practices within the police force.

The following table presents the main fears of workers in this illicit activity, and is evidence of how crucial money is to them. There is a direct and proportional relationship between age and fear of police extortion. Extortion hinders accumulation and makes leaving trafficking more difficult. In spite of the nuisance caused by this common police force practice, it is nonetheless, perceived as part of the rules of the drug trafficking game. Actually, the drug trafficking force recognizes that the police have the “right” to racket their business, since the alternative to this is prison. On the other hand, gratuitous violence is not tolerated; the matter is serious enough to justify retaliation.

3.9 Main fears in drug trafficking:

Table 40: Children

Index	Under 18	Over 18	Quantity
Risk of dying	35.0%	30%	17
Police racket	30.0%	40%	16
Risk arrest	20.0%	20%	10
Permanent state of stress	15.0%	20%	8
Prejudice	7.5%	30%	6
Betrayal within group	7.5%	30%	6
Killing a friend within group	5.0%	20%	4
Becoming physically handicapped	2.5%	-	1
Exchange of fire with the police	2.5%	-	1
Not being able to find work elsewhere	-	10%	1

Source: IETS

3.10 Reasons that could help children leave drug trafficking

Table 41: Children

Index	Importance	Quantity
Save a lot of money	1 st	20
Fall in love with someone honest	2 nd	10
A decent job with similar compensation	3 rd	9
There are no possibilities of quitting the drug scene; only death	4 th	8
Establishing a family	5 th	7
Being arrested	6 th	5
Becoming a soccer player; will power	7 th	3

Source: IETS

Table 42: Young adults involved in drug trafficking

Index	Importance	Quantity
Save a lot of money	1 st	8
A decent job with similar compensation	2 nd	4
Moving to another state or to distant city	3 rd	3
Fall in love with someone honest	4 th	2
Establishing a family; death	5 th	1

Source: IETS

Table 43: Family Members

Index	Importance
A decent job with good compensation	1 st

Source: IETS

Table 44: Workers and community members

Index	Importance
Public policies (jobs, cultural and educational projects)	1 st
More family responsibility, non-corrupt police	2 nd
Save a lot of money	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 45: Civil Servants - Judiciary System

Index	Importance
Public policies (jobs, cultural and educational projects)	1 st
Good jobs and compensation for children and their families	2 nd
Family support, psychological and clinical support in general, orientation on drug abuse (media and family), more efficient systems blocking drugs from entering the country	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 46: Police

Index	Importance
Public policies (educational and leisure programs)	1 st
More repression	2 nd

Source: IETS

Table 47: Children who use drugs

Index	Importance
Public policies (training, education, employment and cultural programs)	1 st
Good jobs and compensation for families	2 nd
Sports and leisure programs	3 rd

Source: IETS

Table 48: Children and young adults who do not use drugs

Index	Importance
Public Policies (jobs, cultural and educational programs)	1 st
Good jobs and compensation for families, orientation on drug abuse (media and family)	2 nd
More repression	3 rd

Source: IETS

In respect to alternatives that ease the hardships of leaving the drug trafficking network, once more there is a difference of opinion. The children and young adults engaged in trafficking, along with their families, understand that personal solutions build the most important alternatives. To save a significant amount of money, sufficient to startup a legitimate business, preferably in another state, is very much present in the imagination of these individuals. Family members value a decent new job, with similar compensation to what they are paid in trafficking. The problem is that the routine practices in managing income do not contribute to savings, nor do “work accidents” - such as police extortion and arrests. This is a vicious cycle that is difficult to break. The possibilities of finding a good and decent job are bleak, since most workers have little schooling and are not qualified for any other occupation, not to mention the market’s prejudice in the face of an employee who is an ex-drug trafficker.

The romantic belief that to find an honest partner who loves the drug trafficker more than his, or her, purchasing power that comes from trafficking, is common among teenagers in drug trafficking. This notion tends to disappear in time, at least for males, even in the event that he finds an ideal partner. Marriage comes with economic burdens that further diminish the chances of finding alternative professional possibilities. The partner’s support, however, cannot be dismissed, due to its importance in times of imprisonment. In this case, the importance of family increases significantly and new alternatives to trafficking tend to appear, since the worker is out of the trafficking routine and in the precarious living conditions in prison. This only happens when the prisoner has a structured family that supports him and presents him with professional and logistical alternatives. In most cases, though, prison increases an individual’s dependence on the drug scheme and heightens his, or her, sense of belonging to the group.

The importance of structural actions in reducing the universe of children interested in entering drug trafficking is deemed more important than individual alternatives in all other groups surveyed. Investment in public policies, particularly in education, leisure activities and in job and income generation programmes are the most valued alternatives.

It is relevant to point out that the universe of children and young adults employed in drug trafficking is a small percentage of the total population of these age groups, even in low-income communities. The supply of new cultural, educational and leisure products, among others, is crucial in improving the lives of social groups under circumstances of economic disadvantage. Nonetheless motivation to enter trafficking is far more complex, and cannot be reduced to professional opportunities and public policies.

The alternatives proposed, in fact, sustain what may be called the paradigm of absence that perceives popular, or low-income, communities for what they lack. The concept is also used in understanding the trafficking workforce. Illicit drug commerce is a form of distinction, of acquiring personal benefits that would be harder to acquire by low-income workers in other professional and social fields, and that present challenges that break the daily routine. The policies to face the problem must, therefore, attack the issue upfront and directly. They must be broad and deep in their reach. The agenda discussed in the workshop, presented next, follows along these lines.

4. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

4.1 Description of the workshop

One of the main activities of this rapid assessment investigation was a workshop that joined together experts on violence, child labour and youth at social risk. The event, promoted by the Instituto de Estudos Trabalho e Sociedade – IETS – took place on September 14, 2001, at the Industrial Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro – FIRJAN.

This forum pursued an exchange of knowledge and a possible production of new public policy proposals to contribute to better dealing with the issue of children engaged in drug trafficking. A small number of experts were invited so as to guarantee a discussion of a relevant agenda in detail. Most of the participants received a preliminary report and were asked to comment on the results. Present at the event were the following:

- Dr. Pedro Américo – ILO/IPEC - Brazil
- Dr. Elizabeth Leeds – Project Adviser Ford Foundation - Brazil
- Dr. Rubem César Fernandes – Executive Director of the Viva Rio Movement - NGO
- Dr. Guaracy de Campos Vianna – Judge of the 2nd VIJ - Rio de Janeiro.
- Dr. Ignácio Cano – Professor at the Department of Social Sciences at the State University of Rio de Janeiro
- Dr. Leonarda Musumeci – Professor at the Institute of Economics at Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
- Dr. Jorge Luiz Barbosa - Professor at the Department of Geography at the Fluminense Federal University
- Luke Dowdney – Coordinator of the program “Children in Armed Conflict,” with strong ties to the Viva Rio Movement - NGO.
- Alda Carvalho Teixeira and Érika Piedade dos Santos – Programa de Apadrinhamento Sócio-Educativo – PASE - da 2^a Vara de Infância e Juventude.
- Rosângela Rocha Peçanha – Center for studies and research of the 2nd VIJ.
- Dr. Ricardo Henriques – Co-director of Diretoria de Pesquisas Sociais do IPEA and Executive-Secretary of IETS.
- Manuel Thedim – Management-Coordinator of IETS.
- Wellem Lyrio; Fernando Lannes; Cláudio Severiano; Thiago Frago; Anita de Oliveira e Letícia de Albuquerque – Researchers of Observatório Social de Favelas do IETS.

- Elsa Aleixo de Sousa e Elionalva Sousa Silva – Researchers of the project “*As piores formas de Trabalho Infantil*” – *crianças empregadas no tráfico de drogas no Rio de Janeiro*.
- Dr. Jailson de Souza e Silva e Dr. André Urani – Coordinators of the rapid assessment research.

IETS’s Executive Secretary, Ricardo Henriques coordinated the workshop. He opened the meeting by presenting the Institute’s goals, action and structure. After his brief presentation, the floor was given to the International Labour Organization (ILO) – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) representative Dr. Pedro Américo, who presented the ILO policies aimed at eradicating child labour. He also put into context the research IETS undertook in Rio de Janeiro within the international framework of the ILO’s studies on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL). The ILO project has investigated situations of WFCL in 19 countries and one border area. He closed his statements by emphasizing the importance of Brazilian civil society in embracing the fight to overcome the predicament.

Next, Dr. André Urani presented children and youth labour market data for Rio de Janeiro¹⁶. He addressed the decrease in the participation rate of teenagers between ages 15 and 17 in Rio de Janeiro’s labour market. The participation of these age groups in the formal labour market fell from 25% to less than 12% during the last few years. Nonetheless, in low-income communities it reaches 23%¹⁷.

Thirty percent of adolescents in scrutinized communities are not in school. This average is much higher than that of Rio de Janeiro’s Metropolitan Area. Residents of low-income communities that complete intermediary education earn on average less than what those who complete basic education in the Metropolitan Area as a whole earn. Similarly, college graduates of low-income communities earn less than half of what an average Metropolitan Area college graduate does. This may be explained by a number of factors: the social stigma attributed to residents of low-income communities; lack of *social capital*, as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu; and the inadequate quality of education in these areas. These are only three of many other possibilities.

Thirty-six per cent of adolescents in low-income communities neither work nor study; many are teenage mothers, who have to care for their children. Twenty-two per cent of the male population in this age group is subject to the same circumstances. This population serves, to a certain extent, as a reserve army for drug trafficking. Moreover, it explains why trafficking does not need to enroll children and adults from new sources. In reality, trafficking even has the possibility of selection, due to over-supply. It chooses individuals who are more prone to the rules established by the group.

Following Dr. Urani’s exposition, Dr. Guaracy Vianna, judge of 2nd Vara de Infância e Juventude – VIJ, took the floor. He presented his experience in one of the branches

¹⁶ His work constitutes the first item in the report.

¹⁷ Research undertaken by the Escola Nacional de Ciências Estatísticas in 52 low-income communities in Rio de Janeiro

of the judiciary arm responsible for ruling crimes and misdemeanors committed by minors in Rio de Janeiro, of which he is in charge.

The 2nd VIJ offered valuable data for the research. Much of the information presented by Dr. Guaracy is, therefore, incorporated in the report. His recognition of the increase in crimes and misdemeanors committed by children and teenagers, particularly from middle class strata, should be highlighted. To illustrate the magnitude of the problem, Dr. Guaracy asserted that, in the last five years, his court ruled more than 23.000 cases, 3000 of which have yet to be concluded and 6000 that have not been followed up with by any legal measures.

There is a multiplicity of verdicts, ranging from a simple admonition to three-year confinement. He considers that around 50% of convicts recover. Most under-aged transgressors work in drug trafficking. According to Dr. Guaracy, they enter and remain in this illicit activity due to the difficulty in finding a placement in the formal labour market; this being true mainly for those above 14.

Dr. Jailson de Souza e Silva, who coordinated the survey and prepared most of the text, presented the preliminary report, following the judge's intervention. The presentation was brief, as the report had been previously sent to the guests. He presented the profile of children employed by drug trafficking and compared it with the profile of young adults in the same activity. Furthermore, he presented the view of other subjects, who had also been interviewed, concerning the reasons why children enter drug trafficking and the alternatives to prevent them from entering, or to help them leave the business.

The floor was then opened to the experts. Luke Dowdney – Coordinator of the “Crianças em Conflito Armado” (“*Children in Armed Conflicts*”) programme, which is linked to the Viva Rio Movement, talked about his experience with children at social risk from the low-income community of Maré. He expressed his endorsement to the report and presented the diagnosis as being in line with his own experience. He asserted that public policies combining job and income programs were more likely to reduce children's interest in trafficking. For Dowdney the ideal job for this social category would be one that could lead to an increase in their cultural and/or educational level.

Dr. Ignácio Cano, a researcher with extensive experience on violence, also approved the results attained by the survey. He argued the importance of expanding the survey's universe, especially within children and young adults employed in trafficking. Additionally, he believes that it would be extremely valuable for a better understanding of the social practices of traffic employees to undertake a longitudinal study of the subjects.

As for public policy propositions, Dr. Cano defended first and foremost the decriminalization of drugs as a key element for dealing with the issue. This strategy would allow the problem to be faced at a different level. Thus, society would have more maneuverability in dealing with the illicit drug problem.

The main thrust of Dr. Cano's proposals, however, is the production of focalized

public policies that would reach the target group. The first step would be to profile the main attributes of that group. Then to implement activities driven to increase citizenship and integrated policies, articulated within a ten-year span – at least. The proposal could be materialized through the expansion of the witness-protection program.

Concluding, Dr. Cano asserted that such a program would demand a change of attitude from the Rio de Janeiro police. The institution is marked by an authoritarian tradition, a lack of commitment to human rights and corruption.

Dr. Leonarda Musumeci's intervention was marked by the presentation of proposals to confront child labour in trafficking. The proposals are based upon three points:

- Alternatives to avoid the entry of children into drug trafficking;
- Alternatives for those who already work in trafficking and wish to leave; and
- Policies for the reduction of damage, based upon the legalization of drugs.

Dr. Musumeci emphasized the need to analyze points brought to light by the research and to create specific policies to deal with them. Among others, she mentioned the culture of violence, the role of police force, and the ethics of virility and excitement, all of which are intrinsic to the drug trafficking routine.

Based upon Dr. Musumeci's contribution, Dr. Urani affirmed that Brazil's social structure contributes to transforming drug trafficking into a powerful magnet for teenagers of low-income strata, due to its economic advantages. Long-term policies, therefore, are the main and proper elements to deal with child labour in drug trafficking. As examples he mentioned income generation for adults and investment in education, among other actions in low-income territories. All represent policies that articulate the community, grass roots organizations, and the public and private sectors.

Dr. Ricardo Henriques proposed transversal policies that integrate actions in the field of public policies, expanding community networks and strengthening relations between institutions, be they academic, grass roots, business or public organizations.

Dr. Elizabeth Leeds concluded by pointing to the importance of defining precise intervention thrusts, based upon which integrated programmes are to be formulated. These programmes should take into account environmental conditions that nourish trafficking. They must also account for residents' subjectivities and particularities, and include continuous action towards the police force and its actions inside low-income communities.

Dr. Leeds referred to the Boston, USA police experience with drug trafficking. The programme's main strategy was to reduce drug trafficking damage. Its focus was centered on arms control, obstructing drug sales to children and teenagers, and fostering their employment. The experience was highly successful in its first years. However, the lack of integration with other public policies addressing the same target group reduced its efficiency in time.

The representative of the Ford Foundation drew a parallel between the Boston

experience and the work that is being realized by the Police of Rio de Janeiro – PMRJ – in three popular communities: Pavão, Pavãozinho and Cantagalo. A group of community police (policamento comunitário) was created to reduce the link between fire weapons and drug traffic. The main principles of action are three-fold:

- The use of children in drug trafficking is not tolerated.
- The exposure to weapons is not tolerated.
- Violence or corruption by the police is not tolerated.

In 18 months of policy implementation, no deaths resulting from armed conflict in the communities occurred. In the six months before the introduction of the community police 10 people had been shot. Forty percent of the police force in the area was secluded due to use of violence or corruption. Drug trafficking avoids the use of child labour and guns. Drugs are still being confiscated and their carriers arrested, but this is not the police's central activity. The action of the community group is limited by its restriction to the favela area and by its lack of integration with the security policy outside their area.

The workshop recommended, fundamentally, a global perspective that is essential in designing public policies aimed at reducing employment of children and young adults in drug trafficking. This was emphasized by most experts and reiterated by the North American experience. Policies must articulate a diverse set of organizations and institutions of diverse natures and profiles at different levels. The next step in building the aspired integrated policies would be broadening the survey, developing fieldwork and systematizing the experiences.

4.2 Systematization of policy recommendations

The main points suggested by the interviewed subjects and specialists to confront the topic were as follows:

- Generation of income and employment for the families of children from popular sectors, with special attention to families at social risk.
- Investment in education and creation of social protection instruments linked to education, such as a grant for poor families that keeps their children in school, social security and similar policies.
- Conduction of integrated actions in popular spaces, supplying educational, cultural and leisure products, urbanizing and generating income and employment.
- Creation of measures in the legal field. In particular, drugs should be discriminated against, setting emphasis in drug prevention rather than repression. Creation of community police and broadening of instruments of witness protection.

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Annex 1: Interview with families of children working in drug trafficking

Block I – Identification of Subject

Pseudonym: _____.

Age: _____.

Color: _____.

Gender: Male; Female.

Place of Birth: _____.

If born in Rio, neighborhood of birth: _____.

Community (“Favela”) of Residence: _____.

Lives in the Community (“Favela”):

- Less than 1 year;
- 1 - 3 years;
- 4 – 6 years;
- 6 – 10 years;
- More than 10 years.

Marital Status:

- Married;
- Single;
- Widowed;
- Other: _____.

Religion:

- None;
- Catholic;
- Protestant;
- Pentecostal;
- Afro-Brazilian;
- Other: _____.

If subject does profess a religion is he/she an active member of his/her community.

Yes; No.

Number of Children:

- None;
- 1;
- Two;
- More than two.

Block II – Family

Relation with child: _____.

Family's origin: _____.

Profession: _____.

Schooling: _____.

Number of children in family: _____.

Educational level and age of children: _____; _____; _____;
_____;

Profession of family members: _____; _____; _____.

How many year does family live in community: _____.

Family assets:

- Property in the community (Favela);
- Property outside the community (Favela);
- Telephone;
- Mobile telephone;
- Freezer;
- Air-conditioner;
- Computer;
- Printer;

- Refrigerator;
- Television;
- Audio system;
- Microwave oven;
- Range and/or oven;
- Electric fan;
- Videocassette recorder;
- Washing machine;
- Video game;
- Fax;
- Electric shower.

Family income: _____.

Do family members read frequently?

- Yes; No.

What do they usually read?

- Newspaper;
- Fiction,
- The Bible;
- Pocketbooks;
- Other.

If family reads newspapers, what are the preferred publications?

- O Globo
- Jornal do Brasil
- O Dia
- Extra
- Universal
- Other.

Does a family member belong to any of the following institutions?

- Church (Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal, Afro-Brazilian cult, other)
- Neighborhood association
- Labour union or class association
- Female groups,
- Political Party
- NGO

Other

Block III – Personal Characteristics/social-educational trajectory of the child that works in drug trafficking

Child's position among siblings:

- Eldest;
- Middle son, or daughter;
- Youngest.

Closest relation is with:

- Mother;
- Father;
- Brothers or sisters;
- Relatives;
- Neighbors.

Family perceives child as being:

- Obedient;
- Calm;
- Aggressive;
- Studious;
- Authoritarian;
- Noisy;
- Agitated;
- Intelligent;
- Talkative;
- Shy.

The child was, or is, submitted to physical abuse in his/her relationship with parents, or with person(s) responsible for his/her upbringing:

- Very frequently;
- Frequently;
- Not too frequently;
- Seldom;
- Never.

Child's educational level: _____.

Last grade attended: _____.

Schools attended: _____; _____; _____.

Is child still in school?

Yes;

No.

If child dropped out of school did he, or she, do so at what age? _____.

Mention three positive aspects of school, in order of importance:

Friends;

Learning new things;

Food;

Teachers;

Boys/girls;

Other: _____.

Mention two negative aspects of school, in order of importance:

Studying;

Discipline;

Learning disability;

Having to spend too much time sitting down;

Sees no meaning in subjects studied;

Other: _____.

If child dropped out of school, mention two main reasons why he, or she, did so, in order of importance:

Didn't like to study;

Studying didn't seem to indicate better prospects for the future;

Learning disability;

Didn't like the teachers;

Needed to earn money in order to help the family;

Wanted to earn money to purchase personal goods;

Family didn't encourage;

Other: _____.

Personal preferences:

Music:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Funk; | <input type="checkbox"/> Brazilian; | <input type="checkbox"/> RAP; |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reggae; | <input type="checkbox"/> Charm; | <input type="checkbox"/> Hip-hop; |
| <input type="checkbox"/> "Forró"; | <input type="checkbox"/> "Pagode"; | <input type="checkbox"/> Country; |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Romantic; | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious; | <input type="checkbox"/> Pop; |
| <input type="checkbox"/> "Axé"; | <input type="checkbox"/> Rock; | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____. |

Favorite food: _____.

Favorite movie genre:

- Comedy;
- Action;
- Detective;
- War;
- Drama;
- Romance;
- Fiction;
- Science fiction;
- Cartoons;
- Historic;
- Other.

If a member of the family abuses drugs, mention with what frequency and of what substance.

_____.

Political Party supported: _____.

Favorite Politician: _____.

Public Role model: _____.

Role model in social circle: _____.

Favorite TV program genre:

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Movies; | <input type="checkbox"/> Cartoon; | <input type="checkbox"/> Soap opera; |
| <input type="checkbox"/> News; | <input type="checkbox"/> Talkshows; | <input type="checkbox"/> Sports; |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Comedy; | <input type="checkbox"/> Music; | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____. |

Favorite leisure activities:

- Dancing; Movies; Shows;
 Beach; Dating; Hanging out at the mall;
 Hanging around friends; other: _____.

Block IV – Child’s professional occupation

Age of child when he, or she, started to work: _____.

Does, or did, child collaborate with household income?

- Yes; No.

If affirmative, is, or was, collaboration:

- Essential;
 Helpful;
 Unnecessary.

Past working activity (ies): _____.

Present working activity (ies): _____.

How long has child been in present activity: _____.

Workload: _____.

Job routine: _____.

Means of acquiring working skills: _____.

Number of arrests: _____.

Number of times child was institutionalized: _____.

Number of times child was injured by fire weapons or knives: _____.

Does child abuse drugs?

- Yes; No.

If prior answer is affirmative, child abuses drugs of what substance and with what frequency?

_____.

Mention two reasons that lead the child to work in drug trafficking, in order of importance:

- Help the family;
- Earn a good amount of money;
- Prestige;
- Sense of power;
- Kinship with friends;
- Learning disabilities;
- Physical abuse in household;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Adrenaline*;
- Desire to use a handgun;
- Other: _____.

Mention three reasons that keep child in drug trafficking, in order of importance:

- Money; Prestige; Sense of power;
- Kinship with friends;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Adrenaline*;
- Deems impossible to change life style.

Mention two pleasant aspects of working in this line of business, in order of importance:

- Money; Prestige; Sense of power;
- Kinship with friends;
- Adrenaline*;
- Other: _____.

Mention three factors that might contribute to free child from drug trafficking, in order of importance:

- Earning a significant amount of money;
- Be arrested;
- Date a decent person;
- Get a formal job;
- Stop using drugs;
- Other: _____.

What is the child's main desire in life?

Block V – Identification and assessment of child’s role in drug traffic

The number of children working in local drug trafficking scheme is:

- Large; Medium; Small?

What is the percentage of the children in the community that are involved in drug trafficking:

_____.

Mention two main aspects of the trade that entice local children to enter the drug trafficking business, in order of importance:

_____;

_____.

Mention two main aspects of the trade that repel local children from entering the drug trafficking business, in order of importance:

_____;

_____.

What are the two main reasons that induce local drug lords to hire children?

_____;

_____.

The fact that children are used as a workforce arouses what sort of sensation in subject:

- Troubles very much;
 Troubles;
 Troubles a little
 Doesn't trouble at all.

What is the subject's perception on how the community assesses child labour in drug trafficking?

- Disapproves very much;
 Disapproves;
 Disapproves a little;
 Doesn't disapprove at all.

What is the subject's perception on how the children and teenagers of the community view drug trafficking?

_____.

Suggest three measures that may contribute to eliminate child labour in drug trafficking, in order of importance.

_____ ; _____ ; _____.

Annex 2: Interview with children working in drug trafficking

Block I – Identification of Subject

1. Pseudonym: _____.
2. Age: _____.
3. Color: .
 - White;
 - Brown;
 - Black;
4. Gender:
 - Male;
 - Female.
5. Place of Birth:
 - City of Rio de Janeiro;
 - Baixada Fluminense
6. Community (“Favela”) of Residence: _____.
- 7.1 Has the subject lived in another community before?
 - Yes;
 - No.
- 7.2 Former Community (“Favela”) of residence: _____.
8. Lives in the Community (“Favela”):
 - Less than 1 year;
 - 1 - 3 years;
 - 4 – 6 years;
 - 6 – 10 years;
 - More than 10 years.
9. Marital Status:
 - Single;
 - Married;
 - Widowed;

10. Lives with:

- Parents;
- Mother;
- Father;
- Spouse;
- Friends;
- Alone;
- Other : _____.

11. Religion:

- None;
- Catholic;
- Protestant;
- Pentecostal;
- Afro-Brazilian;
- Other : _____.

12. Children:

- One;
- Two;
- Three;
- None.
- More than three.

13. Currently attending School:

- Yes; No – skip next question.

14. Last grade attended: _____;

- 1st grade.
- 2nd grade;
- 3rd grade;
- 4th grade;
- 5th grade;
- 6th grade;
- 7th grade
- 8th grade;
- Never attended school;
- High school.

15. With what age subject dropped out of school:

- 9 to 10;
- 11 to 12;
- 13 to 14;
- 15 to 16;
- 17 or older;
- Does not know;
- Still in school.

16.1 Reason for dropping out (most important):

- Didn't like to study;
- Learning disability
- Didn't like the teachers;
- Needed to earn money in order to help the family;
- Wanted to earn money to purchase personal goods;
- Family didn't encourage;
- Other : _____.

16.2 Reason for dropping out (2nd most important):

- Didn't like to study;
- Learning disability
- Didn't like the teachers;
- Needed to earn money in order to help the family;
- Wanted to earn money to purchase personal goods;
- Family didn't encourage;
- Other : _____.

17. Income of Parents, or of person(s) responsible for upbringing:

- 1 Minimum Wage (mw) or less;
- 1 – 2 mw;
- 2 – 3 mw;
- 3 – 5 mw;
- 5 – 10 mw;
- More than 10 mw;
- Doesn't know.

18. Drug abuse in family:

- Father;
- Mother;
- Sibling;
- Uncle/aunt;
- Cousins;
- Grandparent;
- Stepfather;
- Stepmother;
- Other;
- Doesn't know.

19. Is subject a drug user:

- Yes – Continue to next question;
- No – End this block.

20. Began Drug Abuse:

Age (numeric): _____
(Obs: Option 1= Before 10 years old, but no specific age declared)

21. Drugs that the subject has used:

- marihuana;
- cocaine;
- glue;
- pills;
- hashish
- none;
- alcohol;
- other _____

22. Drugs that subject uses:

- marihuana;
- cocaine;
- glue;
- pills;
- hashish
- none;
- alcohol;
- other _____

Block 2 – Working Conditions:

23. Age when started to work in drug trafficking:

- 8 years old;
- 9 years old;.
- 10 years old;
- 11 years old;
- 12 years old;
- 13 years old;
- 14 years old;
- 15 years old;
- 16 years old;.
- 17 years old
- 18 years old;
- 19 years old;.
- 20 years old;
- 21 years old;
- 22 years old;
- 23 years old;
- 24 years old;
- 25 years old;

24. Does subject help in family expenditures? Yes; No.

25.1 Did subject ever work in any other line of business:

No; Yes: _____.

25.2 Previous work _____.

26.1 Position occupied:

- Observer;
- Packaging;
- Dealer;
- Soldier;
- Product Manager.
- General Manager;
- Supplier;
- Messenger

26.2 Other position occupied:

- Observer;
- Packaging;
- Dealer;
- Soldier;
- Product Manager.
- General Manager;
- Supplier;
- Messenger

27. Did subject ever interrupt his/her work in drug trafficking voluntarily:

Yes; No.

28. Who introduced subject into drug trafficking:

- Friend;
- Family;
- Girl/boy friend;
- Other : _____.

29. Daily workload:

- 8 hours;
- 8 – 10 hours;
- 10 – 12 hours;
- Over 12 hours.

30. Days of rest per week:

- One;
- Two;
- More than two;
- Others.

31. Work schedule:

- Up to 8 consecutive hours;
- Up to 12 consecutive hours;
- Up to 18 consecutive hours;
- Up to 24 consecutive hours;
- No fixed schedule.

32.1 Benefits: Eventual gratification;

- Yes;
- No

32.2 Benefits: Meal;

- Yes;
- No

32.3 Benefits: Snack;

- Yes;
- No

32.4 Benefits: *Cut* of the goods sold;

- Yes;
- No

32.5 Benefits: Other

- Yes;
- No

33. Income:

- 2 Minimum Wages (mw) or less;
- 2 – 4 mw;
- 4 – 6 mw;
- 6 – 8 mw;
- 8 – 10 mw;
- 10 – 15 mw;
- More than 15 mw.

34. Fixed Income: _____.

35. Variable Income: _____.

36. How were working skills acquired:

- Training;
- Practice;
- Observing.

37. Number of times arrested by police:

- 1;
- 2;
- 3;
- 4;
- 5 or more times.
- None.

38. Number of times interned in public institutions:

- 1;
- 2;
- 3;
- 4;
- 5 or more times.
- None.

39. Number of times confronted with police force:

- 1;
- 2;
- 3;
- 4;
- 5 or more times.
- None.

40. Number of times confronted with rival gangs:

- 1;
- 2;
- 3;
- 4;
- 5 or more times.
- None.

41. Number of time injured by fire weapons or knives:

- 1;
- 2;
- 3;
- 4;
- 5 or more times.
- None.

42. Number of injures subject caused by using either fire weapons or knives:

- 1;
- 2;
- 3;
- 4;
- 5 or more.
- None.

43.1. Mention two reasons that lead the subject to work in drug trafficking, in order of importance:

- Help the family;
- Earn a good amount of money;
- Prestige;
- Sense of power;
- Kinship with friends;
- Adrenaline*;
- Physical abuse in household;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Learning disabilities;
- Desire to use a handgun;
- Other : _____.

43.2. Mention two reasons that lead the subject to work in drug trafficking, in order of importance:

- Help the family;
- Earn a good amount of money;
- Prestige;
- Sense of power;
- Kinship with friends;
- Adrenaline*;
- Physical abuse in household;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Learning disabilities;
- Desire to use a handgun;
- Other : _____.

44.1. Reason that keep subject in drug trafficking (most important)

- Money;
- Prestige and power;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs;
- Adrenaline*;
- Kinship with friends;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Deems impossible to change life style.
- Police;
- Rival group;
- Wife;
- Other.

44.2. Reason that keep subject in drug trafficking (2nd most important)

- Money;
- Prestige and power;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs;
- Adrenaline*;
- Kinship with friends;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Deems impossible to change life style.
- Police;
- Rival group;
- Wife;
- Other

45.1. Pleasant aspects of working in this line of business (most important):

- Money;
- Prestige and power;
- Adrenaline*;
- Kinship with friends;
- Other : _____.

45.2. Pleasant aspects of working in this line of business (2nd most important):

- Money;
- Prestige and power;
- Adrenaline*;
- Kinship with friends;
- Other : _____.

46.1. Worst aspects of working in this line of business (most important)

- Job is life threatening;
- Discrimination;
- Must always be *turned on*;
- Police racket;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Risk of being arrested;
- Other : _____.

46.2. Worst aspects of working in this line of business (2nd most important)

- Job is life threatening;
- Discrimination;
- Must always be *turned on*;
- Police racket;
- Difficulty in finding other jobs with similar pay;
- Risk of being arrested;
- Other : _____.

47.1. Main factor that might contribute to free subject from drug trafficking (most important)

- Earning a significant amount of money;
- Date a decent person;
- Be arrested;
- Get a formal job;
- Stop using drugs;
- Does not consider it.
- Other : _____.

47.2. Main factor that might contribute to free subject from drug trafficking (most important)

- Earning a significant amount of money;
- Date a decent person;
- Be arrested;
- Get a formal job;
- Stop using drugs;
- Does not consider it.
- Other : _____.

48. What are the main reasons for the deaths in drug trafficking:

- Gang war;
- Police;
- Making mistakes in own gang;
- God's will;
- Bad luck.

49. Number of people subject has seen being killed since entering the business:

- 1 – 5;
- 6 – 10;
- 10 – 20;
- More than 20.

50. Of those killed, how many were under 18 years of age:

- All;
- Almost all;
- Most;
- Few;
- None.

51. How many people with less than 18 years of age work in local drug trafficking:

_____.

52. Level of satisfaction with present life-style:

- High;
- Medium;
- Low;
- None.

53. What is most important in life:

- Family;
- Friends;
- Money;
- Prestige and Power;
- God.

54. The most desired objects:

- Good house;
- Luxury car;
- Designer clothes;
- Brand name sports shoes;
- Other : _____.

55. What are the subjects two greatest wishes in life:

_____;

_____.

Interviewer's Observations:

Annex 3: Interview with professionals, residents and leaderships of popular communities

Block I – Identification of Subject

1. Name _____
2. Age _____
3. Color _____
4. Gender Male; Female.
5. Place of birth _____
6. In case of being born in Rio de Janeiro, district/ locality of birth _____
7. Community (favela) of residence _____
8. In case of residing in a community (favela), years of residence in community (favela)
 - Less than 1 year;
 - 1 - 3 years;
 - 4 – 6 years;
 - 6 – 10 years;
 - More than 10 years.
9. Last year attended in school _____
10. Profession _____
11. Activities developed in the community _____
12. Marital status:
 - Married;
 - Single;
 - Widowed;
 - Other : _____
13. Religion:
 - None;
 - Catholic;

- Protestant;
- Pentecostal;
- Afro-Brazilian;
- Other : _____.

14. If religiously affiliated, whether subject practices.

Block II- Identification and evaluation of children’s involvement in drug trafficking activity

1. The number of children working in local drug trafficking scheme is:

- Large; Medium; Small?

1. Ratio and number of children involved _____

2. Two main factors leading children to work in drug trafficking, in order of importance

1 _____

2. _____

3. Two main factors keeping children from working in drug trafficking, in order of importance

1. _____

2. _____

4. The most important reason for the drug traffic to use child labour

5. The use of child labour by the drug traffic gives the subject the following feeling

- great disturbance
- disturbance
- little disturbance
- no disturbance

6. Subject’s perception about the opinion of the great majority of the population of the community (favela) about children’s involvement in drug trafficking

- high level of disapproval
- disapproval
- low level of disapproval
- does not disapprove

7. Subject's perception of the view of most children and adolescents in the community (favela) on the drug traffic. _____
8. Indicate two characteristics of children involved in drug trafficking
1. _____
 2. _____
9. Indicate three measures that could contribute to eradicate child involvement in drug trafficking, in order of importance
1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____