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Tessa Baizer
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The Influence of Local Government and BID Initiatives on CUCA Che Guevara as a Center for Social Inclusion

Tessa Baizer
Washington University in Saint Louis, class of 2012
Majors: Political Science and International Studies

Project Advisor: Marley Uchoa, President of CUCA

School for International Training
Brazil: Social Justice and Sustainable Development
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Abstract

Fortaleza, Brazil, is a city known for its extreme levels of social inequality in between the center of the city and the periphery. Over time, these have led to high rates of social problems among youth living on the outer reaches of the city, including truancy and lack of employability[i]. These problems have led many of the youth in the city to become excluded from general society, and more likely to engage in risky behaviors, including crime and early pregnancy[ii]. After abandoning these areas for many years, the local government decided to create a physical center to promote the employability and social inclusion of these youth.   After consulting with the community, the Prefeitura government decided to create six massive centers where youth could practice sports, engage in cultural programs, and attend professional courses. The first of these centers, CUCA Che Guevara, has been fully operational since October 2010, thanks in part to a nearly $25 million USD loan from BID[iii]. Though international lending institutions are traditionally known for changing the scope and scale of development projects, BID had almost no interference with the plans behind the CUCA centers. This allowed the Prefeitura government to implement the programs that they believed were the best for the community, and ensured that the relationship between the Prefeitura and BID remained amicable. However, in the haste to begin construction on CUCA Che Guevara before the end of the previous term, the government decided to build CUCA Che Guevara in a place that does not maximize accessibility for the people of the community[iv]. In addition, attendance in many of CUCA's programs continues to be low, particularly among people living within CUCA's immediate surroundings. The Prefeitura government must find ways to remedy these two serious issues before they use the same methodology to run

future CUCAs within the city. If they do not, the Center's effects on youth social inclusion will be much less detectable.

Definition of Terms

Barra da Ceará – the neighborhood in which CUCA Che Guevara is located.

BID – Banco Interamericano Desenvolvimento, or Inter-American Development Bank. Historically known for granting large loans to local governments throughout Latin America in order to foster development.

conscientazao – critical consciousness. Many CUCA professors strive to create critical consciousness through promoting citizenship and self-esteem.

CUCA – Centro Urbano de Cultura e Arte. The term CUCA refers to the project as a whole, as six CUCA centers will eventually be built. CUCA Che Guevara refers to the first CUCA that has already been built in Region I.

Juventude/Jovem – youths/young people. Defined by the government of Brazil as all people between the ages of 15 and 29.

Orçamento Participativo – a survey instrument designed by the Prefeitura to find out the needs and desires of Fortalezan citizens.

PIPPJ – Politicas Integradas Públicas para Juventude. The umbrella under which all youth programs initiated in 2007 are based. This is the program for which the Prefeitura was procuring the loan. CUCA is only one part of PIPPJ.

Pirambú – a neighborhood in Region I known for high levels of poverty and crime. Greater Pirambú encompasses several neighborhoods within Region I.

Prefeitura – The municipal government of Fortaleza.

Prenuves – A large-scale urbanization project designed to improve on houses, roads, and sewers. One of the biggest projects funded by BID in Fortaleza.

ProJovem – another integral part of the PIPPJ program. Designed to increase youth employability.

Region I – The city of Fortaleza has six regions, each of which will receive its own CUCA. The first CUCA was built in Region I, in the far west of the city. This is one of the poorest regions of Fortaleza.

Secretaria de Juventude – the head of youth programs and planning for the city.

<u>Introduction</u>

In 2007, the Prefeitura created PIPPJ in order to alleviate the problems that Fortaleza's youth have been facing for several years[v]. Prefeitura administrators used the lens of state politics to think about ways to encourage youth participation in civil society, and discover what they could do to alleviate youth issues. The essential goals of PIPPJ programs are to foster social inclusion and employability of Fortaleza's youth, which will hopefully bring them out of poverty and diminish wealth inequalities and crime levels within the` city[vi]. Other programs under the PIPPJ umbrella work towards these same goals. For example, *ProJovem*, another program funded in part by BID, offers a complete curriculum for youth that have dropped out of school, including job training, citizenship, and support services[vii]. This program, like CUCA, works to foster youth social inclusion, making them more likely to enter the workforce and less likely to turn towards risky behavior. However, CUCA is the only part of PIPPJ with a physical space, designed to bring youth together to talk about the issues that matter most to them. For every young person involved in a social program, there are ten others that want to be involved in something in their communities. However, many of these young people have no formal or informal networks through which they can make their voices heard[viii]. Meeting other young people at CUCA helps create these social networks and will eventually allow youth to engage in collective action.

Many people within Latin America have a mistrust of international lending institutions, because historically, these organizations have not always had a positive effect on their community. During the 1980s and 1990s in particular, it seemed as if many governments received large loans and then squandered a large percentage of the

money[ix]. I set out on this research project thinking that the involvement of BID changed the scope and scale of the project, since these administrators were creating a project for an area they knew little about. This paper examines the influence that BID had on CUCA Che Guevara as an international lending institution, as well as the ways that the Prefeitura government best tried to construct it as a center for youth inclusion. The paper also discusses solutions to CUCA Che Guevara's two main problems today – accessibility and lack of attendance in key courses. If these problems are eventually mitigated, CUCA Che Guevara and ensuing CUCA centers will be extremely successful in achieving their aspirations for the youth of Fortaleza.

Location of Research

All research was done within the city of Fortaleza, one of the biggest cities in Brazil. Fortaleza is a city historically known for its underdevelopment. The acute poverty that has existed in Fortaleza for generations continues to trap young people in a vicious cycle[x]. CUCA Che Guevara is one of many programs designed to mitigate this poverty.

The city is broken up into six regions. Region I, where CUCA Che Guevara was built, is arguably the least wealthy of these regions. Region I is often characterized by the neighborhood of Pirambú, the area with the biggest population of underprivileged youth in Fortaleza. The HDI for Pirambú is 0.391, similar to several countries in sub-Saharan Africa[xi]. Constant migration from the interior of Ceará over the past decades has made Region I one of the most densely populated areas in Brazil, with little associated capital gain[xii]. CUCA Che Guevara is one of biggest endeavors ever to attempt to add development and improve quality of life within Region I.

Nearly everyone that I wanted to speak with regarding my research either worked directly at CUCA Che Guevara or came there occasionally for meetings, so I was able to meet with almost everybody I needed to while at my base location. However, I had to make a few visits to the Prefeitura office, because some government employees were unable to make time in their schedule to come to CUCA. Being at CUCA for so much of my ISP period made it much easier for me to integrate myself into the CUCA community and understand the ways in which it is beginning to shape the surrounding community.

The neighborhood that CUCA is located, Barra da Ceará, is known for its high levels of poverty and crime[xiii]. Many young people from other Regions – and even from

other bairros in Region I – find it troubling to walk through the area alone.   Luckily, I as a researcher never felt unsafe, even when I took the bus at late hours.   However, I imagine that there were young people who were too nervous about the safety of the region to take classes there.

Barra do Ceará is a naturally beautiful area, because of its proximity to Fortaleza's coastline. The area has historically been inhabited by some of the city's least wealthy residents. However, more recently, Fortaleza's richer citizens have attempted to take over the land for themselves because of its idyllic scenery. The government has been semi-complicit in these measures to extricate the historic populace from the area. In fact, seven years ago, the government of Ceará facilitated a program to take away the land from the people who have lived there for generations and give it to the wealthier citizens of Fortaleza[xiv]. Though this program failed, it caused the residents of Barra do Ceará to become mistrustful of the government in general, and view the government as an entity attempting to steal their land. In the aftermath of that failed project, the local Prefeitura realized that it had to help the people in the area, as well as all less wealthy people along the periphery of the city.

Statement of Social Relevance

As globalization increases worldwide, the developed world has focused scrutiny on countries with historically vast inequalities. Development institutions have realized that the best way to remedy these inequalities is by investing in young people to break the cycle of destitution. CUCA is the biggest project in Latin America related to improving the quality of life of young people. The Prefeitura believes it is a replicable project, and that the idea and basic structure of CUCA can be duplicated throughout Latin America in order to improve the quality of life of young people all over the region[xv]. If this is the case, it is important to find out exactly how the center works to alleviate social exclusion within the region, as well as the way that the local government and international lending institutions involved shape the way the Center was designed and run. This research project is important, because it shows how a particular lending institution has changed from being known as an obstruction to improving quality of life of people in developing countries to a promoter of social justice within historically abandoned areas. If CUCA truly is a replicable project, it is important to understand the ways that the international lending institution worked with local governments, and the way that both entities shaped the project. In addition, it is important to be aware of the ways in which particular local governments understand the needs of young people, to recognize whether or not it is actually working for the people. If the experience of CUCA is truly replicable as a method of social inclusion it is extremely important to understand how competing groups specifically designed it to foster social inclusion, and if these measures worked. If so, the idea of cultural youth centers could spread to other cities and improve the quality of life of millions more youth.

Methodology

All the research presented here was done in three weeks from mid-May to early June 2011. Nearly all of the research was done at CUCA Che Guevara, on which this paper is based. However, a few of the formal interviews took place at the Prefeitura, where the municipal government for Fortaleza is housed.

A great deal of my work was done through formal interviews. I interviewed multiple people from each institution involved with the creation of CUCA Che Guevara in order to ensure that I was receiving a well-formed vision of the connections between different institutions involved with youth programs in Fortaleza. I asked many of the same questions to representatives from CUCA/OS, the Prefeitura, and BID in order to discover the different viewpoints on issues affecting CUCA and the surrounding community. Unfortunately, all questioning of BID and World Bank representatives had to be done over e-mail, because of time constraints and the fact that they all work in Washington. All other interviews were completed on site in Fortaleza, Brazil.

I was also able to informally interview several young people at CUCA Che Guevara who live in Region I. Their stories helped me understand how important CUCA currently is and continues to be for the surrounding community. These interviews also gave me a unique perspective on how CUCA Che Guevara can change the lives of Region I youth.

Lastly, I visited classes in three different subjects – cultural debate, hip-hop dance, and radical sports filming – in order to find out exactly how these classes affected the lives of their young students, and to determine whether they truly fostered social inclusion and employability, and worked to improve quality of life. I believed that

visiting a range of classes would allow me to discern the different ways that CUCA shapes the lives of young people within the region.

A good deal of my historical research is through semi-secondary sources. I was lucky enough to get access to bank documents and to some of the loan agreements between BID and the Prefeitura. These helped me understand the relationship between the two bodies. I also used several surveys and reports done on youth in Brazil and Fortaleza in particular in order to better understand the historical situation of youth in the city.

Analysis of Findings

Portrait of Fortalezan Youth

Fortaleza, one of the biggest cities in Northern Brazil, is known for its significant levels of poverty and underdevelopment. Even though Fortaleza is one of the five biggest cities in Brazil, it is second to last of the top twenty cities in terms of HDI[xvi]. Though the city as a whole is rather impoverished, there are certain neighborhoods that are more destitute than others. The least developed neighborhoods in Fortaleza have a cumulative HDI of 0.338, similar to the HDI in Guinea and Ethiopia[xvii]. This severe lack of development has led to several social problems within these key areas, which have spread to the city as a whole.

Within Brazil, 11.7 million young people do not have the provisions necessary to provide a basic quality of life for themselves[xviii]. This feeling of destitution is especially acute in Fortaleza. Many poor areas in Fortaleza are densely populated, and it is extremely difficult to provide basic infrastructure and social services to all the people who live in these regions[xix]. When the government ignores these people's basic needs, the people living in these communities tend to become doubtful of the government as an organ of assistance[xx]. When they become skeptical of the government, they become alienated from the wider community, which generally holds faith in government action.

It is extremely difficult to improve one's quality of life without some semblance of higher education. Secondary education allows people to hone their skills in specific areas, and gain proficiency in subjects that can aid them both in and out of the workplace. 76% of youth in Brazil think that school is important for a successful professional future[xxi]. Unfortunately, though, 52.9% of young people in Fortaleza do not regularly

attend school, and only half have completed their secondary education[xxii]. Some of these young people drop out because they are entering the work force, but most have simply become disaffected from formal schooling, and believe that the education system has failed them in some way. In fact, 17 percent of Fortaleza youth who dropped out of school did so simply because found school uninteresting[xxiii]. In addition, 44 percent of youth in Fortaleza feel that their school does not understand the problems that occur in their own neighborhood[xxiv]. When youth feel as if their school is failing to respond to their personal issues, it is much more difficult for them to remain engaged in a formal education and keep their trust in the educational institutions.

When they become truants, these youth lose their connection to the general community, and tend to stay around their house and neighborhood for much greater periods[xxv]. Because of this, they are much more likely to engage in risky behaviors as a way to fill their time. Nearly a quarter of youth in Pirambú, a neighborhood in Region I, believe that young people in their community only engage in violent behavior because there is nothing else for them to do[xxvi]. In addition, youth who drop out of school are much less likely to enter the formal labor market, since they do not have the skills necessary to do a large number of formal jobs[xxvii]. Clearly, increased secondary education is a tool that can be used to greatly improve the lives of urban young people.

Increased employment of young people is one of the best ways to improve quality of life in poor areas. Employment allows young people to feel as if they are an integral part of the community, because someone is depending on their labor daily. In addition, the salary they receive from their employment undoubtedly increases their quality of life. When youth are more engaged in the labor market, poverty is much more likely to escape

their lives, and thus becomes much less likely to persist through the next generation[xxviii]. With heavy investment among education and professional programs among Brazil's youth, the least wealthy people in the country can find gainful employment and pull themselves out of poverty. However, unemployment and underemployment are two other factors that have historically contributed to youth exclusion and poverty in Fortaleza. In 2007, two-thirds of Fortaleza youth were unemployed, 30 percent of which were unemployed for more than a year[xxix]. Sixteen percent of youth in the city have never worked and are not currently looking for a job[xxx]. Even for 42% of the young people in the city who are looking for employment, it is extremely difficult for them to find a job[xxxi]. More than one-fifth of Fortaleza youth express that the worst thing about being a young person is the difficulty of finding lucrative employment[xxxii]. Many times, jobs in both the formal and informal sector are filled through social networks. But social networks within Fortaleza's periphery are often weak, where youth have been excluded from society for many years. This makes it extremely difficult for youth from the periphery them to find any sort of occupation[xxxiii]. When young people are continuously unable to find a job and thus provide for themselves, they become increasingly unreceptive to general society, which they feel has abandoned them in their desire to improve their quality of life.

In urban areas, violence and destitution often go hand in hand, as disaffected youth turn to hostility when they become increasingly frustrated by their situation. Fortaleza is no exception, where youth believe that violence and security are the biggest problems currently plaguing the city[xxxiv]. 57.6% of youth have lost someone close to them due to violence[xxxv]. Nearly 60 percent of youth within Fortaleza have been assaulted at

least once, and more than a quarter have suffered police brutality[xxxvi]. The violence in Fortaleza's poorest neighborhoods makes youth question the police department and the government, who they often feel are not doing enough to reduce crime in their neighborhoods. This further contributes to the feeling of exclusion that many of these young people have.

Many neighborhoods are so violent that youth often do not feel safe leaving their house. 59 percent of respondents in Fortaleza's poorest neighborhoods believe that they live in a violent area, and fully 80 percent feel unsafe in their neighborhood at certain times[xxxvii]. Clearly, it is extremely difficult for youth to enjoy their leisure time if they are unable to feel safe walking around their own communities. The violence and feeling of risk in Fortaleza's poorest neighborhoods leads youth to become isolated from the general community. When they are able to feel unsafe within their own communities, they are much less likely to become fully integrated within society.

Fortaleza, like many cities within Latin America, has extremely high rates of early female pregnancy. Thirty percent of youth in Fortaleza have at least one child[xxxviii]. More than half of these young parents had their first child before age 18[xxxix]. When young women have children at a young age, they nearly always drop out of school in order to take care of their new offspring. Rather than being able to complete their education, they often remain in their house in order to take care of their child. This not only severely mitigates their chances of future employment, but also excludes them from the general community, because they constantly need to be looking after their child[xl].

All of these factors relate to the general feeling of isolation and helplessness that youth in Fortaleza's poorest neighborhoods have felt for decades. Clearly, there are

several serious social ills that must be fixed before youth can feel included within civil

society.

<u>Why care about youth now?</u>

For the past several decades, there have been many political issues to worry about in Brazil. Because of this, young people in Brazil have been more concerned with solving these key issues, and less worried about fighting for their own civil rights and liberties. Throughout the dictatorship, many young people banded together to fight for a more democratic society. When the dictatorship eventually crumbled, youth continued to struggle for their political rights throughout the transition to democracy. During the governments of the 1990s, such as the Cardoso administration, the federal government was mostly concerned with the quality of life of babies and young children[xli]. Because of this, it was difficult for youth to get the public to listen to the issues that mattered most to their personal lives. For a long period, young people were simply a problem in society that nobody really cared enough to fix.

With the advent of the Lula administration, the view of young people's problems as unimportant was significantly altered. Since Lula had a more common background than many previous Brazilian heads of state, all citizens in Brazil felt freer to share their ideas with government about what could be done to improve their quality of life[xlii]. Lula's influence on the national government allowed officials to view Brazil's historical social problems in a completely different light, and it suddenly became important to find innovative ways to alleviate these issues. In addition, because Lula had grown up without a life of privilege, there became a new national preoccupation with the improving the lives of young people.

In 2005, the federal government of Brazil passed Decreto 8490. This law promised to promote studies, research and debate about the reality of youth in Brazil[xliii].

Previously, the federal government had not paid much attention to youth issues, especially from an academic view. Because of this law, the government began to seriously consider ways to alleviate the social ills of Brazilian youth.

More importantly, this law created a national youth council to propose laws and rules for youth policies. With the creation of this council, it became clear that the government was interested in discussing and supporting the national issues of youth[xliv]. Since that law was passed, municipal governments throughout the country have paid much more attention to the needs of youth in their own communities. The desire to fix young people's social ills has since spread to local governments throughout the country.

In the past, the biggest age demographic in Fortaleza was young children, and from there, numbers correlated inversely to the increasing age of the population. But in the past decade, the number of young people aged 15-29 has increased at a more rapid rate than any other group[xlv]. Today, nearly one third of Fortaleza's population fits into the youth age group demographic. In addition, there are more poor young people in Fortaleza than in nearly any other large metropolitan city in Brazil[xlvi].

As the youth population quickly grew, so did the problems associated with youth exclusion, particularly delinquency and illicit behavior. When Prefeitura officials began to see these numbers rise, they realized the necessity to begin to improve the quality of life for young people within the city, particularly within its poorest areas. They recognized that in order to reduce rising crime and delinquency levels, they needed to pay attention to the reality of youth and their problems[xlvii]. Thus, they began to create a set of programs designed to improve the quality of life for youth within Fortaleza.

What is CUCA?

CUCA, or Centro Urbano de Cultura e Arte, was designed as a cultural and community center for youth aged 15 to 29 living in Fortaleza. The local government believed that poverty and inequality could be mitigated in peripheral communities through two basic objectives: improving living conditions for young people through free cultural programs and courses, and engaging young people in professional training that will make them more competitive in the labor market. When put together, these two goals make youth much less likely to engage in risky behavior[xlviii]. The high levels of domestic and local violence in Fortaleza's peripheral regions often cause youth to feel isolated and unsafe in all of their living spaces. CUCA-CG and the other CUCA centers were envisioned as places where these formerly isolated youth they could spend their leisure time in a safe community while learning about unique topics. When young people come to use the center, they are brought out of their communities, and are thus less likely to engage in delinquent behavior[xlix]. Creating a physical space for youth to meet and talk about ideas will increase public capacity for expression of identity, leadership, and democratization. Because of these centers, young people are able to get together to express their ideas in a coherent manner in a way that was previously impossible within their communities[1].

Throughout the next decade, there will be one CUCA center built in each of the six regions in Fortaleza. The first CUCA was built in Region I. Because of the high levels of poverty and crime in this region, Prefeitura administrators believed that it was the best place to start implementing these programs. CUCA Region I is named after Che Guevara, perhaps the most famous revolutionary in Latin America's history. To many

people in Brazil, the name signifies a transformation within the community. In respect to CUCA, the name represents the production of revolutionary ideas, as well as the way that the center creates an innovative center for socialization, and garners respect for youth in a way that was previously never witnessed[li]. Ideally, CUCA Che Guevara will induce a transformation in the community, vastly increasing the quality of life of youth and promoting their self-esteem by stimulating their creative potential.

Many of CUCA's ideas are built on the theories of Guy DeBord. DeBord believed that through advanced capitalism and mass media, society becomes inverted, and the social relationships between people become increasingly passive. The best way to counter this is to construct situations in which life, politics, and art are revolutionarily reorganized. CUCA classes use DeBord's theories to offer youth an innovative way of seeing a world that they have never experienced. Once this revolutionary view of their environment changes their opinion of their personal life, they are able to create new social connections and change the rest of society. When they achieve this critical consciousness, they are able to understand how to properly express themselves and articulate what is occurring in their communities[lii].

In addition, community inclusion is promoted in every class at CUCA, because themes of citizenship and socialization are built into course curricula[liii]. Through these lessons, youth are able to realize their full potential and self-worth. When they gain respect for themselves and their neighborhood, they become much more likely to integrate themselves into their communities and interact in society as a whole.

When youth come together at CUCA, they are able to create and develop new social networks, which can be vital to their future development. Within these networks,

young people are able to find the answers to problems in their lives, or find someone to assist them when they need help[liv]. In addition, these networks naturally organize youth, and it becomes much easier for youth to engage in collective action, allowing them to speak with the government and identify what they need in their communities. The social connections that are fostered through CUCA classes and programs naturally cause young people to become more integrated within their communities.

Twenty percent of the youth in Fortaleza that leave school come back at some point[lv]. CUCA, along with other Prefeitura-designed programs, was created to absorb the other eighty percent of truants who do not return to school. 87 percent of Fortalezan youth indicated that they believe that some sort of job training will help them find gainful employment[lvi]. However, only 38 percent of youth in Fortaleza have had some sort of job training[lvii]. Many youth choose not to enter vocational programs because they feel that it will not be worth the time and money necessary to become educated in a specific field, or because they are uninterested by the programs offered at typical vocational schools. CUCA offers job-training programs that engage youth in unique areas of study that they cannot learn about anywhere else. Because CUCA offers subjects that are not taught anywhere else in the city, it is more likely that young people will become interested in a wide variety of subjects at the Center. Since the classes offered at CUCA are extremely unique, young people are much more qualified to get a specialized job in a lucrative field after participating in such a course. After completing just one class at CUCA, many youth are able to find high-paying jobs throughout the city[lviii].

Though CUCA was built primarily as a place for youth to spend their leisure time, the center also has cultural activities and programs on the weekends for families, which

engage the wider community in cultural pursuits[lix]. Family programs also allow younger children to better their quality of life and introduce them to a world of culture that they would otherwise be extremely unlikely to encounter. Because they have been included in wider society from such a young age, they are much less likely to turn to delinquency and truancy as they grow up.

Reflections on CUCA as a Promoter of Social Inclusion

There are several young people whose lives have already been transformed by their experiences at CUCA. One young man who currently works at CUCA Che Guevara took a film production class last year simply because he thought it sounded interesting. After finishing the class, he knew enough to get a job at CUCA in the same field. According to him, working at CUCA-CG has changed his life not only because he makes more money, but also because he is engaged and interested in the work he in doing. His job makes him feel like part of the wider Fortaleza community, and he is more integrated into cultural programs throughout the city. When he works at CUCA, he is able to increase his personal capacity and interact more with the world around him.

Another group of youth noted the way in which CUCA-CG had improved their lives. Before taking classes at CUCA, they stayed home much of the time and had little to do. This opened up their lives to risky behavior, including persistent drug and alcohol use. However, after taking a gastronomy class at CUCA, these young people realized that they had potential and could find a place for themselves in the wider community. After completing the course, a number of them got jobs at restaurants. This one class vastly increased their salary, which led to a greater quality of life and self-worth and respect. If CUCA is maintained for years to come, there will be many more stories like these, and many more youth whose life is vastly improved through CUCA programs.

Each class at CUCA has several unintended ways that it naturally creates a system of social inclusion. Nearly every class has students of mixed race, gender, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic background. These facets make up a diverse community

for the youth, who can learn more about different ways of life from their peers. In these classes, minority groups are included in a way that perhaps did not previously occur[lx].

Socioeconomic status is one of the biggest indicators of social inclusion and societal comportment. Usually, people from higher socioeconomic classes are less socially excluded, and perhaps if they were able to share ideas with people from less wealthy communities, the quality of life would increase for both groups. It is important that young people of different economic classes get to meet with each other so that they can understand each other's dissimilar way of life[lxi]. This rarely occurs in Fortaleza, since people from vastly unequal groups live such different lives that rarely intersect. Classes at CUCA-CG are an excellent way for these two sides to meet. Since CUCA-CG is currently the only existing CUCA, young people from wealthier communities come to Barra do Ceará in order to participate in classes and programs. Over time, however, this link will dissolve, as CUCAs are built in specific regions. It is important for young people to continue these talks, however, so they can learn about ways of life wholly different from their own.

In one class, students learned videography through filming their peers talking about and participating in radical sports. This class allowed them to discuss their interests in a safe environment, and meet other students interested in the same activities as them. Learning how to use video equipment is an important skill that they may be able to use to get a job working on videography in the city[lxii]. Because the teacher of the class is connected to the Fortaleza film scene, students may be able to use her as a resource in their future search for employment. Thus, this class not only allows youth to express

themselves and use their leisure time constructively, but also may help them with future occupational goals.

The teachers in each class act simultaneously as peers and role models for their students. Hands-on instruction allows them to personally understand what they need to do to excel in a subject. In addition, professors act as a positive role model for youth that they may not necessarily have in their own homes or communities[lxiii]. Having an adult figure help them out in any meaningful way fosters allows these youth to become more integrated into the wider community, as they are able to see that there are people out there that want to assist them and improve their quality of life. In every class, the instructor is engaged with the students. Professors truly want their students to be engaged in the material, because this is the way that they will be able to realize their full potential.

Many children want to participate in classes but perhaps are unavailable for the complete time the class is offered, or do not have the means to come to CUCA every day. Once, in a dance class, there were as many students participating in the actual class as there were watching from the windows[lxiv]. This seemed to be indicative of a desire to join in, and an increasing interest building among students. It seemed unclear why these students did not want to enter the class. It was the last day of the course, so it is probable that many of them had not realized earlier the possibilities for leisure in the class. Hopefully, more students will join these classes in the future, instead of simply watching from the outside with a desire to participate. CUCA administrators desperately want to increase class attendance. Perhaps when more students see their friends participating in

classes, they will join in the classes themselves, rather than simply watching from the outside.

Many youth living in Region I do not have an adult figure they can look up to and garner respect from. When these youth attend classes at CUCA, they often find in their teachers an older figure that they can enter a dialogue with to talk about their problems. When they are able to have such a mentor, they are much more likely to feel included in general society. The teachers at CUCA clearly care about bettering the lives of their students, and enjoy advising youth on their life choices. At a social debate class, the professor gave a lecture on the youth employment market within Fortaleza. He brought up several ways that youth could gain employment and thus increase their quality of life integrate themselves into society[lxv]. The teacher spoke motivationally to the students, reminding them that the future is theirs if they learn how to harness their talents. He also told them that the only way to come out on top in life is to keep learning and achieving in order to improve their quality of life. This type of thinking lets the students know that they have a mentor in the community that knows that they can succeed if they believe in themselves. When they have such an adult figure to look up to, they are able to realize their own place in society.

The BID/Prefeitura Relationship

In 2005, the Prefeitura produced the *Cartão Consulta*, a document that discussed what the municipal government wanted to do to improve the quality of life of several previously excluded groups within Fortaleza[lxvi]. The Prefeitura then sent this report to both BID and the World Bank to discover whether they could receive any monetary assistance in creating this new series of social programs. Though World Bank administrators did not respond to this report, BID officials believed that some of the projects sounded interesting, and that it would be worthwhile to investigate funding them[lxvii]. For the next few years, BID administrators made several trips to Fortaleza to see how they could work specifically on youth and urbanization, two issues explicitly addressed in the *Cartão*. In 2007, BID agreed to fund the collection of programs that the Prefeitura had created to improve quality of life for youth within the city, as they believed these projects were an appealing way to address social inclusion and other pressing issues relating to Fortaleza's youth. BID administrators felt that their investment in youth programs would be worthwhile not only for the positive effects it would have on Fortaleza, but also because it would have a high rate of capital return[lxviii]. Thus, it made sense for them both fiscally and socially to decide to fund the project.

From 2007 to 2010, BID sent several administrators to the Prefeitura to work out the specifics of the loan. In these sessions, Prefeitura and BID employees discussed what activities CUCA would have, the results of these activities, and generally how the CUCA centers would improve the lives of youth in the community[lxix]. Even though the loan was reduced from its initially articulated amounts, it still ended up being the biggest loan for youth programming within Latin America. During this period, BID also completed a

lengthy analysis of the fiscal resources of the Prefeitura, to ensure that the municipal government would be financially able to pay back BID after the loan period was over.

After several rounds of negotiations, the loan contract was finally completed in October 2010, and the Prefeitura received $33 million USD to finance youth programs within the city[lxx]. According to the terms of the loan, BID would pay for the construction of two CUCAs and the Prefeitura would pay for four, including CUCA-CG, which had already been constructed by the time the loan had begun[lxxi]. BID is also helping finance certain programs and classes at CUCA-CG while the center is being developed[lxxii].

The Prefeitura felt comfortable working with BID representatives on its youth programs, because BID has a relationship with funding large development projects within Fortaleza. Equally, this historic connection brought BID to believe that the Prefeitura was a credible borrower, and could be trusted to pay back the loan for CUCA[lxxiii]. Recently, BID has financed several programs in the Fortaleza in an attempt to cultivate social progress. Currently, BID is financially supporting twelve projects within the municipality[lxxiv]. CUCA is both physically and monetarily the biggest of these programs. BID is also heavily involved with funding *Prenuves*, a large-scale urbanization project within the city[lxxv]. The acknowledged relationship between these two bodies made it much easier to begin to facilitate the loan process.

Even though BID has been extremely favorable in conceding to finance nearly every part of CUCA, Prefeitura administrators still have some problems with the institution. The most common complaint of working with BID was that its administrators were too rigorous and expected things to be done too quickly[lxxvi]. There was also initial resistance to working with BID because they demanded statistical results of the progress

that the CUCA centers were making. This is probably due to the fact that it is in BID's interest to see quickly see tangible results from the projects it is investing in. At the same time, however, Prefeitura employees believed that it was enough for them to see that things were changing in the region without having to provide concrete statistics[lxxvii]. This was not sufficient for BID, who needed to see results on paper in order to ensure that their investment was had been meaningful. Though they initially resisted to providing what they felt were unnecessary statistics, the Prefeitura eventually realized that they severely needed the money that BID could provide, and agreed to provide statistical results as a condition of working with the international lending institution. In addition, they realized that involving BID with the project brought visibility and reliability to CUCA and PIPPJ[lxxviii]. Thus, the Prefeitura was willing to take on working with BID in order to legitimize the project in the eyes of the international community.

Prefeitura Influence on CUCA Design and Implementation

Before any work was done to create PIPPJ and CUCA, the Prefeitura held a series of participatory events known collectively as the *Orçamento Participativo* in order to better understand what was needed for youth in individual communities[lxxix]. The *Orçamento* was and continues to be the easiest and most logical way to gauge the interests of the community and allow people of Fortaleza voice their problems and desires to the Prefeitura. These assessments are held annually in every region in Fortaleza so that citizens can express what services they want the Prefeitura to offer or improve. For example, when surveyed, 46 percent of youth in Region I asserted that they practiced sports[lxxx]. However, because the majority of them felt unsafe leaving their house for extended periods, it was difficult for them to find a place to exercise. After this topic was brought up in the *Orçamento Participativo*, the Prefeitura was able to understand the importance of this particular issue, and realized that youth in Fortaleza's periphery needed a safe place where they could practice sports and socialize with their peers. Thus, they began planning CUCA as an athletic complex[lxxxi]. They felt that practicing sports would allow the city's young people to develop their capacity, learn how to respect rules, and live in a collective society.

Before going into the process of physically constructing CUCA, the Prefeitura held several discussions with the youth of Fortaleza to discern exactly what they desired in a community center. After consulting with the youth in the community, it became clear that there were many more programs that young people were interested in participating in besides athletics. Because the Prefeitura wanted to attract as many youth to these centers as possible, it chose to attempt to implement the vast majority of the

program and classes requested by youth during these meetings[lxxxii].   Because the

Prefeitura worked with the community to understand how to address the needs of youth,

they were able to come up with a solution that was targeted directly to the interests of

Fortaleza's youth.   Thus, they were able to create a center that they hoped would greatly

facilitate social inclusion within the community.

The Prefeitura broke ground on the first CUCA in 2008[lxxxiii].   Initial construction

was somewhat harried, because government officials knew they had to make significant

progress on construction before 2009, when the Prefeitura ended.   Because Prefeitura

officials had promised to construct at least one CUCA within the period of their

administration, they knew they had to start creating some semblance of the youth

center[lxxxiv].   Thus, they made a quick decision to create the first CUCA in the former

football stadium of *Clube de Regatas*, in the neighborhood of Barra da Ceará.   This space

was completely abandoned prior to the construction of CUCA-CG, which added to the

general feeling of abandonment within the neighborhood[lxxxv].   The Prefeitura believed

that having a youth center in the previously blighted space would open up the community

and make the area brighter and more aesthetically pleasing[lxxxvi].   In addition, CUCA-CG

was built on the far periphery of the city, where some of its poorest residents reside.   In

this way, the Center was built in a location that facilitates the inclusion of those who may

need it the most.

At the same time, CUCA-CG's location became one of its main problems.

Though the area is in a populous region, it is not the most populous area in Region I, or

even in Barra do Ceará[lxxxvii].   There are several other locations that it could have been

built that would have been more easily accessible to many more youth, who would have

been able to come to the center on foot or by bicycle. CUCA-CG is close to a number of bus stops that young people can travel to if they live too far away to walk. Unfortunately, however, much of the target audience that CUCA-CG was intended for does not have the extra money to take the bus to and from the center every day[lxxxviii]. This means that a large sector of the Region I population is missing out on classes and programs at CUCA-CG, because the location is inaccessible to them due to the cost of daily travel. Conversely, many of the students who live in more wealthy neighborhoods are easily able to take the bus every day to CUCA-CG and participate in programs there. Consequently, CUCA-CG unintentionally supports many youth who many not need its classes and programs to significantly increase their quality of life. Perhaps if CUCA-CG had been built in a more populous area, this would be less of a problem. However, the area had so many positive aspects to it that it seemed like a natural choice to build a center for social inclusion.

CUCA-CG's most important goal is integration within Region I; however, so far, it has been unable to overcome the fact that many of the people in the community have never been inside its gates[lxxxix]. Many people living in Region I have multiple jobs and responsibilities, and it is extremely difficult for them to find the time to come to these courses and activities. However, it is still unclear why the unemployed, who most likely have fewer responsibilities, choose to not engage in CUCA programs. Prefeitura administrators expressed that once people in the community began attending CUCA programs, there would be a higher level of self-respect and confidence in the community. This would theoretically lead to lower crime rates and instances of illicit behavior[xc]. However, none of the Prefeitura administrators were able to discern why attendance in

CUCA programs from the surrounding community continues to be extremely low, save for the fact that the Center is still extremely new. One official suggested that perhaps Region I citizens are shy about entering the structure, which they may believe was made solely for wealthy people. Another thought that perhaps people did not understand that classes and programs are completely free, or that people in the community thought they did not have the proper attire or comportment to enter such a striking meeting place[xci].

Nearly all Prefeitura administrators believed that the answer to this was more advertising in different types of media[xcii]. This response reveals their lack of knowledge about how to promote inclusion in the Region I community. It is difficult to believe that more advertising is necessary when there is a massive sign on the side of CUCA that reads, "All classes here are free!" Increased advertising would be extremely costly and may not even reach a great deal of the people in the community who do not already know about the Center's benefits[xciii]. The Prefeitura needs to find more innovative ways to bring the surrounding community to CUCA-CG. If it fails to do this, the Prefeitura may actually contribute to social exclusion within the community it is trying to assist.

Though all of the course topics were decided on by youth before CUCA's establishment, the young people in the community have no say upon which classes will be offered every month. Instead, administrators in CUCA and Prefeitura offices are the only ones who have input on this schedule[xciv]. Perhaps youth would be able to attend more classes if they were able to determine what month, day, and time of the week these classes were offered. It is possible that many young people do not come to these classes because they are at times that conflict with the young people's previous commitments. If young people from the community took part in deciding the monthly class schedule,

attendance may increase, and the Prefeitura would be more likely to meet its primary goals of youth social inclusion and specialized training.

Shockingly, only one of the Prefeitura directors working the project comes from Region I[xcv]. Because the vast majority of the members of the team are not from Region I, it is difficult for many of them to truly understand the best way to reach out to the community and promote cultural programs there. Because many of the people who work at CUCA-CG are from Region I, the center is still able to maintain connections to the community in which it is based[xcvi]. However, these are not the people who make decisions about how the center is run.

Unfortunately, there are few people from Region I that fit the professional qualifications to work on CUCA administration. However, the head of the CUCA team was a researcher who worked on social programs in Fortaleza's marginalized areas for many years before coming to CUCA[xcvii]. She is thus extremely well-informed on the problems that and periphery youth face, even if she has never lived there herself. Still, it would be better if there were more administrators that came from the area that CUCA-CG is catering to. However, as there are so few people from the region with the professional capacity to obtain a directorial position, this is unlikely to occur. In addition, the Prefeitura did not wish to have any one region overrepresented within the team working on the CUCAs, because CUCA administrators are working on all six regional CUCAs as a whole, not just CUCA-CG. Thus, it is important for them to understand the specifics of every region in Fortaleza[xcviii]. As a result, however, the team cannot get a firm understanding of any one region in which one of the CUCAs is based. If they have only

a cursory knowledge of each region, they are likely to experience tribulations when designing CUCAs in other areas as well.

BID Influence on CUCA Design and Implementation

When the PIPPJ loan was finalized in 2010, BID and the Prefeitura decided that approximately 80 percent of the loan would be used to develop the two CUCA centers that BID agreed to construct[xcix]. However, CUCA should not be viewed as the most important part of PIPPJ simply because it received the vast majority of the loan money. The main reason that it received so much of the capital under the PIPPJ loan is due to construction costs, which multiplied the cost of the CUCA program many times over. Because none of the other projects under PIPPJ have a physical manifestation, they cost significantly less to create and implement[c].

The main reason that BID decided to take on financing CUCA was because the Prefeitura assured them that it was a replicable project. Since there is really nothing about the center that is uniquely Fortalezan, the vision of CUCA as a cultural center for youth inclusion could potentially be implemented in a variety of cities. If CUCA classes and programs eventually foster youth social inclusion in Fortaleza, similar centers could potentially be created throughout Latin America[ci]. At the same time, the project is so big that few local governments have the finances to construct and implement even one CUCA entirely by themselves. This would mean that BID would become many times more heavily involved with promotion of cultural and professional programs and centers among youth in Latin America. These loans are extremely lucrative for BID, and thus the organization would be able to make a great deal more money on these loans.

BID involvement was almost entirely necessary to the functioning of CUCA-CG, because without the BID loan, CUCA would be only a shell of what it is today. The Prefeitura spent a massive amount of money constructing CUCA-CG entirely by itself.

Because of this, for the first year of CUCA-CG's existence, classes and programming were severely restricted, as the Prefeitura had ran out of funds and had little money to spend on implementation of actual courses[cii]. Only in October 2010, with the reception of the BID loan was CUCA-CG able to begin offering a larger battery of classes and programs to students in the community. In fact, CUCA-CG did not even come out with a tangible monthly program schedule until several months after its inception, simply because the Prefeitura did not have the money to create these pamphlets[ciii]. In this way, the BID loan has heavily enriched the operations of CUCA-CG. Without this loan, it would be nearly impossible to offer all the programs designed to foster social inclusion in the area.

In the past, international lending institutions have sometimes created projects that do not necessarily fit with the desires of local administrators. In the case of CUCA, this could potentially involve the exclusion of certain classes or physical spaces from the CUCA centers that the Prefeitura wanted to administer, or including certain programs that have nothing to do with the Prefeitura's goals. However, not a single administrator in BID, CUCA, or the Prefeitura could think of a case when there were courses or programs that could not be offered because of BID involvement in CUCA. Everyone agreed that so far, CUCA-CG had been able to offer every class that the Prefeitura had planned on offering after consulting with the youth of Fortaleza[civ]. Thus, it appears that that BID influence on specific CUCA programming is essentially nonexistent.

This makes sense, given the relationship between the Prefeitura and BID in this specific case. BID saw CUCA as a project that had potential to have an extremely positive impact on the youth of Fortaleza. It decided to give the loan in order to foster

this project, the plans for which were almost entirely already in place[cv].   BID

administrators stated that the loan was given to the Fortaleza government to use as they

saw fit, and that BID as an institution had no influence on the way the funds were

expended. At the same time, however, all programs offered at CUCA must conform to

the loan agreement in terms of the cost of the program and the technical content of the

activities[cvi]. However, Prefeitura administrators still express that there are no programs

that they have wanted to implement that they have not been able to because of the terms

of the loan. BID administrators believed that the Prefeitura had a good idea of what

classes and programs would be good for the community, and they saw no reason to

change this plan.   The only influence that BID has on CUCA programming was an

attempt to integrate CUCA together with other programs under the PIPPJ umbrella[cvii].

This, however, was probably a good idea, and will help increase the quality and reach of

programming in all PIPPJ sectors.

Another important place where there were discrepancies between Prefeitura and

BID ideas was CUCA's designation as an *Organizaçao Social,* or *OS*. Originally, BID

wanted CUCA to be supported completely by private institutions[cviii]. They believed that

it would make the facilitation of CUCA centers if negotiations were reduced with the

federal government. However, the Prefeitura wanted to create CUCA as an OS. Under

this title, CUCA centers could be administered in the same way as private companies,

with a structure similar to an American non-governmental organization. Because of this

classification, it was freer from government bureaucracy and red tape, and CUCA

administrators were more able to work on their goals in a timely manner[cix]. After talking

with Prefeitura administrators, however, it was agreed that CUCA would be an OS

controlled by the local government. In this way, a local entity could still have near-complete control over the construction and activities of and in the CUCAs, yet it would still have a structure not entirely government-run.

BID and the Prefeitura certainly had their issues, as it took so long to work out the terms of the loan. However, some Prefeitura employees stated that it was actually more difficult to work with the federal government than with BID in their attempt to garner the loan[cx]. When first creating the PIPPJ program, the Prefeitura went to the federal government to ask for money to implement the programs. However, the Brazilian federal government was extremely difficult to negotiate with, and gave hardly any money to the program[cxi]. Moreover, the Brazilian government is recognized as being overly bureaucratic and notoriously difficult to work with. This made it more difficult to go through negotiations with the federal government. However, these negotiations were absolutely necessary, because the federal government had to act as guarantor in order for the Prefeitura to secure the loan. It was extremely important to have the federal government as a guarantor, because in this position, if the Prefeitura is unable to pay back the loan, the federal government will assist it[cxii]. However, it was absolutely necessary to work with the federal government to secure the loan from BID, as the former ended up being the guarantor of the loan. Thus, the federal government had to be included in almost all negotiations, which greatly lengthened the time spent working on the conditions of the loan.

BID representatives worried that the creation of CUCA-CG was a project too big for the government to take on, let alone six CUCA centers. But because they believed that their investment would have a high rate of return, they agreed to finance the project

nearly exactly in the way that the Prefeitura desired[cxiii].   It is unclear whether governments in other municipalities would be willing to spend this much money to augment the quality of life of their youth, or if they theoretically would create a smaller-scale version of CUCA.   It is hard to imagine how CUCA could be fiscally replicable on the scale that it is being implemented in Fortaleza.

BID administrators have absolute certainty that the loan will get paid back on time, especially with the federal government as guarantor. It is extremely dangerous for governments to default on BID loans, because then disbursements for every other loan they have taken out are suspended. Because of the gravity of defaulting, there has never been a situation where a government has defaulted on a BID loan[cxiv]. At the same time, it is extremely troubling that there is barely a plan in place to pay back the BID loan. When the loan runs out in 2014, there will be a five year grace period, after which the Prefeitura will have twenty years to come up with the money to pay back the BID loan. This seems like quite a long time, so makes sense that very few people are worried about creating a payback plan. In addition, the Prefeitura has received many large loans from BID before and has been able to pay them back completely, especially with the federal government as guarantor. However, it is still troubling that very few government officials have any idea how BID remuneration will work[cxv]. Most likely, a plan will begin to be formulated before the loan period runs out.

The Future of CUCA Che Guevara

The fact that many people in Region I have never attended any CUCA programming is a serious problem. Advertising is most likely not the best way to solve this issue. In Barra da Ceará and Region I, many people only recognize what is brought to them by word of mouth. When people living in Region I tell their families and friends about the positive experiences they have at CUCA, people from the region will most likely begin to attend courses and programs in increasing numbers. Unfortunately, it will take much more time for word of mouth to augment turnout than it would for traditional advertising to do so. One administrator suggested that CUCA representatives should go into schools to discuss the Center, and CUCA should increase the number of guided tours offered to youth groups. However, much of the target population does not attend either of these organizations. Right now, the sole method that CUCA has to increase word of mouth is to wait. The Prefeitura needs to think of more innovative ways to target the people in the community that they are trying to assist, after leaving it abandoned for so many years. Since CUCA has only been fully functioning for eight months, it is unclear whether simple word of mouth will vastly increase future attendance. But as of now, CUCA clearly does not have enough patrons from the local community in order to make a vast difference in citizens' quality of life.

One of the biggest problems presently facing the CUCA centers is the issue of sustainability. Many people in the Prefeitura believe that the program has already cost the government a great deal of money, and it is not worth continuing to build CUCA centers without first fully understanding CUCA-CG's effects on the surrounding

community. However, it is still extremely difficult to tell how CUCA-CG has shaped the surrounding community, since it only been fully functional since October 2010. Hopefully, the Prefeitura will continue to fund CUCA construction and programming in order to foster social inclusion for youth in all regions of Fortaleza.

CUCA has attempted to solve the problem of economic sustainability by setting up a tuition scale for future classes. Now, there are so few students in so many of CUCA's classes that it makes little sense to charge any of the students to attend. In time, class attendance will hopefully multiply. When this occurs, students with higher family salaries will have to pay either a portion or full tuition in order to attend classes. This will help pay for the enrollment of less wealthy students and will allow programs to keep functioning[cxvi]. Yet, right now, it is difficult to tell how long it will take before attendance increases to a level where this plan can be put in place. In addition, charging for classes may cause the wealthier sector of the population to decrease their attendance. If this occurs, it is difficult to say where CUCA will get money from to continue to maintain its large schedule of programs and classes.

In order to keep CUCA running, the community needs to galvanize itself and discuss its importance with the municipal government. CUCA-CG's presence allows the surrounding community to feel more powerful, and it would be unfortunate if all the construction were done for a project that was later found to be completely unsustainable. In the past year, 2500 young people have taken classes at CUCA, many of who later were later employed because of the skills they learned during the course. The youth and people within Region I need to engage in collective action in order to let the government know how much CUCA augments quality of life in their community, or it is unclear

whether CUCA-CG will continue to grow and help the youth of the community realize

their full potential.

Conclusions

CUCA Che Guevara is so far the biggest project to attempt to improve quality of life for disadvantaged youth in Latin America. Because of the scale of the project, the Prefeitura government needed to secure international funding from BID in order to assist them in its creation[cxvii]. Historically, international lending institutions have interfered in the implementation of such projects, and have often changed these projects in a way that does not reflect the best interests of the community. However, in the case of CUCA Che Guevara and the other CUCAs currently being built, BID allowed local administrators to implement nearly every facet of the Center that had been planned, even though they worried that the project was too large[cxviii]. In this case, BID acted as nothing more but a bank giving out a loan to the government[cxix].

BID willingness to accept all facets of CUCA, however, may have been a mistake. Very few members of the team that planned out the logistics of the CUCAs had any personal connection to the region that CUCA Che Guevara was built[cxx]. Because of this, though the Prefeitura worked hard to ensure that CUCA Che Guevara would have the greatest possible positive effect on youth inclusion and employability within Fortaleza's periphery, they were unable to truly understand the best ways to promote the center and maintain accessibility for the greatest number of people. As time goes on, more people may believe that the vast amount of money borrowed for CUCA was not worth the effects that the Center had on the surrounding community. The CUCA team needs to find innovative ways to improve accessibility and attendance at CUCA Che Guevara and ensuing CUCA centers. Only then CUCA Che Guevara be able to make a positive difference on an area that has been neglected for many decades.

Indications for Future Research

Clearly, there is much research on this question that can still be done. CUCA Che Guevara has only been fully functional for eight months[cxxi]. It will take several years before BID and Prefeitura administrators are able to discern the Center's full effect on the community. As class attendance continues to increase and more people from Region I attend programs at the Center, it will be interesting to see whether the Center has a perceptible effect on improving the quality of life of youth in some of Fortaleza's poorest neighborhoods.

In addition, there are five more CUCAs that will be built throughout the city of Fortaleza. These CUCAs will be almost identical to CUCA Che Guevara[cxxii]. Future research can discover whether these nearly duplicate centers, which will offer extremely similar benefits to youth all over the city, work well to advance the goals of PIPPJ, given the widely different characteristics of diverse regions of Fortaleza. It will be interesting to compare the effects that these centers have on areas that may be in the same city, but may be quite dissimilar. If CUCA is truly proven to be a replicable model and similar youth centers are created throughout Latin America, it will be extremely interesting to view these Center's effects on social inclusion and employability in other cities vastly different from Fortaleza, and how the politics and views of these governments influence the creation and implementation of these future youth centers.

Finally, BID will continue to work with governments throughout Latin America to fund programs supporting both youth and social inclusion. Future researchers can look at the relationship between BID and other municipal governments to see if the international lending institution has more of an effect on these projects than in the case of

CUCA. In addition, it will be worthwhile to see how the size of these loans influences the way that future projects are structured. If future loans are similar to the size of the one given to support CUCA, there will certainly be a lot to discover.

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[lii] ISP Field Journal – Interview with Irene Bandeira – page 29.

[liii] ISP Field Journal – 2nd Interview with Yara Rodrigues – page 39.

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Appendix Questions

1.   Could you have done this project in the USA? What data or sources were unique to the culture in which you did the project?

        It would have been impossible for me to do this project in the United States. The vast majority of my research was conducted through interviews, which theoretically could have been done over the phone or Skype. However, I also visited CUCA several times to witness how its programs and courses worked to influence youth inclusion and employability. Obviously, I would not have been able to do this within the United States. On my visits, I was able to meet young people who told me stories about the way that CUCA Che Guevara has changed their lives. I would have had no way to meet these young people without traveling to CUCA Che Guevara, participating in programs, and socializing with the students and staff.

2.   Could you have done any part of it in the USA? Would the results have been different? How?

        I probably could have done the majority of my interviews in the United States, either over e-mail or Skype. However, I believe that the content of these interviews would have been vastly different if they were not accomplished in person. Because both of the loan administrators I worked to are based in Washington, all my interviews with them had to be done over e-mail. I believe that this vastly distorted the answers that they gave me. In these interviews, answers tended to be much shorter, and did not provoke much further questioning. If all of my interviews were conducted in this manner, it is unlikely I would have gotten as much information about my topic as I did.

3.   Did the process of doing the ISP modify your learning style? How was this different from your previous style and approaches to learning?

        The ISP process definitely modified my learning style. For the past sixteen years, I have taken classes where I read material, discussed it with a teacher, and then took a test or wrote a paper on it. Particularly in college, this basic method has been the structure for the majority of classes, and has been the way that I have learned to grasp information. However, there is no text I can read to tell me about the difficulties of BID and Prefeitura relations, or the ways in which Prefeitura decisions altered social inclusion within the

periphery. I had to find out this information from questioning people intimate with the details of the information that I wanted to know. In order to do this, I had to think precisely about what I wanted to ask them, then draw my own conclusions from the answers that they gave me. This made me engaged in learning the material in a way that was never possible in my previous classes. I was able to find out exactly the details I needed, because I personally designed the way in which I would receive my knowledge. Observational learning was something that was completely new to me as well. I never realized how much I could learn about a certain subject just by paying close attention to what was going on around me. In my classes at school, observational data is almost always irrelevant, because there is no way to visually scrutinize the subjects that we are learning about. Thus, being able to watch a group of people and make observations that related to my studies was something completely novel to me.

4. How much of the final monograph is primary data? How much is from secondary sources?

I would say that my monograph is approximately 75 percent primary data, and 25 percent secondary sources. The main way that I used secondary sources was to provide statistical information about the youth in Fortaleza and in Brazil as a whole, which I was then able to draw conclusions on and relate to the themes of my paper. These statistics were also extremely helpful in allowing me to understand the historical issues facing youth in Fortaleza. In addition, these sources helped me discern exactly why international lending institutions wanted to fund projects like PIPPJ. However, all of the conclusions I made from reading papers were supplemented by information I received in my interviews. It would have been absolutely impossible to complete this investigation without talking to as many people as I did, which gave me a broad span of information on the subjects I was interested in.

5. What criteria did you use to evaluate your data for inclusion in the final monograph? Or how did you decide to exclude certain data?

In order to evaluate what data was necessary for the monograph, I read through my interviews and notes I had taken on documents. I then pieced together what I thought was relevant to my monograph. In some of the interviews, answers are a little repetitive,

or certain administrators said the same things. In these cases, I excluded some of what they had said. I only included statistics that related directly to the experience of youth exclusion in Fortaleza and Brazil.

6.   How did the "drop-off's" or field exercises contribute to the process and completion of the ISP?

While I was in Aracati, I was able to conduct an interview with a group of people working to better the lives of youth there. I then had to write a report on my findings with some of my peers. This exercise allowed me to witness what it was like to conduct a formal interview in Portuguese, then how to draw conclusions from the answers that were given.

Spending my community project at CUCA introduced me to the Center and the people who worked there. I also had a formal interview during those days that helped prepare me for my later interviews during ISP. Because I had already begun to make connections at CUCA, it was much easier for me to immediately begin work on my ISP once the time period for field research had begun.

7.   What part of the FSS most significantly influenced the ISP process?

The ISP proposal was the most important part of FSS in relation to my ISP process. More than anything else, this helped me organize my thoughts and allowed me to discern exactly what I wanted to research and find out through my ISP. The proposal served as an outline for my research, and helped me organize my thoughts while I was completing my research.

8.   What were the principal problems you encountered while doing the ISP? Were you able to resolve these and how?

The principal problem that I encountered was that people who I wanted to interview with were often extremely busy, and it was difficult for me to find times in which I could interview them.   Because of these schedules, there was actually one Prefeitura administrator I had wanted to interview that I was unable to because of time constraints. I was able to resolve this problem most of the time, since my schedule was completely free; however, it would have been much easier if all my interviews were conducted in the same place, rather than both CUCA and the Prefeitura.

9.   Did you experience any time constraints? How could these have been resolved?

There were no time constraints related to my actual research. I felt that the time allotted for ISP research was entirely adequate for completing all of my observational research and interviews. In fact, I almost felt as if the research period was too long. I wish that there had been more time allotted to the ISP write-up, because it was extremely difficult for me to organize my thoughts into a cohesive paper in only a week, as well as complete all other assignments related to the monograph. I think in the future, it would be better to make the time between research and the write-up more equalized. I tried to begin writing my monograph earlier in the research process, but I still felt rushed when completing assignments. Maybe in the future, the schedule can be altered to reflect the difficulty of writing the monograph.

10.   Did your original topic change and evolved as you discovered or did not discover new and different resources? Did the resources available modify or determine the topic?

My original topic definitely changed throughout my research. Originally, I wanted to find out the ways that BID influenced the programming and availability at CUCA Che Guevara.   My supposition was that the international institution would try to submit its own ideas about how to change the community, which would result in local issues not being met. Within the first week, I was able to discern that BID had pretty much no influence on the implementation and development of CUCA. So, the rest of my research was focused on how the Prefeitura and BID worked together to create these social programs for youth. Because the Prefeitura was pretty much the sole designer of CUCA Che Guevara, I began to investigate ways in which their decisions had both augmented and diminished social exclusion within Region I. I had initially thought that because they were local administrators, they would know the best about what was best for the people of the Region. However, through my research, I was able to find out that there were a lot of decisions that they made that were not necessarily the best for the people.

11.   How did you go about finding resources: institutions, interviewees, publications, etc.?

I initially knew that I wanted to interview people that worked at the Prefeitura, BID, and in CUCA offices in order to get a complete picture of the relationship and influence between each of the groups. During my first week at CUCA, I read many of documents produced jointly between BID and the Prefeitura that described the goals behind PIPPJ/CUCA programs. These documents gave me a broad sense of the picture behind CUCA. While reading these documents, I picked up several names of people that seemed the most involved with CUCA administration. My advisor, Marley Uchoa, then ranked these people in order of their importance to the project. When I interviewed people related to the project, they often suggested documents for me to read. Many of these helped me with my background research, and allowed me to get a full picture of Fortaleza's social issues.

12.   What method(s) did you use? How did you decide to use such method(s)?

Formal interviews were by far the most important method I used to gain information. By talking to administrators intimate with the details of CUCA creation, I was able to get a full picture of the influence of different groups on CUCA as a center for social inclusion and employability. Without talking to administrators, it would have been difficult to discern how each group was related to this common goal.

I also sat in on a variety of classes at CUCA in order to personally discern how these programs helped to influence social inclusion in the community. The observations I was able to make from these classes allowed me to see the myriad number of ways in which these programs are helping out youth in the community. Without attending these classes, I would not have been able to get a full picture of how youth in the community use CUCA as a space for interaction and cultural production, as well as the ways in which the teachers of these classes influence the lives of their young students.

Finally, I was able to informally interview a number of students at the center. This helped me gain an understanding of their individual views of the center, as well as the ways in which it has changed their lives. These personal stories made me realize the impact that CUCA Che Guevara is already having on the community.

13.   Comment on your relations with your advisor: indispensable? Occasionally helpful? Not very helpful? At what point was he/she most helpful? Were there

cultural differences, which influenced your relationship? A different understanding of educational processes and goals? Was working with the advisor instructional?

To be completely honest, my relationship with my advisor was almost nonexistent. Nearly every time I came to CUCA to speak with her, she was either in a meeting or not at the Center. The times I did talk to her, I would send her emails about what I was working on, which she would not read until we were in the meeting. I was able to interview her briefly a couple times, which did give me some good information on her relationship with CUCA. In addition, it was extremely helpful for me to have a list of officials who were ranked by their pertinence to the project. However, I had very few meetings with her which lasted longer than a couple minutes. At times, she seemed much to busy to care about my research. This is unfortunate, because I think if she had been really engaged in advising me, she could have been an extremely helpful resource.

14.   Did you reach any dead ends? Hypotheses which turned out to be not useful? Interviews or visits that had no application?

There were several visits that had no application. Many times, I visited CUCA only to find out that the people that I had wanted to speak with or scheduled interviews with were tied up in a meeting. Luckily, however, I was able to interview almost everyone that I had intended to from the beginning.

Clearly, my initial hypothesis was completely useless, as it was proven wrong in the first days of my research. This only encouraged me to dig deeper and find out what problems there were with the Center. Because of this, I was actually able to realize that the Prefeitura's influence on the center had some negative impacts on the community.

15.   What insights did you gain into the culture as a result of doing the ISP, which you might not otherwise have gained?

From doing my ISP, I was able to much better understand the problems of youth in the community of Barra da Ceará/Region I. By investigating the ways in which the Prefeitura had designed CUCA as a center for social inclusion, I was able to fully realize the ways in which youth had been socially excluded for many years. From being in Barra

da Ceará, I could also gain knowledge about the way in which CUCA Che Guevara has changed the neighborhood over the past year.

16.   Did the ISP process assist your adjustment to the culture? Integration?

The ISP process did not really make me that much more culturally integrated. The Barra da Ceará neighborhood that CUCA is located in is relatively similar to the neighborhood in which I had my home stay, which was fifteen minutes away on the bus. There are few things that I had to do differently during my research that would have adjusted me any better to the culture. Because I had already lived in Fortaleza for two months prior to beginning my research, I felt as if I was already pretty well culturally integrated anyways.

17.   What were the principal lessons you learned from the ISP process?

Thoroughly go over interviews the day they were completed to ensure that he or she understood everything. I waited until very late in my ISP to start reviewing my interview notes, and realized that there were several small things that I had missed the first time I listened to the interviews.

Save files to both a hard drive and a USB drive. That way, it will be extremely difficult to lose track of them. Keep all paper documents and files in a locker or other safe place.

18.   If you met a future student who wanted to do this same project, what would be your recommendations to him/her?

I would definitely recommend making a concrete list of people that he or she wanted to interview way ahead of time. Though I was able to talk to most of the people on the list that I had planned on interviewing, several of the times of the interviews were just by change (i.e., if a Prefeitura employee was passing through CUCA). Deciding on who and when to interview very early on in the research would help this student to better organize their research and thoughts as the process continued.

Make sure to go to a variety of classes and programs at CUCA. This will not only teach the student something about Brazilian youth culture, but also about how CUCA works within the community to improve quality of life. Who knows, the student could even learn a few dance moves or videography skills!

19.   Given what you know now, would you undertake this, or a similar project again

I would definitely choose to retake this project again. Even though it was frustrating waiting around for interviews, or reading lengthy government documents in Portuguese, I was able to learn a lot about an aspect of CUCA that I would have otherwise never been able to research. While discovering problems associated with the implementation of the center, I was able to appreciate the problems that youth were facing in the community. This project was the only way in which I would have been able to fully grasp these problems. I hope I will be able to do more field research in the future, and learn more about social exclusion and youth problems in different areas of the world. I would then be able to relate these issues to different sectors