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CSOs and the Structure of Professional Education Programs in the Context of Youth Care: The Point of View of Coordinators in Brazil and Germany

“For the young people we have here in the context of the KJHG, young people from Hellersdorf, Skinheads, let us say young people from the extreme right-wing social scene, and young people from Kreuzberg, who come from the left-wing social scene have already confronted each other in the city. But there aren’t any problems here, because they quickly realize that they don’t know much, and that they need to achieve things, we all need goals to achieve, we all need to reach our learning limits, training limits, which are relatively high. It doesn’t matter whether I (embodying the young person’s character): ‘Whether I am a skinhead, or a young Turk, or a skinhead from Hellersdorf, but it does matter!! when I don’t achieve things here, then I can’t come here anymore, right? I miss this training.’”

M. coordinator, WZ, Berlin, 2004

This text is a partial result of a research carried out in the cities of São Paulo and Berlin, during the years 2002 and 2006. It deals with a study of some aspects of political-institutional planning and pedagogical assumptions of professional educational programs for socially underprivileged young people between 15 and 20 years of age.

To conduct the research, twelve professional education organizations were visited in the two cities, which were named CSOs (Civil Society Organizations). These organizations received money from the government to act in professional education programs for young people in both countries and were chosen due to criteria such as the duration of the educational activities (minimum of five years), the scope, number of young people who participated, and the designated budget. These criteria were flexible, considering that aspects like the amount of scholarships and differentiation in the budgets covered quite a span. There was an important program in São Paulo already in existence, only consolidated in 2004, and there were Civil Society Organizations that did not operate exclusively with government resources, but should be considered in a discussion about transparency in public policies for youths. These organizations are also known in Brazil as NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations). One of the pioneers in giving theoretical perspectives to study organizations in Brazil was Thiollent (1987, 1995), while the discussion about the NGOs and the third sector activated by Fisher (2002) among others.

1 Intra-National and International Role of the Global Agencies in Both Cities

In both cities, the program coordinators recognize the role of global agencies as important players in the conveyance of public youth policies. While in São Paulo this recognition is more veiled or hidden and mixed with an appeal for ideas and values disseminated by theoretical matrixes supported by the global agencies (UNESCO, in the case of *Spirit of Work Program...* and for others visited before the main field work), in Berlin the international agencies play key roles, particularly the European Union through the ESF (European Social Fund), directly interfering in the sharing of resources within the city and in the political struggle and power, conducted on various levels and among different institutional parts.

From a qualitative focus, interviews were conducted with structured itineraries, to be answered openly by the professional education program coordinators, social workers and social pedagogues, as well as individual interviews and/or group discussions with some young people. All interviews were in part narrative or biographic, in order to recollect as much of the reporters' and the surveyed institutions' experiences as possible.

The observation that took place in the research was, in the beginning, not-participative but it turned into participative in the last phase of the research. In this text, the analysis of the interviews will be focused on only in the coordinators, because, considering that they were in a leading position in the institutions, their ways to deal with themes such as youth policy, social risk or social control, criminality, professional education and pedagogical strategy for underprivileged people had great relevance. That is why, in some way and according to Bohnsack (2001:12-14), the research tries to investigate not only *what* were these programs, but *how* were they built inside these organizations, in terms of the legitimation of their existence and demand for budget in societies like the Brazilian or the German.

Facing the challenge of conducting the research in different countries, separated by geographical and linguistic barriers, the consistency in the research field, in terms of managing three levels of investigation (coordinators, teachers and adolescents), faces limitations. Beyond the resources mentioned, there has also been intensely used data collection on youth and translation of documents to accompany the theoretical discussion around the concept of youth in a comparative perspective, and considering the differences between Germany and Brazil (see Moura 2006; Weller 2002, and in this volume; Spósito 1997, 2003, 2005; Pochman 1999, 2003, 2004).

1.1 Political-Institutional Architecture for Youth in São Paulo and Berlin

After a first mostly quantitative-oriented period, in which all of the twelve organizations and other state institutions were involved, the number of organizations was reduced to six. Among these six organizations (three in each city) more systematically studied, it was not only the existence and consolidation of political and institutional regulation of the segment of youth in Germany, which drew attention in our research, but also the open dialogue and great dominance of nomenclature and institutional codification demonstrated by the coordinators in Berlin. The three coordinators in the city demonstrated having both a critical view on the situation of youth assistance in Germany and also assertiveness to talk openly about the budget, the political struggle for resources and the institutional barriers between public and private institutions, and among levels of government. Although it is considered as a positive aspect of the research, because it shows a kind of political openness, it represents also a process of institutional legitimation of these organizations as socialization spheres that complement the role of school or work.

In the case of São Paulo, what stood out was an ignorance in relation to the few existing tools of public policies for youth in the country, a certain fear to talk about resources and an exacerbation or super-insulated appreciation of the isolated role of organizations that operate programs for youths, characterized by a rhetoric of social responsibility. Two of the organizations in the city are anchored within the private sector and one is an autonomous civil society organization. This exacerbation can be understood as the result of a lack of youths' rights in the country, as Moura (2007) showed. Besides the importance of discussing the making of public policies in the two cities, there was a need for an ethnographic approach in order to keep closer to these six organizations in the two cities in a later phase.

From the point of view of qualitative research methodology, there have been various sources and authors employed, but we must highlight the work of Bohnsack (2001, 2008), which is developing extensive research inspired by Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge. Although the approach of the documentary method has not been established as the main theoretical scope of this research, there are some very important aspects that contributed to the systematic reflection:

- (1) The change in the placement of the question "what is society from the actors' perspective?" to "how is it produced through the actors' practice?"
- (2) The importance of participant observation, which is a resource that requires at one side a "participant's performative positioning", and on the other side an "observer's distanced positioning", see Bohnsack (2008: 130);
- (3) A possibility to combine some types of interview (semi-structured, par-

- tially narrative or biographic, but containing both quantitative and qualitative data)
- (4) The construction of types or typologies, those that can correspond to study of the informants in terms of gender, school-professional background or generation.

1.2 Aspects of the Organizations' Biographies

An ethnographical exploration of these organizations was held by visiting, collecting data and interviewing coordinators (who were mainly white women in São Paulo and white men in Berlin).

These institutions can be seen as civil society organizations that concentrate themselves in professional education youth programs and in some way orchestrate the world of work. The research has provided a good opportunity to investigate these organizations as spaces of social dramatizations, according to Goffman's dramaturgic approach (1985). Thus, Serva and Andion (2006) were right to say that the theatricality of a research as a theme might be highlighted. This corresponds to the quest for other epistemological places, where subject and object, society and individual require an ethnographic posture.

All of these programs were more relevant in the 1990s, when the situations in Berlin and São Paulo were complicated in terms of school attendance and social or professional integration of young people to society. The relevance here is justified by the need of complementary or informal activities to the youths, which the two cities demanded. In the interviews there were polemic concepts or terms like a "market of youth professional education", which had been heard in the *Herr der Hilfe Program*. Government plays the key role of a "financial supporter" in a context where the regulation is already established in Germany, but not in Brazil.

All these organizations in both cities, even though not presenting a unique pedagogical or training approach, start the activities with adolescents through a practical approach. In doing so, they offer an alternative to school, where these young people have failed, and who usually privilege theory over practice in terms of teaching-learning processes. This is a tendency within the Brazilian educational system, where offers of practical activities inside full-time school or full-time education programs is now growing.

Regarding the history of the organizations, the analysis of the three interviews in São Paulo in two cases shows a strong attachment to the founders' personal biographies, known in Brazil as social entrepreneurs, one of them being a social pedagogue (learning program) and the other one a Russian immigrant who founded a group, and later gave his name to the foundation that guides the *Spirit or Work Program*. The third was strongly linked to the market and business sector, but not necessarily to a personal biography of a "founder".

In Berlin, only one interview (*Herr der Hilfe Program*) among the three chosen organizations presents a strong connection to the personal biography of its founder, although there are more cases in the six social organizations visited in the city. Thus, both the Program *Hof der Hoffnung* (linked to social actions resulting from the occupations there in the 1950s) and *Aufbau der Jugend* (connected to the public policies of post-War reconstruction) consolidated themselves as organizations out of social pressures and demands exerted by groups of youths and workers, and have been historically and politically connected to some kind of institutional government regulation.

1. *Spirit of Work on the Warehouse Floor Program*

The Program SWWF belongs to an organization of the third sector and is a social branch of a group of industries in the metal-mechanical industrial field of Russian origin, founded in 1988 in the south of Brazil. In 1994, in order to strengthen the shares, the foundation created the *Spirit or Work Program*, with the goal of granting professional preparation to poor young people in communities where the factories were established, who were in between the last year of elementary school and the last year of high school. The program is a kind of simulation of the dual system of German professional training and also shows similarities to activities of the Brazilian *s system* (SENAC, SENAI, SESI) having received resources from the federal funds PROEP (World Bank/Brazilian Federal Government).

The program's coordination team consists of five people working within the foundation, including consultants who perform training courses for voluntary educators within those companies where the projects take place. The outreach is national and, until 2004, there were 55 schools within the country's industrial units where it is operated and three schools within the city of São Paulo established on production plants of industrial, commercial, and service companies.

The foundation's main partners are CEFET (Federal Center of Technological Education) and various other companies performing the educational activities within their production area, preferably on the factory floor. There is a limit of 20 students per year and per company, who are accompanied by 40 voluntary trainers leading pedagogical activities inside the company. There are 22 courses which comprise 800 hours in the classroom, 25 hours of class per week, offered in diverse methods of professional training related to the areas of metal-mechanics, chemistry, electronics, manufacturing, logistics, food, equipment operations, cosmetics, and administrative services industries. The program reaches, according to its coordinator, 85% of occupational insertion and also grants uniforms to young people.

2. *Learning Program*

The MA Association, a civil society organization that houses the Learning Program, has been around for 25 years. Its mission is “the full development of human beings.” The association aims at “pushing forward the process of individual and community growth through the search for solutions in the social sphere, through methods of Waldorf pedagogy and for extended medicine through the principles of anthroposophy.” Its emergence is the result of the initiative of a German pedagogue, who, in 1976, founded the institution with the help of students from the Waldorf school in the southern region of the city of São Paulo. She went on to participate inside a neighboring big slum to bring together children from privileged social sectors (students from the Waldorf school) with those from underprivileged social strata. Since 1983, the activities have been amplified and included another neighboring slum, today directly serving four thousand people and indirectly twelve thousand, of which 1,700 young people and children are in vulnerability situations and under social risk. International support, especially from companies, organizations and individuals in Germany and other countries such as the U.S. and Japan, is crucial to its performance. Inside what the institution calls SEC (social-educational center) there are professional preparation, which have nine people on the coordination team. Through these activities, ninety young people per year are seen to, the pre-requisite is that they attend school and are between 15 and 18 years old. The scope of the activities reaches the districts or supradistricts. The socio-educational center’s prospectus says that the office of learning’s objective is “social protection for adolescents and young people in situations of social vulnerability, ensuring the space, autonomy and social integration, stimulating participation in public life, and recognition of work as a right of citizenship; widening the cultural and informational repertoire and participation in public life. There are courses and workshops such as: metal and woodcraft, recycling paper, cooking, baking and sewing.

3. *Protagoras Program*

The ACP, which unites a CSO renowned for its work with juvenile protagonism in the city of São Paulo and a company exploiting natural resources, was born from this commercial company’s desire to make social investments and open its own social responsibility program in 1999. The program aims at “creating and disseminating innovative and effective social technologies, committed to the solution of community issues, formulated and implemented by young people”.

According to the coordinator, the money invested in the program could be reinvested in the company, but they chose to invest in the company’s

image of social responsibility. Schooling approximately 200 young people per class per annum, within a period of ten months the program targets young people from 14 to 18 years of age, 80% of whom are from public schools and 20% from private schools. The program systematized and organized a “Social Technology for Youth” manual, in which some of the main experiences of young people who went through the training process are registered, as well as the strategies and tools that were used in the program. The focus is on youth projects in the fields of environment and health but, as the program emphasizes the autonomy of young people to propose and style their own projects, the initiative can be considered as professional training for the job, creating a space for the development and strengthening of the young person’s professional biography.

1.3 A Brief Description of Three Chosen Institutions in Berlin

1. Herr der Hilfe Program

The HZS is a foundation created by HZ, actor and broadcaster from the 1950s, who had visited a prison in Berlin and was touched by the prisoners’ situation. He went on to offer help to those who left prison and needed support for social integration. In 1957, the foundation received financial support from the Berlin Senate and became an institution for the resocialization of people who had left the carceral system.

Presently, the foundation supports a total of 1,700 people, including various branches in Berlin, with 260 employees in at least fifteen branches, also giving workshops within institutions for criminal juveniles. Out of a total of 1,700 people who are supported in the areas of professional qualification, house monitoring and counseling, 93 young people are served solely in the context of the KJHG (Kinder und Jugendhilfsgesetz) or in a free translation LACJ (Law of Assistance to Children and Young People) in which, Article 13 (1) indicates professional education actions for underprivileged youth.

The young people taking part in these activities are regarded by law as socially underprivileged and in need of assistance, presenting problems such as being school drop-outs, being involved in criminal activities and thus, in conflict with the law, involved in drugs, and related problems. Among the offered activities, governed by the Berlin Chamber of Arts and Crafts and by Article 77 of the KJHG, there are courses for clerks, gardening, gas and glass installation, motorcycle mechanics, painters, panel painters, and production of ads with light design. The young people are divided into groups of twelve to fifteen, receiving a total of thirty hours of training per week, from which seven are in the professional training school. The duration of the training

ranges from six months for professional preparation to three years for regular professional training courses. The organization's goal is the professional integration and re-socialization of young people considered as socially underprivileged or at social risk, who are still in prison, or who have just left the carceral system.

2. *Hof der Hoffnung* Program

The WZ Association, which organizes professional education workshops for young people in the district of Berlin-Zehlendorf, was founded in 1985 and is a school in the west of Berlin. The facility, which has been occupied by popular housing movements in post-War Berlin and by a union of workers called *Neue Heimat*, was sold to the WZ Registered Association and today houses activities for about 100 socially underprivileged adolescents.

According to the organization's prospectus describing their activities, "the social disadvantage is present when there are socialization deficits. This can be detected in problems in the development of young people, relationships at school and within the family, through chemical dependency, in tendencies towards unlawful acts, through traces of violent behavior, in lack of housing and problematic educational and professional biography." The organization has approximately twenty employees, who take turns working in several split-shifts, twenty hours a week. The team is made up of educators, a crafts masters, and social pedagogues who are responsible for guiding and leading the organization's pedagogic program. The organization offers one year of professional preparation in accordance to article 19 of BBiG, Federal Act of Professional Education. After this year of preparation, the young people may enter a proper professional training course, which can also be mediated by the CSO, supported by Articles 13 and 27 of KJHG, which provides social support to the youths and assistance towards the education of young people.

The association seeks to provide professional qualification for adolescents and socially underprivileged young adults in carpentry, construction, coating, and cooking. The workshops take place both at the organization's headquarters as well as in the construction areas or industrial kitchens, designed as training fields where young people can learn and experience situations. There are also courses in bricklaying, carpentry, upholstery, and building for young people between fifteen and 27 years of age, in weekly shifts alternating between theory and practice, having work preparation with a duration of one year with classes only in the WZ association's workshops, and courses with a duration of two to three years, during which the students attend part of the classes at the professional training school and the other part in the WZ's workshops. Included in the package of pedagogic measures and aids offered by the CSO are: compensating the education deficit, support for

solving the youths' financial and family problems, planning to work in areas of civil construction, handling of materials, improvement of socialization conditions, individual accompaniment, developing the ability of self-criticism and to listen to criticism, punctuality and reliability in work commitments, accompaniment in learning courses, support for the development of cultural and artistic activities such as music, video, graffiti, field trips, and finally, assistance to young people who leave the carceral system.

3. *Aufbau der Jugend* Program

The JW in Berlin emerged as an institution of public law in the post-War period (1950s) and started its activities professionally training soldiers. It belongs to the set of institutions that helped to generate visibility to associations of *Jugendhilfe* (Youth Care), and is a kind of organization which develops actions of preparation and training, and also coordinates the arrangement of culture, leisure and sports activities, especially for underprivileged young people. The institution coordinator's explanation shows how its appearance is associated with the period of the country's reconstruction and the emergence of the 2nd Republic:

"Well, it has existed since 1950. Under this name since 1947, in the General City Council. After the separation of the city, it was in the West. The idea was to qualify soldiers. The first workshops were located within the area of civil construction with qualification procedures. Later, in the mid-1970s, the youth construction workshop began the first training course under the dual system. There was a special program from the Berlin Senate and then we organized the institution in Berlin-Spandau, also for the first training. After 1997, the work in the workshop in the east of the city began, with 56 employees, who were granted, through the EU, 1.8 million euros by the Federal Institute of Labor. (...) Well, at the time, there was a budget of 3 million for the Chamber of Industries to install first personal computers and equipment and organize the institution."

B. coordinator of *Aufbau der Jugend*, Berlin, 20. Feb.2004

In the district of Prenzlauer Berg, where the organization offers 265 training opportunities for underprivileged youths, it has been operating in the 1990s. It also offers the opportunity, after the completion of the workshops, practical activities and training, to acquire the General School Certificate and continue at a secondary school level. Its goal is that young people reach professional training with a certificate of completion, based on the grounds of the Federal Law of Professional Education (BbiG). The Prenzlauer Berg workshop is located in a large building, in the eastern part of Berlin, which once was a printing shop that looks like a factory, occupying an entire block.

The mediation between young people and the institution is made by the youth office and district office as well as the legal and institutional basis that regulates the financing of actions by the Federal Labor Agency, included by SGBIII (Code of Social Law III which regulates professional training) and SGBVIII (Code of Social Law VIII which provides assistance to children

and youths). Furthermore, the entity receives financial assistance from the EU through the ESF (European Social Fund), as noted by the coordinator.

As part of what is classified as BBE (Berufliche Bildung und Eingliederungschancen; professional training and integration opportunities) or courses for preparation and employment, the following courses are offered: nutrition and home economics, technical and electro-technical metal works, painting techniques, wood techniques, technical information, economy, and administration, which usually last from six months to one year.

“It is professional preparation. And they are the exact professions as described in Article 25 of BBiG (Federal Law of Education Training), right? And it is based on the dual system. And then the young people go to training school. In this period, the vocational school is responsible. So, when you are with us then, three or four times a week or in a block of intensive classes for two weeks. After that, it is exactly as provided in paragraph 25 of BBiG.”

B. coordinator, *Aufbau der Jugend*, Berlin, 20. Feb.2004.

Article 25 of the Federal Act of Professional Training regulates the planning of training, in other words, states duration, organization, examination applications, course structure, and accreditation. In Berlin and its surrounding areas, the organization offers 1,500 vacancies for educational reinforcement, 300 vacancies for professional education, and 120 vacancies for professional guidance in more than twenty different types of professions. Young people are organized into groups of twelve and there are educators and social pedagogues who accompany the entire process.

2. Analysis and Interpretation of the Interviews with the Coordinators in the Organizations

During the interviews with the coordinators, the researcher has always tried to let the informants express themselves freely, searching for the most relevant material on their views and values in the context of pedagogical actions for young people. Nevertheless, a planned itinerary of questions was followed, in which the beginning mainly refers to:

- 1 - Aspects of the “organization’s” biography,
- 2 - Biography and professional experience of the coordinator,
- 3 - The role of global agencies (UN, UNESCO, EU, WB. IDB),
- 4 - The coordinator’s view on the political-institutional architecture for youths in the two cities,
- 5 - Their view of the “structure and organizations of youth educational programs or public policy inside the youth care” and their considerations about the theme of “social control”.

These questions have been divided into excerpts and, later, transcribed and interpreted. In São Paulo, women as coordinators predominated. It was, therefore, possible to observe a tendency for white (women) to be in positions of prominence or power, while colored people (mostly men) were students or clients of the programs. This division generates a kind of typology of informants: white men and women on the top of a power pyramid inside the institution or organizations; and black, eastern Germans/Europeans and Turks on the bottom of this power pyramid inside the programs. Again, the work of Bohnsack (2008:141-154) made an important contribution to identify a kind of typology and role of coordinators inside the programs.

In Berlin, the gender-related predominance was male, also white, while among the students there was a less-defined composition, with a variable number of adolescence of Turkish, German, and Eastern European origin, many also male. Gender has also influenced the speech of coordinators in both cities. They tend to refer to the *guy*, the youngster (male) when describing a situation which involves the abstract figure of an underprivileged adolescent or youth. On the other side, the male black youths were the ones under social risk in the city of São Paulo during the 1990s. That is why we can see a rhetoric of social care programs being organized in the two cities, to react to those real tendencies, but also to legitimate activities to protect parts of society (the young population) under social risk.

Even so, the question of gender/ethnicity, together with the factor of a partially regulated landscape (Berlin) in contrast to a non-regulated landscape (São Paulo) produced an interesting frame for the two cities.

From the transcription, translation, and interpretation of interviews referring to the coordinators' discourse in the two cities, some elements deserve to be highlighted:

2.1 Aspects of the Program Coordinators' Biography: Professional Migration and the Field "Youth/Jugend/Juventude" as a Choice

The answers shown in interviews with the coordinators both in São Paulo and Berlin, identified a phenomenon called professional migration (switching field of professional expertise), with the coordinators having left areas of expertise such as chemistry, information technology, literature, engineering, and psychology for the field of *Jugendhilfe* (youth assistance or youth care) and the *Freie Träger* (independent organization) in Germany.

The same process occurred in São Paulo, where they migrated from areas such as psychology, literature, and administration to the unregulated area of professional expertise of the CSOs, NGOs or foundations in Brazil. That shows a tendency that there possibly is a professional migration from traditional fields to the scope of CSOs or NGOs in both countries. In Germa-

ny it is strongly influenced by the labor market policies, which stimulate the emergence of a second or third labor regulated market. That's not the case in Brazil, where it is normal to identify a formal labor market in opposition to an informal labor market.

While there is a clearer gender division in the level of the coordinators, among the young people that rather obvious division exists not only in terms of gender (mostly men) but also in terms of ethnicity (on the one side black and men in São Paulo and on the other side white, Eastern European and German-Turkish but also men in Berlin). Nevertheless, both in terms of youths or the social workers, educators or social pedagogues the results were inconclusive, because of the demand of time and resources to investigate these groups more closely.

The professional migration of coordinators from the surveyed institutions shows, in a way, that at some point in their lives they have chosen to work with young people. However, these coordinators' speech shows that they play a dual role in the programs: on the one side the administrator/collector of resources for the professional training programs. On the other side, they play a role of teacher/master who believe in certain values and ideas and try to convince the youngsters to stay in the program.

In both cities, these coordinators face a dilemma of, on the one hand, supporting (training) underprivileged young people for adult life and work, and on the other, controlling and keeping them out of dangerous situations or social risk. The analysis of the interviews, material, the visits to workshops, and data intersection, allows to confirm that they try to deal with these situations using different approaches or methods. In doing so, it seems that they try to establish a strategy to deal with the three classes of control stressed by Elias (1994:116): social control, control over the nature and self-control. They establish a kind of control over young people, but they have to encourage them, too, to develop self-control and to be relatively autonomous and independent after leaving the programs.

Excerpt: "Public policy for youth in Sao Paulo and Berlin"

Y: How do you characterize the youth professional assistance in São Paulo (Berlin) and The public policy for youth in São Paulo (Berlin)?

Af- (Coordinator – Spirit of Work on the Warehouse Floor)

- I'm gonna be honest with you. I can't make any evaluation on this issue. I have been absolutely concentrating in the SWWF Program for the last four years and I don't come from an area with much experience (in public policies). I know several activities in projects but I'm not that close to public policy. (...) We do work with the private sector. We have one root of origin in this field. It has inspired public policy and we want to bring more companies to support them to do the same thing.

Bf- (Coordinator- Learning – São Paulo):

- Well, I should tell you... I'm not prepared for that! I haven't reflected on that yet... But, in general, we've got so many attractions to the youngsters. So many things in the cultural field, field trips, some little workshops, those things... But he goes from one side to another, and that's why I tell you about the reference of authority. He stays there, in a park, drinking, smoking marihuana, doesn't go to school, he can't get out of this vicious circle. There are no cultural activities for him. There is a lot of it! For free! But when I've got a problem here, I don't know where to go or whom to call. Maybe it's because I don't invest so much on the partnerships. Many times I don't know where to send a young guy who arrives here, who isn't my student... We are in the middle of a slum, and everything happens here. Then comes a young guy who has been sleeping in the streets for three days. (...) I am lost!!

Cf- (Coordinator – Protagoras – São Paulo):

- Since last year, there is the VAE financing. Have you heard of it? It's a sponsorship by means of cash, aiming at youngsters' projects, elaborated by youngsters who don't have a registered company. Therefore, to me this is an awesome initiative (...). And here, inside the program, we brainstorm on how to be a manager; we discuss and talk, because every supporting institution is connected to a registration number. And there are boys out there carrying outstanding projects in their communities. And they don't want to run an NGO, they don't want to run a place, an institution... (...) What calls my attention in São Paulo, in Brazil as a whole, is that it is still a bit tutelary. Juvenile politics around here try but still cannot manage to change something. (...) You then find a project designed, and it does follow a direction, an innovative direction and so on, and the practice reveals a lot of protecting, of leaving it the way it is, of trying to avoid change; the politics have little interaction. They aren't a complement from each other. They are like STDAIDS or any health program to the young that we find by dozens. And the boys are already aware, they can't stand it anymore to hear about prevention. I mean, we still haven't gone one step further. Policy have little communication among each other. (...) It is very difficult to sit at a multidisciplinary table to talk about children and adolescents which doesn't carry this protective, tutelary perspective. You look at the teenager and he is a target, he needs something. He is a teenager who is under development... He needs protection, you know? But it is too much emphasized. Yes! ... I believe he needs something. But it is not this what he needs, he needs a whole lot of other things. So, it is, in fact, about not believing. – 'He is poor, doesn't know how to spend money, I have to define that for him, what he is going to do. He also doesn't know things. I have to guide, to set fixed times to get in and out, to help him to do things'; it gets all very uninteresting, I think.

Am – (Coordinator- *Herr der Hilfe* - Berlin)

- Well, at the moment the situation about the youth care in general and the budget in Berlin is very problematic. Every institution says, "The need to teach or qualify young people in the context of the youth care is there, in terms of getting a professional training. But the budget situation in the city, as we can see in the press, is devastating. The funding by the Youth Secretary isn't possible anymore. (...) And there are problems... when we get young people, there are problems not only at school. There are also problems with drugs, delinquency, or youngsters who constantly use violence. (...) But when the budget isn't

there, there is nothing to do. And then we try to get resources from the Agency of Work, in a contingent way. And according to the support of the Agency, vacancies are going to be subsidized. Also, the caring for young people in terms of social care, professional preparation and professional training, they last for three years and cost too much. And the Youth Secretary says: "This Young guy is unable to do this professional training". Then we get some resources from the District Secretary. But it is not enough to pay for the places in the youth care.

Bm - Coordinator - *Hof der Hoffnung* - Berlin

-In the history of the Professional Youth Assistance (Jugendberufshilfe) there was the post-War movement of house squatting. At the time, when young people, who didn't have any qualification or chance in the labor market, could squat, thus find a house to live in and to renovate it. Since this motivation was there, it had to be used. That was in the time when there was a West Berlin. An opportunity to learn from scratch. That idea was interesting for those who were looking for professional training. Then, at the same time, the Youth Secretary also thought that this concept was good and supported those young people to take professional training courses. (...) Nowadays, everything is about costs... It must be inexpensive, yet effective. Then, the qualification that we conduct here has to show results. You cannot say "Here the youngsters have studied for three years and are now prepared for the Professional School Certificate; but rather that they have been here for three years and have also undergone work towards a life preparation" (...) Well, the youngsters come from broken social background and we try to give them a normal life. It has to do with a development process, and it needs time. It is impossible to do this in half a year, because it depends on how big their problems are. Nowadays the funds are just to measures of work preparation and not anymore for qualification or professional training (...) And the youngsters come from a very bad situation... they have no regular life, have left the school, have a catastrophic financial situation. (...) We start to organize everything with them, they can go to companies to do the practical part, and we try to help them to get the General School Certificate. This is more difficult, because after a year, they have to leave the workshop.

Cm – Coordinator – *Aufbau der Jugend* program – Berlin

- From Monday on, I have been in a discussion and the Senate said that it is not going to financially support 1,200 places for youngsters to obtain professional training, it is going to be reduced to 800 places. If you read the papers you will see the difficulties of the youngsters. Our aims, it is no longer successful. (...) I believe that the Professional Youth Assistance is no longer politically controlled. (...) I believe this is going to be considered an issue just when the youngsters are one foot from prison. When there is more crime in this city. People say that the children are lazy, but they have no chance to do anything. When the students from the *Realschule* have to send 70 Applications and then get no place in the companies to gain hands-on experience, what can he do in the world? What can a young guy do when his parents haven't had a job in years? They can only survive depending on Social benefits.

3 Final Considerations

As described before, we must highlight an inconclusive and yet to be explored point in a new research around professional educational programs for the young. It was possible to observe a process of Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, as Goffman (1985) suggested.

Among these processes, we can highlight:

- 1 - Dramatic incorporation of words (roles) from the youths (students) by the adults (teachers and coordinators), simulating or rebuilding through dialogue, for example, in individual interviews, interaction situations, the conflicts and reflections that occur between these groups in real life and in learning situations;
- 2 - The occurrence of simulation, role-playing, or representation of the world of labor or school through practical classes in pre-training workshops or for work preparation, with the occurrence of trials and practical exercises and even the handling of various materials such as metal, synthetics, glass, wood, minerals, and various liquid substances by young people. In this context, we should highlight the occurrence of a dramaturgy, where the *Bildhaftigkeit* and the plasticity of the expressions in dialogues, represent, as pointed out by Bohnsack (2008:140), a special context to build a typology and even a comparison between individuals or groups;
- 3 - Use of technical or theatrical performances, such as in the WZ and HZS organizations (Berlin) and ACM and CAP (São Paulo) in order to create a multiple and diverse learning environment, and in some way establishing a dialogue with the theory of multiple intelligence, from Howard Gardner, discussed in Brazil by Antunes (1997);
- 4 - Crystallization in civil society organizations of learning spaces that, when acclimatized, adapted for this purpose, become spheres of socialization corresponding to the spheres of family, school, and work.

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