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NGOS, Community Associations, and Corporations in Partnership: Cross-Sectoral Collaboration in Serviluz, FortalezaCE

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NGOS, Community Associations, and Corporations in Partnership: Cross-Sectoral Collaboration in Serviluz, Fortaleza-CE

The *Farol* in Titanzinho, with a view towards a *Praia do Titanzinho*. Photo by the Author.

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Abstract

This study will explore the relationships between corporate funding partners, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the communities they work in (through the lens of community associations). Specifically I will examine the relationship between the NGO Instituto Povo do Mar (IPOM), the Associação dos Moradores do Serviluz (AMS), and the state controlled oil corporation PetroBras. PetroBras operates a refinery known as the Refinaria Lubrificantes e Derivados do Nordeste (Lubnor) within the neighborhood Serviluz, in Fortaleza, Ceara, and has become involved financially and socially in the neighborhoods surrounding the Lubnor. In this particular neighborhood, these three sectors work closely together in order to achieve similar goals and objectives; creation of social value and public good, improvement of education, community organization, and safety in Serviluz. What is the nature of the connections between these three sectors, how did these connections come to be, and how are their roles perceived by the individuals that work and live within the space surrounding the Lubnor in Serviluz? As the political and economic climate in Brazil becomes more uncertain, and funding from donors such as PetroBras, which the social projects that fill in gaps in government services in neighborhoods such as Serviluz often depend on, also becomes uncertain, understanding how partnerships benefit and affect creation of social value becomes important. This study will use formal interviews and participant observation to critically examine how formal authority, discursive legitimacy, and access to scarce and critical resources affect the relationships between these three spaces, and how partnerships between them and sharing of power affects how social problems are constructed within Serviluz.
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Discussion of Ethics in Methodology

The process of research for me was truly a process of discovery. In the processing of discovering the beliefs and perspectives of others, through dialogue and participation in their lives, lives I was warmly welcomed into and which I am more than grateful to have been able to be a small part of, I had to confront the nature of my own beliefs, my own situatedness, and the biased nature of the ways that I have learned to construct meaning. Even as I examine the roles that NGOs or social projects play in perpetuating colonial violence, I must acknowledge that in some ways I cannot avoid continuing a pattern of colonization. I remain aware that “in dealing with relationships between North and South, between core and periphery of world system, the coloniality of power is, nowadays, more than ever, inextricable from the coloniality of knowledge” (xlix, DeSousa Santos, Nunes, & Meneses) By coming to this community to engage in ‘research’, what Spivak and Andreotti term as “information retrieval”, I participate in another form of cultural imperialism, which places the Western academic, at the center, and the Third world as a repository of knowledge which can only be translated or understood by the Western Academic (Andreotti, 2011 p 43, Spivak, 2004). I participate in the patterns and hierarchies of colonialism and capitalism that are entrenched in anthropology and research practices. In such a short research period, I feel that it is hard to create enough meaningful relationships to attempt to combat these patterns.

I have tried to approach every meeting, every interaction, with an openness and willingness to learn. I have tried to bring gratitude and curiosity with me to every encounter. And I have attempted with all my heart to truly offer what I can in return, with an awareness that what little I am able to perceive, the staff at IPOM and the members of the community know and perceive much more than I will ever be able to about their communities. I have remained aware that in this dynamic I am the student, and must offer immense gratitude to my teachers; the staff at IPOM, the children, the kind ladies in the kitchen, and the AMS. I have also tried to offer what I can, without assuming that what I have to offer is not already known. By attempting at all
times to remain open and receptive, while also offering any part of myself that I could to help IPOM, knowing that the little I have to offer is a small mark on what has been granted to me.

I must acknowledge this my biases will have affected the perspective of this study on the connections between IPOM, AMS, the community, and PetroBras. I easily connected with and understood some individuals, and others I had a harder time understanding or speaking with, at times due to my understanding of Portuguese, at times due to gender roles, and at time due to my own posture and character. Thus the information and knowledge I have come into contact with is biased. Translation and transcription has offered its own challenges, and has emphasized for me the relative and perception based nature of communication and interaction. In the event of interview in Portuguese, I have attempted to translate as accurately as I can following the spirit of what was being communicated. For important passages I have asked Neilyanne or Jean Pierre to double check the accuracy of my understanding. In the event of an interview in English with a non-native English speaker, of which I had one formal and several informal, I have edited for clarity and conciseness, based on my understanding of the relationship between the English language and Portuguese and how communication is different between the two languages. For instance, when an interviewee used the term “Marina”, I have edited to Navy, after clarifying with them what they were referring to, as Marinha in Portuguese translates to Navy, not Marina, in English. I have, however, been careful not to add or take away too much, staying as true as possible to the reality of the information being communicated. Most editing involved only the adding of a preposition or two to aid in clarity within the context of the interview. I have remained careful to respect and acknowledge the unique voice and perspective of each interviewee and the ways that they understand the connections between IPOM, the community, PetroBras, and the AMS.

I have attempted to keep in mind through the research process that “to produce knowledge is to accept the risk of putting to the test our beliefs and our ignorance without reducing what we do not know to what we already know and without dismissing as irrelevant what we cannot describe because we ignore it, but it is also to exercise prudence and precaution when dealing with the unknown or with possible consequences of our actions” (xxxii DeSouza Santos, Nunes, and Meneses). To this end, although I came prepared to each interview with a list
of questions, or topics I wished to explore, I did not standardize my questions. Thus the information that I gained cannot be compared in a standardized way between individuals. I preferred to let each individual tell the story they had for me, allowing the interview to progress in a natural way as I attempted to understand the way that these relationships between institutions and individuals were perceived, functioned in reality, and what kinds of power and information flowed between them.

The kinds of information that each interviewer found most important to emphasize and impart to me was also illuminating. Who I am and how I was perceived, as a foreign student, also affected the kinds of information that I was able to access and the topics that staff and community members emphasized to me. If I were a Brazilian student, or a community member, or had a stronger grasp of Portuguese, the information I would be able to access and what I perceived would be different.
Methods

The majority of the data for this monograph was gathered through formal interviews. I recorded formal interviews with six individuals over a period of three weeks, either at IPOM, in the office of the Associação de Moradores do Serviluz (AMS), which is inside of IPOM, and at IPOM’s office in Aldeota. One interview was done over the phone. The interview with Dona Mariazinha was done at her home in Titanzinho. I used my laptop to record interviews and take notes, and interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour. Participants included the President and staff at AMS, one of the founders of IPOM, the staff member in charge of human resources and administration in the office at IPOM, the recently departed educational coordinator at IPOM, and the founder of the AMS, an important community leader. I also had many informal conversations with staff members at IPOM and AMS and community members during the ISP period, ranging from the ladies in the kitchen and teachers at IPOM, other university students conducting research at IPOM or in Serviluz, to parents and community members of Serviluz. All of the names of the participants, besides Dona Mariazinha’s, have been changed in order to protect anonymity and comply with requirements from IPOM concerning privacy of staff members. Dona Mariazinha’s contribution to Serviluz and her knowledge of the history of the community are so important, that I felt that not recognizing her formally would be unethical. She granted me permission to use her full name in this monograph.

I enriched my understanding of context and dynamics in interorganizational domains through participant observation, at IPOM and in the community and lives of the individuals who work at IPOM and the AMS. I spent a night at the home of my advisor, Fatima Alves, who kindly welcomed me into her family’s life, showing me a side of Serviluz that I might never have
had the chance to see. I participated in classes and events at IPOM, including English, Arts, Computer, and Surfing Classes. I attended and helped facilitate (in a very minimal way) two Bazaars, or used clothes fairs, that were held in collaboration by IPOM and AMS at the building they occupy in Titanzinho. I also attended a meeting called the Cômité Comunitario, held at the headquarters of the Lubnor/PetroBras in Mucuripe and attended by leadership from many NGOs and community associations surrounding the Lubnor. Due to a strike by oil workers at the Lubnor, the second Cômité Comunitario was cancelled and I was unable to attend again, which was a pity because my limited understanding of roles and dynamics at the first meeting most likely meant I was unable to fully grasp the context of the conversations occurring at the meeting. I originally planned to interview members of the Social Responsibility Department at the Lubnor in order to understand their perspective on the relationships between NGOs, the communities, community associations, and PetroBras, but was unable to obtain an interview with anyone from the leadership in PetroBras, due to time constraints. Thus, I have focused more on how NGOs and Community Associations working in partnership view their roles and collaborate in order to achieve similar but sometimes conflicting goals. PetroBras’s role in connection to IPOM and AMS cannot be ignored, so I have also explored how PetroBras’s role in the community is perceived by individuals within IPOM and the AMS.
Introduction

Instituto Povo do Mar (IPOM) is a NGO based in educational programs for children from ages 7-17, serving primarily the 7-13 yrs age group, in the neighborhood of Serviluz, Fortaleza-CE. IPOM was founded in 2010 by four surfers, members of Brazil’s upper class, who had a socially conscious vision to work with children in the neighborhood of Serviluz in Fortaleza, based around the beach of Titanzinho. These men originally founded a nonprofit surf school with the support of the Associação dos Moradores do Serviluz (Resident’s Association of Serviluz), looking to keep children in the area off the streets during the time that they were out of school, and give them skills and a supportive environment that they could carry on later in life. IPOM’s mission is to transform in an innovative way the patterns of social inequality in Brazil and the world through nonprofit action and social environmental education, supporting citizenship and creating a sustainable future (Instituto Povo do Mar -IPOM). Serviluz is a neighborhood in Fortaleza characterized by a high rate of violence, unemployment, and a low per household income (Moscoso, 2010), but is also an incredibly beautiful place, with a way of life inherently connected with the sea. The project has grown immensely in the last five years and now serves up to 150 children from the neighborhood of Serviluz, ages 7-17, in various capacities. IPOM also has partnerships with a local high school where they offer supplemental art classes through the Favela sobre Favela project once a month. The surfing classes are still a major part of IPOM’s curriculum, but IPOM now offers various classes such as the Surfista Digital, (computer classes) Capoeira, Wide Open Minds (English classes), therapeutic art
classes, and elective projects depending on the availability of teachers and the time of year. Ideas about sustainability and community involvement are woven into the regular classes through the use of recycling in art classes, street and beach cleaning, and sustainability and environmental consciousness as themes in English and art.

The Associação dos Moradores do Serviluz, (AMS), or Residents Association of Serviluz, is a community organization that works to “reach out to the whole community, encompass all of the needs of our community of Serviluz, working in the areas of health, education, security, children, adolescents, youth, families, mothers, and seniors” (Personal Interview with “Bruno”, 5 Nov 2015). They were founded in 1986, or at least registered as founded in that year, having been active informally before hand. The Association came out of the need to organize and pressure the government to provide public services and basic necessities for the people that were forcibly dislocated from Praia Mansa, upon construction of the new port in 1976, to the area now known as Serviluz. The Association has been led since that time by various groups of leaders, but most importantly Maria Ferreira Dias, better known as Dona Mariazinha, who was president of the Association since its founding up until 2009. Despite her retirement due to health issues, she still carries great weight and respect both within the association and in the community at large. Currently, the Association has three people working within it; the president, Bruno, vice president, Mila, and secretary, Lorena, all of whom are volunteers. The Associação, as it is commonly referred to, was previously very active within the community, and is currently going through a period of change as it adjusts to new leadership and the loss of Dona Mariazinha as an active leader. The rejuvenation of the Associação has been heavily linked to the partnership and sharing of space with the NGO, IPOM. The space that IPOM occupies in Titanzinho belongs to the association, and work, both on the building, in benefit of the community, and in benefit of the two institutions, is often done jointly.

A missão da Associação e abranger, e acolher todas as necessidades da nossa comunidade de Serviluz, em geral, e trabalhar com áreas de saúde, de educação, de segurança, de crianças, adolescentes, jovens, idosos, famílias, mães. All names have been substituted to protect identities.
Petróleo Brasileiro S.A. or Petrobras, is a Brazilian national oil company that was founded in 1953, and is an international leader in deep sea drilling and production of oil. Although going through a chaotic time due to the recent Lava Jato corruption scandal, which has led to loss of value in international markets and inflation in the Brazilian economy (Segal, 2015), PetroBras remains a Brazilian national symbol. PetroBras, among other companies, such as Shell, operates a refinery commonly known as the Lubnor directly within the neighborhoods of Mucuripe and Serviluz (see Appendix II for map of proximity). The industrial park was inaugurated in 1966, as the Fábrica de Asfalto de Fortaleza, and then in 1998 changed its name to the Refinaria Lubrificantes e Derivados do Nordeste, or the Lubnor (Abreu, 2013, p4). The area is also commonly referred to as “Petrobras” or “Petro” by residents in the surrounding areas, depending on which capacity they are referring to the Lubnor in. Petrobras has a headquarters within the Lubnor. The Lubnor operates within a space of 0.4 km², producing primarily asphalt and naphthenic lubricants, 13% of the total production in Brazil, while also acting as a distributor for these products within Brazil.³ PetroBras has become increasingly involved in the communities surrounding the Lubnor in the form of support for social projects, facilitation of meetings, and contact with community leaders, government officials, and NGOs, who work within the communities, or ‘areas of influence’⁴ surrounding the Lubnor, all of which suffer from lack of government services, infrastructure, and poverty (Cartografia da Criminalidade e da Violência na Cidade de Fortaleza, 2010). On their website, they state that:

Maintaining an ethical and transparent community relations surrounding our operations is one of our commitments. Therefore, we evaluate the potential environmental, social and economic value of our activities and value ongoing dialog, holding meetings, discussion forums, and encouraging the development of the local economies' productive chains. By knowing the reality that surrounds us, we can respect diversity and contribute to the communities' quality of life (Community Relations, PetroBras, 2015).⁵

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⁵Ibid.
In 2013, IPOM won a two year grant from PetroBras in order to establish an arts program within IPOM by the name of *Favela sobre Favela*.

"The objective of the project is to develop an arts nucleus in an area of high creative potential, although still little explored in the area of the arts. With the foundation of the project 'Favela sobre Favela we will reveal various talents, as well as guaranteeing access to arts and culture. The nucleus will be a partner in the community, helping in the area of education and formation of citizenship, in a place that is highly affected by poverty and violence" ⁶(Projeto Favela sobre Favela, 2013).

The grant allowed IPOM to hire two new teachers and an educational administrator in order to overlook the project and organize the grant requirements, creation of documentation, and educational planning. The grant was important for various reasons; in the influx of financial resources, the prestige that having a large corporation such a PetroBras brings for the NGO, and in the attention that the partnership brought to IPOM. This partnership with Petrobras, in order to expand the programs offered by IPOM, was influenced by and influences the relationship that IPOM has with the AMS.

The relationship between IPOM and the AMS is extensive, as when IPOM was founded, the project first sought the support of the former president of the AMS, Dona Mariazinha. The founders asked if they could use the (at the time inactive) building that belongs to the AMS situated right on the beach, and she granted them the use of the space rent free. They have, however made considerable renovations to the space, and continue to pay all of the public utilities, including water, light, and internet. The AMS continues to use the space, having a small office within the building, and staff from the AMS are present at the project every single day. I observed that residents of Serviluz used the term IPOM and *Associação* interchangeably to refer to the space. According to their contract, IPOM has use of the space from 8-5 on weekdays and the AMS has use of the space at other times, however these formal agreements often bend, and reforms to the space and installation of new programs are done in discussion. Collaborative

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⁶ O objeto diferencial dessa proposta é desenvolver um núcleo artístico em uma área de altíssimo potencial criativo, ainda pouco explorada no âmbito da arte. Com a fundação do núcleo “Favela sobre Favela”, estaremos revelando vários talentos, além de garantir o acesso à arte e a cultura. O núcleo será um parceiro da comunidade, ajudando na educação e na formação de cidadãos, em um local de grande incidência de pobreza e violência.
events, using the space, such as a used clothes sale I attended in benefit of the AMS, but with donations and support from IPOM, are common.

The majority of this monograph will examine how winning the grant from PetroBras brought to light the forms of power and knowledge that flow in the relationships that exist between IPOM, the AMS, and PetroBras. Although the relationships between Serviluz as a community, the AMS as an institution, and PetroBras are relatively old, the entrance of sustainable social projects working in partnership with these two spaces is new. Thus, it is interesting to examine what factors affect these partnerships and the interorganizational domain they work within. I will examine how these partnerships both help and hinder the organizations and corporations that participate in them, and what strategies of engagement are used in order to achieve objectives within these spaces. An interorganizational domain emerges as different organizations “perceive themselves to be connected to common issues” and are not static or predetermined, but processes of social construction and meaning creation. (Hardy & Phillips, 1998, p218).

Modelling after Hardy and Phillips (1998) I will use a framework that analyzes three different kinds of power; formal authority, the possession of scarce or critical resources, which includes financial resources among others, and discursive legitimacy. Formal authority refers to the recognized, legitimate, right to make a decision; scarce or critical resources include any resource that is critical to in order to be effective, including expertise, money, equipment, and information, and discursive legitimacy refers to the power to be seen as speaking legitimately, or as an authority, on behalf of the domain that the organizations work within (Hardy and Phillips, 1998, p219). I also will recognize that this network of connections does not exist isolated, but rather exists within an interorganizational domain, which is shaped by the individuals and institutions that work within it. Bringing together diverse understanding of how institutions work together, the concept of an institution or organization is fluid; as every boundary can be broken, and connections between institutions often mean connections between individuals. It is important to recognize the domain(s) that IPOM, the AMS, and PetroBras work within, are contexts that are geographical, temporal, social, economic, political, and relational - above all they are shifting, socially constructed spaces. Due to the limited scope of the research I have done here, I
cannot examine all of these contexts, but I have attempted to situate these organizations as well as I can in order to aid in the understanding of the relationships between them.

Literature Review

I will attempt to cover the theoretical framework behind IPOM’s educational mission, and behind the relationships between the third sector, the community, and the corporate and state sectors in order to provide a context for this study.

James Conroy, in his book, *Betwixt and between: The liminal imagination, education and democracy*, argues that liminal spaces are important in the context of education and in civic society. The liminal, in his definition, is “the intellectual, cultural and ideological spaces that…[exist] on the margins, neither at the centre nor on the outside” (Conroy, p7-8). He places this discourse in the context of an increasingly globalized world, which has an increasing impact on the discourse surrounding education, both globally and locally. He argues that alternative conceptions of human flourishing are being eradicated from public space - public space being the real conditions of human communities, and the more abstract public space of collective ideas and ideologies surrounding what education is and can be. Conroy states that “in the midst of this it must be remembered that students are neither required to inhabit the public space nor are
responsible for it’s functioning. Rather, they are people who are in an intermediate state” (Conroy, p24). If we understand both the theory and practice of pedagogy as a liminal space, then it is important to recognize and privilege these liminal spaces, moments, and encounters, whenever possible. Conroy focuses on the arts, including poetry, drama, and drawing and painting as ways to approach education and encourage liminal experiences.

IPOM itself can be seen as a space that privileges liminal experiences both in the lives of the students it serves and in the staff and community members (parents, neighbors) that are connected with the project. The staff of IPOM, in particular, while attempting to create spaces that privilege liminal experience for the children, must be capable of navigating complex spaces which privilege different kinds of knowledge. Expanding on this idea, IPOM could be seen as an agent that widens the possibility of liminal experience and connection directly and indirectly, both through the implementation of “a pedagogy of unconditional love” (Andreotti, 2011; Blair, 2013) and through the way that the staff of IPOM uses connections and relational knowledges of connection between individuals in order to support the ‘whole’ human being. At the same time, IPOM is connected to wider structures of power, financially, geographically, and socially, and the individuals that work at IPOM must also be able to navigate these structures with some degree of competency in order to advocate both for IPOM as an institution and for the community of Titanzinho. Through networks of community organizations and NGOs, IPOM is able to emerge as a ‘liminal’ space that exists between community realities, and wider structures of power, that can both harm and benefit the community and individuals served by IPOM.

IPOM’s vision is shaped by a ‘pedagogy of unconditional love’, which was conceived by Andrea Blair Vasconcelos, a teacher and coordinator who left IPOM in August of this year. This theory is explained as “to be open to doing education differently and thinking ‘otherwise’; to open space for something new to emerge; to not make presumptions but to enter a hybrid space of postcolonial ethics and essential care. (Blair, 2013 p85). It is also characterized by learning ‘with’, rather than ‘about’, the other, opening space for the student to take ownership of their education, and space for the teacher to become a student in turn (Blair, 2013 p32, p82). It is based in postcolonial theory, which attempts to deconstruct the violent structures of power, knowledge, and assumptions that have their foundation in unequal relationships between the
Global North and Global South (Andreotti, 2011; Blair, 2013). Andreotti, (2011), explains that, in this pedagogy of unconditional love, “the educational process explicitly moves away from the cultivation of specific “whats” and and projects of transcendence as collective and predefined emancipation to focus on the possibilities for relationality inherent in learners,”“whos” (p80).

Although first implemented by Andrea as a pedagogy in the English classes, I observed that her strong influence over the practice of education as coordinator, and the relationships she developed at IPOM during her time there, caused this pedagogy to open into other classrooms, influencing the teaching practices and ways of being that other staff members bring into the NGO. Teachers at IPOM maintain this theory through daily practices and concrete teaching techniques.

In Political Responsibility in NGO Advocacy: Exploring Emerging Shapes of Global Democracy, Lisa Jordan and Peter Van Tuijl elaborate on the tension experienced by NGOs as they try to navigate their roles, both as providers of social services, and agents of democracy in political systems. They argue that the ties that occur between NGO’s across institutional, geographical, and social boundaries can have both positive and negative effects on an NGO’s ability to advocate as a political entity for the people that it serves. NGOs often work in areas where the role of the government or nation state has been reduced, either through inability to reach a certain population or through structural inequalities that cause marginalization of certain populations -- this creates a vacuum that NGOs like IPOM attempt to fill, providing social services or necessary education that the state has failed to provide. Jordan and Van Tuijl elaborate that in an increasingly westernized world:

The provision of social services is not seen as a part of the state’s role anymore, and NGOs are identified as important actors to fill the ensuing gap. This approach places NGOs into the structural adjustment paradigm whereby the role of the state in providing social services is reduced. While there are a number of assumptions made in this dominant discourse, the most important one regarding NGOs is that NGOs are operating closer to local communities and disadvantaged groups and are therefore more efficient and cheaper providers of social services than the state.

This becomes problematic because the presence of NGO’s may be used as a justification to lessen the quality or quantity of social services available to the communities in which NGOs work. Although the NGOs may be doing good work to try and better quality of life in their
communities, a secondary effect may be a lessening of the perceived ‘need’ in the community for social services, in effect causing these communities to become even more invisible in the eyes of the state. By this logic, NGOs then have responsibility to engage in advocacy and become political agents for the communities they work in. However, when NGOs are financed by the very structures they have a perceived ‘responsibility’ to advocate for change in, then these relationships between community, NGO, and political and corporate structures, becomes problematized. The separation between these agents is never as clear as it may seem, sometimes for reasons of concurrent goals, sometimes because of proximity, and sometimes because of human relationships connecting and creating a web between these structures, through individuals. In the case of IPOM, Titanzinho, and PetroBras, the role of advocacy becomes problematized, due to widespread distrust of the political system. The AMS has a long history of advocacy for the community in the political sphere, and IPOM’s partnership with them allows IPOM to in some ways guide what kinds of advocacy take place; shifting from advocating in the political sphere to advocacy through personal connections in the private or corporate sector that can quickly benefit the children IPOM serves. These connections can be in the form of scholarships at well known English schools, or opportunities to receive instruction from world renowned surfers.

In understanding the relationships between these spaces, it is important to theorize the roles of the public, private, and third sector in relationship to the ‘community sector’. The ‘third sector’ is used to refer to any organization not fitting into the so-called first and second sectors, or state and market economies. This would include voluntary organizations such as NGOs, charities, social enterprises, networks, and clubs (Corry, 2010 p11). Community organizations are sometimes included in this area but for the purpose of this study I will differentiate between NGOs, which exist for a specific purpose and are often outside actors, and community organizations, which may have little funding, and goals which are more relative and community based. The third sector can be conceived of in a hybrid way, as “mixtures of other kinds of social organizations such as private and public, or hierarchic and anarchic” (Corry, 2010, p2). However, the third sector can also be understood as a “kind of societal process” (Corry, 2010 p12) which facilitates information flows between different sectors of society, a space where
dialogue takes place between different holders of institutional power. In relationship to IPOM, it is more useful to understand how the NGO “came to be real, defined, and authorized, and how different perspectives generate different understandings” (Corry, 2010 p12) of its existence and connections. Understanding how the third sector, in relationship to IPOM and its relationships with individuals, community organizations, and funding partners, is conceived of and analyzed in those spaces will help to understand the challenges that IPOM faces in achieving its objectives. Corry asserts that “most ontological accounts of the third sector place it in relation to the state and the market”, while I will place the third sector in relationship to a hybrid state/market (state owned enterprise) and the community that it serves. In this sense my analysis varies greatly in its conception of what the third sector is and can be, because I am not differentiating the third sector as a space that balances the state and market. Rather I am analyzing the ways that the third sector, and the space that it holds for new conceptions of education, bleeds into the other ‘sectors’ that it necessarily hold relationships with. The third sector is often differentiated from informal economies, such as families, clans, or kinship circles, but in respect to IPOM it is often these informal economies that allow the third sector organization to achieve its goals, through accessing crucial information about the livelihoods and wellbeing of the children and individuals IPOM works with. This differentiates the third sector from the state and market sector, which may hold little connection to informal economies or view these knowledges as inferior to established ways of knowing within the corporate sector.

Petróleo Brasileiro S.A., or PetroBras, is a state owned enterprise (SOE), which as a majority state owned oil corporation, acts as a hybrid between state and market economies. Brazil has a long history of state intervention in the economy, beginning with government bailout of railroads in the 1930s, and expanding over time to state control of banking, utilities, mining, steel, petroleum, electricity, and other resource based economies. PetroBras was created in 1953, due to the need for Brazil to control the import, production, and refinery of oil products, and was initially a state owned company. During the military dictatorship, from 1964-1985, state controlled companies made up 43% of the public sector. However, with a push for privatization, by 2002 this percentage had dropped to 8.9% (Musacchio & Lazzarini, 2014, p2).

In the early 2000s, transparency and accountability as well as managerial practices in SOEs
improved in Brazil, with major state run corporations being more closely monitored by
government ministries, including the Department of SOEs (DEST), whose primary function is to
monitor SOEs and improve accountability and transparency. However, state intervention was
still used as a tool in order to stabilize the economy, especially in periods of financial crisis such
as the late 2000’s. Concerning the role of SOEs in the economic and social spheres;
“governments may force SOEs to cater to less profitable customer segments, minimize
unemployment, or invest in remote areas. In other words, SOE managers will typically face a
‘double bottom line” involving not only financial goals but also social objectives not necessarily
addressed by the private sector” (Musacchio & Lazzarini, 2014, p3) In relationship to social
objectives, SEOs may then expand to consider social objectives not just in respect to
maintenance of employment and social welfare, but as a responsibility for SOE’s to become
involved in the social service sector, where they come into contact with both NGOs and
community organizations.

PetroBras’s Social Responsibility Policy states that “social responsibility is the
mechanism for the integrated, ethical, and transparent management of our business and of our
relationships with all stakeholders, driving human rights and citizenship, respecting human and
cultural diversity, not allowing discrimination, degrading work, child and slave labor,
contributing to sustainable development and to reducing social inequality” (Social Responsibility
Policy, 2015). PetroBras’s involvement in funding of social development initiatives, education,
sport, and cultural programs is extensive. Their website states that they “wish to come into
contact with initiatives capable of transforming realities” (Petrobras, 2015). The perceived role
and objectives of the SOE in society and the economy shifts as these companies become more
involved in the social sphere, creating closer ties with the third sector. This raises stakes both for
the SOE, and for the communities and third sector organizations that become to a certain point
dependent on funding, and involvement in other ways (information, knowledge sharing,
partnerships) from the SOE.

This is not to imply a one sided relationship between corporate donors and third sector
organizations, rather, “NGOs have long been aware of the improvements to efficiency and
sustainability that can be derived from the injection of business practices into their operations
Reynolds 20

(Fowler 1997) and partnerships provide not only resources in terms of improved management systems and structures but also the opportunity to receive vastly more money than was previously available for their work” (Gainer 2010, p193-194). Issues may arise when the goals or objectives of the corporate sector, including the creation of measurable social value, transparency and accountability in marketable terms from the third sector partner, come to eclipse the goals and responsibilities of the NGOs themselves. In relationship to the communities that NGOs work in, “the belief that business goals, models, and methods are superior to those of the third sector is not only informing corporate practice but also changing public views about what constitutes social value and the creation of the public good” (Gainer, 2010, p194). In this sense, the perception of NGOs in relationship both to the state and to the corporate sector is important to understand, because creation of social value is often dependent on support from communities that must perceive NGOs as capable and trustworthy partners, not dependent on corporate or political guidance. In the context of the partnership between IPOM and PetroBras, the perception of IPOM as capable and trustworthy in relationship to PetroBras has become increasingly important in light of the recent corruption scandals within PetroBras.

The phenomenon of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in respect to SOEs becomes complicated, as SOEs are not just representative of the corporate sector but also of the state. Tenório (2006, p238) explains that corporate social responsibility is every company action that, based in ethical values, attempts to meet the needs of the stakeholder, prioritizing the well being of the society and the environment in which the business is inserted. Gainer (2010), expands on this conception of CSR as a set of ideologies that inform business practice and partnerships within and without the corporate sector, and views the “injection of business models and methods as the solution to persistent social and economic issues” (p193). The stakeholders, in the case of a state owned enterprise, would thus be expanded to include any citizen that has interaction with either state or company, creating an exponentially larger area of impact in respect to social responsibility. Hardy and Phillips (1998) explain that as “individuals come to

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7 Assim, considera-se responsabilidade social corporativa toda açao empresaria que, pautada em valores éticos, objective atender às necessidades dos stakeholders, priorizando o bem-estar da sociedade e do ambiente em que a empresa esteja inserida (Tenório, 2006, p238)
share a vision of the issues and participants that constitute the domain, they become *stakeholders*” (218). The domain, in this context is the space that the AMS, IPOM, and PetroBras work within. In this sense, anyone who comes into contact with the AMS or IPOM, and begins to take ownership of the ways these institutions act within the community, is a stakeholder. Both IPOM and the AMS are engaged in actions that attempt to create new stakeholders within Serviluz, as they use education and political advocacy to to give children and others a sense of ownership of Serviluz, ‘rescuing citizenship’ (IPOM) and empowering children as owners of their own education. The ability to legitimize stakeholders is based in the possession of power to shape the domain; dominant stakeholders are able to shape the domain, legitimize other stakeholders, and open spaces to create new meaning, shaping the social issues the domain exists around.

In respect to possible negative effects of state involvement in the private sector; “SOEs can be used as vehicles of patronage: governments may choose employees on the basis of their political connections instead of merit or technical background. This effect is expected to be particularly strong when the government has to build political coalitions and hence compensate its cronies with benefits from the public bureaucracy” (Musacchio et. al, 2003, p19) Thus, with an increase in a democratic political system in which political alliances become crucial, the danger for corruption and overlap between government and major corporations rises. SOEs may begin to provide the same services that the government traditionally provides, such as education, facilitation of information, health services, utilities, and financial services, without being held responsible to a transparent and representative political process.

This increased responsibility becomes particularly problematic in case of mismanagement or unethical collocation of funding, fraud, or corruption, as has occurred in the recent *Lava Jato* scandal within PetroBras. The *Lava Jato* scandal revealed a kickback scheme which allowed the Workers Party to pocket up to 200 million dollars since 2004, much of it to finance political campaigns. The repercussions have been huge, and “the company has lost more than half its value in the last year, about $70 billion in market cap. Part of that stems from the worldwide decline in oil prices, but none of the company’s rivals have been punished as severely” (Segal, 2015). In March of this year, over 100,000 Brazilians took to the streets in the
capital in order to protest against the Worker Party and President Dilma Rousseff, demanding her resignation. The scandal has triggered an economic crisis which has caused Standard & Poor's to cut the national debt rating to one level above junk status (Segal, 2015).

The stability of PetroBras become an important issue in relationship to the communities it is situated in, considering not just the economic influence but the social involvement that the oil corporation holds, specifically putting in jeopardy the sustainability of the funding of social projects in the area, on which the community depends. These social projects have a heightened importance due to the inconsistency of government investment in the area, and lack of state social services. Understanding how NGOs are able to achieve their objectives both in relationships to the communities they serve and the objectives of funding partners, who in some ways act as the state in areas where the state is lacking, becomes increasingly important in the face of economic and political instability.

SOEs can both act as an extension of the government, and as mediators between the communities they serve and the political process. This has interesting practical effects on the relationships between communities situated around the headquarters and production units of SOE’s, causing heightened partnerships and dynamics between the third sector, private sector, and government agencies, which are facilitated by the involvement of SOEs in the community. In Corporate Social Responsibility, Brenda Gainer explains that those who are involved in the ‘movement’ of CSR “see it as a large scale transformative project with dramatic implications for internal corporate-sector behavior and external inter-sectoral relationships” (2010, p187). This concurs with PetroBras’s wish to be involved in “initiatives capable of transforming realities” (PetroBras 2015). CSR is, in effect, is a blurring of the perceived role of the corporate sector in relationship to both the state and the third sector, resulting in reformulations of partnership models. Especially in areas, such as Serviluz, where the state has historically has played a weak or lacking role in respect to the creation of social value and the provision of social services, involvement of corporate partners, especially SOEs, which also represent the state, can be perceived as obligatory. What, however, does this mean for third sector organizations, NGOs such as IPOM, community organizations, and the reality of the community itself? How does the role of the NGO change as it becomes beholden to a corporate partner? Gainer explains that
“power differentials with respect to resources and organizational capacity, coupled with differences in interests and values, suggest that what appear to be ‘joint ventures’ between equally independent partners may really be more akin to vertical integration of the supply chain in which the most powerful player ‘governs’ the other members of the channel” (Gainer, 2010, p196). Is it important for the third sector, SOEs, and the community to remain differentiated and independent, or can increased connections allow for more rapid and sustainable achievement of objectives for all sectors?

Literature has also suggested that partnerships between sectors can facilitate more efficient achievement of objectives and goals, especially with respect to the creation of social value. Bryson, Crosby and Stone emphasize that collaboration is increasingly seen as both necessary and desirable, in many cases the only effective way of addressing public challenges. They define cross sectoral collaboration as “partnerships involving government, business, nonprofits and philanthropies, communities, and/or the public as a whole” (Bryson et al., p4). Problematizing this view, they also maintain that cross-sectoral collaborations are not a panacea, and can often cause more problems than they solve, due to the interconnected and complicated nature both of social challenges, and intersectoral relationships in the face of political corruption. In the case of Serviluz, cross sectoral collaborations are problematized due to power differentials and financial need in the face of complicated issues such as gang violence, lack of public infrastructure, low quality public education, and poverty (Moscoso, 2010; Blair, 2013).

Collaborating organizations may define the problem they are addressing in different ways, causing problems with communication and engagement with the issue (s) that the collaboration addresses. “Collaboration is often seen as a means of reducing uncertainty, acquiring resources, and solving problems; and it is often assumed that stakeholders collaborate voluntarily, sharing common goals and equal power (Hardy & Phillips, 1998, p 217). However, although organizations may share goals, the resources and sources of knowledge at their disposal may affect the tactics they use to achieve those goals, and disagreements about strategy and tactics, let alone differing goals, can cause conflict between collaborating organizations. Questions of personal interest, power imbalance, and differences in goals, values, and beliefs can cause collaboration to be used as a tactic to protect “specific organizational interests” (Hardy &
Phillips, 1998, p 218). Questions of power are therefore important to examine in order to understand the ways that social issues are defined and addressed within the interorganizational domain.

Organizational Context
The community of Titanzinho is situated within the larger neighborhood of Cais do Porto in Fortaleza, CE. Cais do Porto is commonly known as Serviluz, due to the situation of the public light and energy company Serviluz there in the 1950s (Field Journal, p1). Serviluz contains around 22,000 people, and 90% of families receive Bolsa Familia, a social program which helps those at the lowest poverty level to provide basic necessities for their families (Moscoso, 2010). Problems such as prostitution, gang wars, drug trade and use of drugs such as crack, and violence of all kinds affects the daily lives of the community (Formulario de Apresentação de Projetos: Programa PetroBras Desenvolvimento & Cidadania, [Projeto Favela sobre Favela] 2013). The neighborhood is also known throughout Fortaleza as a dangerous area, due to high media coverage of violence in the area, which leads to stigma for residents (Costa da Silva & Lopes da Silva, 2012, p8). It is important to emphasize, that although violence, mostly related to gang violence and drug trafficking, is a real part of the residents of Serviluz lives, that violence and media propagation of violence creates a culture of fear, which in turn creates social instability, prejudice and stereotypes, creating a cycle of violence and fear that stigmatizes communities such as Serviluz (Cartografia da Criminalidade e da Violência na Cidade de Fortaleza, 2010).

More than once when I mentioned to a Brazilian that I went to Titanzinho every day, they would grimace, asking if I was not scared to go there. Staff at IPOM mentioned to me that “we had trouble hiring a new English teacher… either they won’t come here, or they come and turn right

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8 O crescimento da criminalidade e da violência aumenta a insegurança e a inestabilidade, contribuindo para a “cultura do medo”. Se a violência gera o medo, o medo gera também mais violência, criando um círculo perigoso que reforça os estereótipos, as barreiras sociais, os preconceitos e a não-aceitação das diferenças socioculturais. “The growing criminal behavior and violence adds to insecurity and instability, contributing to a “culture of fear”. If violence creates fear, fear also creates violence, creating a violent circle that re-enforces stereotypes, social barriers, prejudices, and intolerance of socio-cultural differences. (my translation).
back around. One candidate saw the neighborhood and got right back on the bus. There are few people that want to work in Serviluz” (Field Journal, p3). This cycle of violence and fear, which IPOM is trying to combat through education and pride in community, also affects the ability of the NGO to be effective in more subtle ways, such as in pool of candidates available for hiring. New teachers or staff members may be unwilling to integrate fully into the community, or have a hard time doing so. Although I entered the small streets becos, in the community many times with staff members from IPOM, or with my advisor, to visit her family members or grab a snack after work, I witnessed that new staff members at IPOM, not from Serviluz, were often unwilling to leave the street directly in front of the beach and enter the community, even to just grab a snack. When I asked why, an administrator replied “are you kidding? By ourselves? I’m not going in there” (Field Journal, p14). This culture of fear affects the ability of staff members at IPOM to integrate fully into the community, limiting their capacity to fulfill IPOM’s mission and affect the reality of the lives of children in the community. I also only ever walked the streets when I was with either children or staff members from IPOM, but I never felt threatened or unsafe, especially after meeting my advisor’s family and friends several times. I was, however, very aware that any movement was observed; people would greet me and point me towards IPOM, ask me if I was heading to the “associação”. Children would yell “Tia, tia!” as a greeting in the street.

IPOM relies heavily on the teacher and staff members who are from Serviluz, of which there are six, two the ladies who work in the kitchen (who also serve the NGO in various other capacities as important contacts and repositories of informations), two teachers, one in art and one in Surf, and one in administration of the project. These staff members are important, besides their capacity as gifted instructors and support systems for the kids, because they have knowledge of the lives of the children outside the project and of the reality of life in the community which would be unavailable to any outsider, no matter how well connected and integrated into life in Titanzinho.

Despite these narratives of violence, I found Titanzinho to be a neighborhood blessed by an abundance of natural beauty and a strong sense of pride in community, more alive at any time of day than my neighborhood in central Fortaleza, an area which is perceived as more ‘safe’.
Life, good and bad, is lived on the streets at almost all times of day - fishermen untangling their nets, kids screaming to each other as they run with a soccerball, teenagers congregating on corners, old women sitting gossiping outside of their houses. Life is still intimately connected to the ocean and the sun, and surfing is a huge part of that. Surfing brings an influx of people from outside the community, some of whom, like the founders of IPOM, invest in Titanzinho in turn as they fall in love with the community.

The Role of the State; Relationships with the Government

The real violence that was occurring in the neighborhood was more strongly related to a lack of government services, such as healthcare, education, social programs, infrastructure, and most strongly public sanitation (Favela Sobre Favela 2013, p 12). Dirty water flows from houses right into the street, stagnating in greenish or greyish pools of grey water. The uncovered pipes generate a strong smell, and pose a public health risk for residents (see photo for example of uncovered sanitation).

The vice president of the AMS, Mila⁹, who also works as an art teacher at IPOM in the Favela sobre Favela project, mentioned to me when I asked her why she had moved to a different neighborhood that “my house was right on the beach, there was always sand in the house. And the public sanitation is not good. My daughter was always sick, she would get headaches from the smell from the water [uncovered grey water]. There is an uncovered sanitation pipe right in front of Dona Mariazinha’s house” (Field Journal p13). Although they do have a trash pickup from the municipality (Field Journal, p14), which is not the case in all neighborhoods classified as ‘favelas’ in Fortaleza, this was not always the case, and residents still burn or deposit trash on the streets, or more commonly on the beach. (Field Journal p14). As the beauty of the beach and its fame as a surfer’s paradise in Fortaleza is arguably the most important resource that the

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⁹ Names have been substituted in order to preserve anonymity of participants.
community has, due to the positive attention that it brings to the community to combat the stigma associated with poverty and violence, and the opportunities surfing brings to the youth of the community, littering of the beach is an important issue that IPOM and other community organizations are attempting to bring attention to (Field Journal p14).

Surfing and fishing are two positive aspects to life in Titanzinho that permeate the daily life of residents, combatting the other more negative aspects of poverty and structural violence, drug trade (mostly in crack cocaine), drug use, prostitution, and gang violence that also affect daily life (Field Journal p11-14, Projeto Favela Sobre Favela, 2013 p11). Titanzinho is also a community that has strong community ties, between families, neighbors, and life on the street. Neighbors know neighbors, look out for each other, and are willing to help each other, offering food, saying hello. Walking the street with my advisor, who grew up in Serviluz and whose extended family all still live there within a mile of each other, would mean an exercise in greeting everyone who passed by. “Tia, tia! Me da uma fruta, uma banana” - children, grown men on the street would teasingly plead for fruit from the bag she was carrying, and by the time we arrived at her mother’s house, less than a five minute walk, half the bag would be gone.

The smaller community of Titanzinho is situated within the neighborhood of Serviluz, surrounding the Praia do Titanzinho, widely referred to as one of the most beautiful beaches in Fortaleza, blessed by good waves for surfing year round. Titanzinho is not separated from Serviluz, but the area surrounding the beach is often referred to using this name (see Fig. 1 in Appendix II for a map of the community). The beach Vizinho, so named because it neighbors Titanzinho, is also popular for surfing, and 20% of the community makes their living fishing off these two beaches, either with small boats or pulling in nets by hand (Moscoso, 2010). The people who live in this area were forcibly dislocated from Praia Mansa in 1976 when the Port of Mucuripe was built in Fortaleza (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015). When they arrived at the spit of land between Titanzinho and Vizinho, there was nothing there but sand. Maria Ferreira Dias, better know as Dona Mariazinha, was one of the community leaders who led the community and organized to pressure politicians and the government in order to maintain basic quality of life. She told me that “when we first came here, there was nothing. We had to work very hard for these houses, and then when we had nothing, we would
walk and pick up *castanhola*, fruit to eat” (D. Mariazinha, personal interview, 11 Nov 2015). They didn’t have a school at first, but she pressured, and received help from Gonzaga Mota\(^\text{10}\), the governor of Ceara at the time.

“So we started to work and we made this school. And our school had kids, had sewing, other things, so many things there. I got bored, and left [the first association], and that's when we started to form the Associação of Serviluz, *Associação dos Moradores do Serviluz*. It was a school with 400 kids, from little ones to quarta serie. When it was fridays, we had a period of *lazer*, we used to visit their houses, just to see the situation. There were lots of issues, they didn't have flip flops, [any shoes] they didn't have anything to eat, so we used to visit their houses. On mondays we would get together with all of the professors to hear what was going on. So we organized to get food, rations of food for every house….So the school started getting bigger. We asked at PetroBras for notebooks for the kids. That was the first time we asked for books from PetroBras. The school was helped by the prefecture. They also helped with the seniors, youth groups, the mothers group, we did everything, medical clinics, vaccinations for the kids....

everything, everything.\(^\text{11}\) (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015).

Dona Mariazinha was an incredibly active community leader, president of the AMS up until 2009, when her health issues forced her to step down. She has a close relationship with the staff at IPOM and the institution itself, as she was the first point of contact that the founders had with the community, the one who granted the space for the project. The history of the AMS is intimately connected to the founding of the community, and the relationships that had to be built in order to obtain housing and public services.

The history of the Association is very long. Because we lived over there, by Maracanau on the beach. And then we came here from Praia Mansa. And our work, with the fisherman, was to register everyone in the community that came here. And there was nothing here, there was only one house on that street up there. All of the houses were made of mud. It was all sand [the area was dunes]. For each family, we had 12 meters, 5 meters between the houses, no house was isolated. The material they gave us was wood [that the government gave them to build with; they had to build their own houses]. Now, as my family was big, I had the last house. And in that time I know Tasso Jeriesatche was elected.\(^\text{12}\) And before him it was Gonzago Mota, as governor. As as we had *amizade* with

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\(^{10}\) Governor of Ceara from 1983-1987. For more information see: http://www.casadoceara50anos.com.br/index.php/perfis/91-luiz-gonzaga-mota

\(^{11}\) Ahi nos começamos a trabalhar e fizemos essa escola. E nossa escola tinha crianças, tinha costura, tinha mas, tinha um monton de coizas ahi. ai eu me aborreci, sai e deixei, depois começamos a fazer a Associação do serviluz, Associação dos moradores do serviluz.

\(^{12}\) Tasso Jereissati was Governor of Ceara from 1987-1991, and then again from 1995-2002. He currently represents Ceara in the Brazilian Senate. Luiz Gonzaga Mota was Governor of Ceara from 1983-1987. She refers to them as “Tasso” and “Gonzaga Mota”. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tasso_Jereissati and https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gonzaga_Mota.
him, he used to help the community.13 (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015).

Her relationships with the governors, who would come and visit her as a bridge to the community, allowed her to lobby for infrastructure, education, and other necessities as the community was established and grew.“Then the first school came, and we protested to demand our rights. Tasso also came, and we started to work. He built 800 houses….no, “we built them”, installed infrastructure, water, light…..we started to work with Tasso Jereissati, [to install] light and electricity, medical clinics…”14 She perceives the community as principally responsible for the improvements that have been made; the Association mobilizing the community to demand their rights from the politicians. When I asked her what the mission of the association was, she stated;

Dona Mariazinha: It’s to benefit, we create associations, because, because first we needed to organize in the street -
Mila: Have that movement, yes?
Dona Mariazinha: To have that movement, to have meetings, in the street, asking what the people needed, what we as a people wanted. And first the mothers told us they wanted a school, so we made that school over there. 15

She perceives the role of the Association, as hearing the needs of the community and then mobilizing, protesting ,and using resources such as relationships with politicians or people in positions of power (officials at PetroBras) to meet those needs.

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13 E, essa historia da Associação e muito longe. Porque, nos, morava, la na maracanu na praia. E depois nos viemos pra aca, da praia Mansa. E nos, nosso trabalho, era com os pescadores, cadastrou toda a comunidade que tinha la. E aqui nao tinha nada, so tinha uma casa aqui nessa rua la. E todas as casas eram de taipa. Era tudo area. Para cada familia, 12 metros, , 5 metros de casa, nenhuma casa estava aislada. E a material que deram era de madeira. Agora, eu como a minha familia era grande, eu peguei a ultima. Agora eu sei, que nesse tempo foi eleito o Tasso Jeriesatche. E antes dele foi Gonzaga Mota, como governador. E como tínhamos amizade com ele, ele ajudava aqui a comunidade.
14 Ai a primeira escola ele veio , as reivindicaciones. e ahi o Tasso tambem entro, e ahi começamos a trabalhar. Ahi, ele fez, ele fez 800 casas, "nos, nos fizemos", monto urbanizacao, luz, agua...Ahi começamos a fazer o trabalho com Tasso Jereissati. Fizemos luz, posto de saude.
15 Dona Mariazinha: É beneficiando, nos montamos associacoes, porque o seguinte, porque primeiro a gente precisava organizar reunião na rua -
Mila: ter esse movimento, ne?
Dona Mariazinha: Ter movimento, ter reunião, na rua, perguntando o que que o povo desejava, o que a gente quisesse. Ahi as maes disseram que primer queriam uma escola. Aí fizemos essa escola ali.
Political Corruption and Community Empowerment

Why the governors used to come and visit her was hard for me to understand, but I eventually realized that it most likely their original motive had to do with a system of vote buying in in marginalized communities in Brazil. Politicians often use relationships with community leaders in underserved neighborhoods in order to ensure patronage and exploit the needs of the community for political support (Field Journal p9; Gonzales Sierra 2013).

Regardless of their motives, D. Mariazinha emphasized those relationships and what they allowed her to achieve for her community with a sense of pride. “I was the first leader to be presented to Tasso’s wife, the Doctor Renata. The people, when they wanted any work done, I would send for Gonzaga Mota. We had amizade, and when he arrived, he made that school, Helenita Motta, and he gave it his mother's name” (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015). Amizade, although meaning friendship, implies a strong relationship, and ability to rely on one another. D. Mariazinha’s perspective on the relationship with the governors as a channel that she used to be effective as a liderança is different from the perspective that Luiz, one of the founders of IPOM, who is not from Serviluz, has on her relationship with the government and the communities relationship with the Association. When I asked if Dona Mariazinha owns the space that the association used, he responded;

No, this, the Associação, the cooperatives, or things like that, they don’t have owner, they don’t have any keeper. I know why she told you that she owns this. Because when this community started, was created, she was the one who was responsible for giving places to people. She had like a list of names, and the governor at that time used her as a leadership to do, like everything he needed. Houses, association, market, shops. She was the one who indicated, or say, she had the list of people who moved from Praia Mansa, and the Governor just chased her, saying ok, you will be the one who is responsible for who will have which house where, and we will give the material and they will build. So this is why she told you that she owns it (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

His perception of the community's relationship with the Governor, as a representative of state power within the community, is more critical than Dona Mariazinha’s perspective. His statement that “the governor at the time used her to do everything he needed” is very different from Dona Mariazinha’s statement that “as we had amizade with him [Gonzaga Mota], he used to

16 Name changed to protect anonymity.
help the community.”

Dona Mariazinha perceives herself as having a level of power and agency in order to affect change, through the relationships that she created with powerful state officials. Although Luiz recognizes Dona Mariazinha as an important member of the community, with a level of respect and power that allows her to affect change, his statement that “they used her”, implies that he also perceives her relationships with government officials as based in exploitation of her leadership and the respect she has in Serviluz.

Dona Mariazinha is also aware of the relationship between underfunded, unstable social services, and corruption within the political system. When I asked her if the social projects were constant, she expressed that “sometimes they come put projects, from the government or the city.. but when that time passes, it all starts again” (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015)

When I clarified later what she meant by “that time”, two members of the staff at IPOM indicated that she probably meant election cycles. I also heard from staff members at IPOM, when I asked about the relationship between social projects, both NGO’s and social services, within Serviluz, that there is a high distrust of social projects related to politicians because of a pattern of unsustainability. Social projects will show up around elections, and the disappear six months later. Alan, an administrator at IPOM, explained to me that there are a lot of people who come into the community, come to talk to Dona Mariazinha, wanting to “fazer coisas boas” and then later on you find out they have other motives; they want political support from the community. (Field Journal, p9).

He said that even in the Associação, politicians had come, either to try and use the association to create a social project in exchange for political sponsorship, or just to come to IPOM for the day, take pictures with the kids, and use that to act as if the organization was supporting their campaign. When I asked if people in the community were aware of this exploitation, he responded that “yes, but it is ‘caro ser consciente’” (Field Journal, p9). It is expensive to have a political consciousness. Politicians come offering money, and this community needs the money, so even though they know it's exploitative they take it. He

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17 Eu fui a primeira liderança que fui apresentada por a mulher de Tassa, a doutora Renata. O povo, quando queria fazer qualquer trabalho, eu mandava daqui para la para Gonzago Mota. Quando tinha qualquer trabalho, o projeto, ele vinha pra ca o eu mandei pra la. Tinha amizade, and when Gonzaga Mota arrived, as well, ele fez aquele colegio, Helenita Motta, ele deu o nome da mae dele.

18 As vezes bota projetos, por o governo, por a prefeitura. E quando passa aquele tempo, dahi começa todo de novo.

19 Name changed to protect anonymity
perceived the lack of government services, of good education, in communities such as Serviluz, as a way for politicians to ensure that the communities remain dependent on the money and projects offered during the election cycles.

Luiz also perceived that the Governors exploit the lack of social services in marginalized communities to garner political support:

It's well known that the governors don't do anything. They want to exclude the communities because they know that the way they keep them excluded, whenever the elections come, they will offer some money or some food or any shit, and the communities will be thirsty, will say "give me". Oh, you want my vote back? You want me to sell you my vote? No worries, give me my money. I will give you my vote. So this is how the system goes on and on and on, this is why there are lots of corrupted politicians, that's why the system of education is so shit, the healthcare is so bad. ("Luiz", personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

Luiz’s position as an outsider to the community, but someone who cares deeply about Titanzinho, may lead him to be more critical of the relationship of politicians with exploitation of lack of social services and poverty in Serviluz. Dona Mariazinha actively used these relationships to achieve goals that helped the community, so her view is more centered on how those relationships, regardless of motive, allowed her to achieve improvements within Serviluz.

**Credibility: The role of NGOs in relationship to Political Corruption**

Although I did not fully explore the role of patron-client relations and vote buying in Serviluz\(^20\), this issue and the commentary I received on it in nearly every interview, helped me to understand why individuals at the AMS and IPOM expressed such respect for PetroBras, and were adamant that IPOM did not have any relationship to the government. The distrust of social projects related to the government, and the association of politicians with corruption, grants businesses such as PetroBras, which are unrelated to vote buying and election cycles, a level of credibility - despite the recent corruption scandals within PetroBras itself. It also means that

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\(^{20}\) See previous ISP “Through Distinct Lenses: An Analysis of Electoral Clientism in the Bairros of Servilz and Meireles in Faratleza, Cearaá” by Carlos Adolfo Gonzales Sierra for a more complete exploration of this issue is Serviluz.
social projects and NGOs, have to prove that they are unrelated to vote buying in order to gain trust and respect from the community.

    Luiz: Until you prove to them [the community] that you are for real, and you are here every day, having everyday activities, until you pass this credibility and show them that you are serious - they will completely discredit you.

Leila: Is this related to election cycles?

Luiz: Yeah, totally. They are totally against this political project, or things related to politicians or politics. They are suspicious. They say, "Oh yeah, this kind of project came here two years ago and worked here for 6 months and now they are gone."

Leila: Does that happen a lot here?

Luiz: Yeah, it happens a lot here - a LOT here. The first year, we were discredited. The second year, they were starting to believe, but still with one foot behind. Third year, they were like oh they’re serious, they’re still here. Fourth year, all in. Fifth year... you know. ("Luiz", personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

One of the biggest barriers for IPOM as an NGO was proving that they were in the community to stay, something they achieved through consistency and commitment to their work. Antonia, the educational coordinator at IPOM who recently left to return to Europe, and who was instrumental in the development of IPOM as an educational institution, explained to me that:

    I think in the beginning for any organizational context the biggest barrier is building trust with the community. Because what happens in Brazil, is you get a lot of people who come - like this is just Brazil in general, all relationships are kind of poisoned by this, like personal interest, like interest in personal gain. When you look at the news and see all of the corruption and such that goes on, but that filters down throughout, like right down into very personal relationships. People will do lots for you, but only if they think they’re going to get something back, you know? In terms of the community, in the beginning the community would have been really skeptical because a lot of people would have come to do projects because the elections were coming up for example, or a lot of university students want to go to the community and they want to do their projects there.
    ("Antonia", personal communication, 10 Nov 2015)

21 Name changed to protect privacy.
Her view is wider than just vote buying; she perceived that this form of personal interest existed even within IPOM, in the relationships that IPOM has with the association and with other outside organizations. I did observe that there were constantly university students coming to study the situation in Titanzinho; mostly focusing on the issues of violence, and how that was related to children’s well being, or related to issues of lack of infrastructure (Field Journal p 14-15). Luiz mentioned to me that for him, in respect to the students “I think the outside perspective helps us, to learn, to see the problems, and to develop better”- he did not have a problem with the research (Field Journal p 11). However, even within IPOM, students did often seem to feel that they had a kind of “right” to be there, and that IPOM, or Serviluz itself, had an obligation to accommodate students for research (Field Journal, p1, p14-15). This dynamic sometimes caused conflict with community leaders, which put administration at IPOM in a mediating position (Field Journal p1). This is not something that I explored deeply, and only noticed in passing. I did also observe that many students developed very real relationships with children and staff members of the community, and offered true help and care towards the children (Field Journal p1).

The Woman who Said Yes: IPOM’s relationship with Dona Mariazinha and the AMS

Luiz emphasized to me that in order to start a social project in Titanzinho, one of the first things the founders of IPOM has to do was create a relationship with Dona Mariazinha. Her commitment to education and the wellbeing of the community continues today, and she still carries a lot of weight in the community, within AMS, at PetroBras, and within IPOM. Her perspective is key in understanding the relationships within the three spaces, as those relationships perhaps only exist due to her shaping of connections and influence, and commitment to her community. As she says herself “around here, you say my name and even the dogs know who I am” (Field Journal, p5). Antonia explained that:

The very first the boys [the founders] had to do was go to Dona Mariazinha and be like, look this is on the console - she was like the woman who said yes. And that

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22 Por aqui, diz Dona Mariazinha e ate os cachorros me conhecem. She said this as I was sitting with her after lunch, and a man passed by selling a kind of homemade remedy or pain. She started talking to him, and when he reluctantly admitted that he didn't know her, she admonished him with this phrase, laughing all the while.
relationship, obviously has been quite difficult because she was very involved in the beginning; she would have been at the project every day, she would have sat outside in her plastic chair with everybody coming and going, getting her six pence in (laughter). She used to always be there. And then she got really ill, and she wasn't able to be there quite as much. She was the one who endorsed me as coordinator there. She used to bend my ear constantly about the way things had to be. Her experience as a community educator and as a community organizer was really invaluable. ("Antonia", personal communication, 10 Nov 2015).

Although the relationship with Dona Mariazinha was always quite good, individuals at IPOM emphasized to me that since she stepped down from leadership that the relationship with the AMS has changed. Luiz told me that:

Yeah, since Dona Mariazinha left here, [the relationship] has changed. It's still quite formal. Our relationship with them is pretty much the necessary. We don't have friendship the way we would have, like being friends as well, in terms of oh, come here. Each and every step we take we would tell them. Because, even though we had the contract and they were aware, we wanted to tell them, if we would put a wall, put a picture on the wall we would tell them, I am going to put a picture on the wall. But no this, is like unnecessary because there is always arguments. this is not healthy. But, there is a codependency, in between us. They depend on us, because we are maintaining this place, we are paying all the bills, we have the children. And we have the activities. And we depend on them because of the place. It is like a weird marriage. But is is happening. I’m not gonna lie, our dream is to have our own place. We are still searching, still visualizing. Because as soon as we see a good place that is not that far, where we could be 100% independent, we would do it for sure. (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015)

Antonia also perceived that the relationship with the AMS had not always been easy, although she emphasized that Dona Mariazinha was always an important partner in the collaboration with the community and the development of the educational project. Her perspective was that the interest that leadership at AMS had in IPOM only occurred after the establishment of the grant from PetroBras, something Luiz concurred with. When I asked her if the AMS perceived IPOM as having more resources to offer them after winning the grant, she responded that:

Yeah I think so...I didn't see “Bruno” before. He'd maybe pop by once in awhile, Mariazinha was sick so I used to go to her. I used to go down to her house once a week. Like I said, nobody was really that interested in what was happening. Certainly no sort of
talk of courses happening for the association. Before IPOM was there, that place was such a mess. That classroom where Carlos does art therapy now, Just dusty, full, dirty, with everything. The Brasis, where the machines are the sewing machines, that as well was just full of crap. ...Things have just gradually come together. But like, before that, it was just an absolute tick, and nobody cared if it was broken or fixed or anything. There was no interaction really, besides the odd bit here from Mariazinha. (“Antonia”, personal communication, 10 Nov 2015).

Later, she expanded that the lack of interaction from the ASM, “didn't bother me actually, because I would have gone to Mariazinha. We used to spend a lot of time just talking. So my relationship with her was good. And in terms of people coming in and looking what was happening with the kids, that interest wasn't there. So yeah, when PetroBras came it really was quite difficult, because it was like Oh! Ok, all of a sudden you want a piece.” ("Antonia", personal communication, 10 Nov 2015). In her opinion, the grant from Petrobras hurt IPOM more than it benefited them, because of the way that it garnered interest in IPOM - due to IPOM being perceived as having more financial resources. She stated that “people have had to struggle for so long, they think that if you don't take yours while it’s on the table you're going to miss out, and that kind of interest just permeates every relationship. Whenever that money [grant money from PetroBras] arrived, we'd just literally see the pound signs in some people's eyes.” ("Antonia", personal communication, 10 Nov 2015). She granted that the money allowed them to expand the arts program at IPOM, but otherwise she did not perceive it as adding much to IPOM’s ability to serve the children of the community.

I think we've definitely benefited from the influx of money in terms of buying more resources, and getting the classrooms fitted out better I think, definitely. And I think the leadership within the NGO has got to be really really strong, and like values, and what matters in practice has got to be really strong to withstand that level of accountability and the bureaucracy that comes with [the grant]. You can't have somebody who's got their own self interest at heart, you can’t work like that ("Antonia", personal communication, 10 Nov 2015).

Other individuals, including Maria, in the office, had more positive views of the grant, calling it a “learning experience” for IPOM ("Maria", personal communication, 4 Nov 2015), and also citing increased visibility, an improvement in the organization of records and documentation, and the experience of working with a respected company such as PetroBras ("Maria", personal
communication, 4 Nov 2015) as allowing IPOM to develop more. Their differing opinions could be related to their roles in the project; Antonia was committed to the development of IPOM as an ethical education project, and was present every day at the project for more than two years until her recent departure. Maria works more in the administrative side of the project, and is not present at the project every day.

The perception of the AMS’s role in the community from staff at IPOM is that they are quite inactive without Dona Mariazinha (Field Journal, p15) Contrasting that, the AMS views its role in the community as much bigger than IPOM’s, because they act as a link between the community and various institutions within the government, such as health clinics, and other NGOs. Bruno explained to me that “I think IPOM is small. The Association is bigger. Because IPOM has a beginning and an end, you understand? They work with children. Its very welcome, their work. But in relationship to the wider community I think it is small”23 ("Bruno", personal communication, 5 Nov 2015).

Luiz emphasized to me that in his opinion, since the AMS has been so inactive since Dona Mariazinha became sick, that the credibility that IPOM has in the community has become larger than the credibility that the AMS has.

The community now, it is with us. And the community could come to the association, and dismiss the association- say, no, we don’t want this place to be the Associação de Moradores anymore. We want this to become just IPOM. Because we are benefitting the children. And in the Associação there is nothing to do with the children... if they do have, I would say its from like starting three months ago. While we are here for five years. It's not that long. The credibility is not strong, it could just fade away. Until you prove to them [the community] that you are for real, and you are here every day, having everyday activities, until you pass this credibility and show them that you are serious - they will completely discredit you. (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

Because the AMS has been so inactive recently in comparison with when Dona Mariazinha was the leadership, Luiz perceives them as having lost credibility in the community, while IPOM has been gaining credibility. In contrast, the AMS often perceives IPOM as dependent on them for

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the relationship they have with the community, due to their lending of the building rent free, and for how Dona Mariazinha helped the founders to establish the project in 2010. Staff at AMS also emphasized to me that AMS’s role in the community was on every level, working as a point of reference for the community, while IPOM had a specific goal. Bruno told me, when I stated that the space had been unused before the entrance of IPOM, that it had never been inactive; that it wasn’t 100%, due to D. Mariazinha’s sickness, but that it was always used in some capacity. Now, he told me that the space was almost 100% active ("Bruno", personal communication, 5 Nov 2015). I was surprised at this statement, as several people had told me that the space was completely run down before the entrance of IPOM. Mila mentioned to me that “it was just full of trash, you can't imagine24” (Field Journal p4). Antonia also mentioned that it was completely run down in her interview that it had been shut because the AMS was out of funds to maintain it.

> It was just shut, but the walls were really deteriorated. But I remember, like five years back, that this place used to be a school. And after the school, the prefeitura, they didn't have the money to pay for it, but then they cut the funds for the school. Suddenly the Associacao didn't have the money to maintain this place anymore, so they closed it. And being closed, everything inside was still a school, but it wasn't working. ("Luiz", personal communication, 18 Nov 2015)

When IPOM was granted permission to use the space, Dona Mariazinha offered it rent free.

> Yeah, at the beginning we asked to rent this place. Because for us it was better --we would own this place. Nobody from outside could come until the contract was done, for example. But no, she said, no, no no, you don't need to rent, let's just do what you say, you will pay all the bills - they had lots of bills that were out of date, backed up, to pay. We had to pay water bills and electricity bills from like, 4 months, no 6 months. So we paid them to start working here. We had some debts that we had to assume to start working here.

> With this new direction - the presidents, the new leadership in the association, things changed a little bit. They started wanting to bring some new projects to the associacao. While we were here, with the contract. So they were aware they could not bring new projects without some settlement. So, IPOM works monday through friday from 8-5. Before 8, or after 5, you can do whatever you want, or on the weekend as well. But they started saying, oh we have some offer from the government, they want to brings some capacitacao, some courses, for the teenagers that IPOM doesn’t attend. And I said,

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24 Estava cheia de tras, entendeu? Todo, por aqui, cheinha.
Reynolds 39

but where are you gonna do this? And how? And so, what we've done - we refurbished the place upstairs. It was all broke up, it was pretty bad. So we put new tiles, we painted, we fixed the doors, we got it ready for them to do whatever they want upstairs so they wouldn't mess with our activities downstairs. ("Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015)

Although the partnership between the Associacao and IPOM has benefitted both parties materially, conflict in the negotiation of space has also led IPOM to contribute more to the material improvement of the Association. IPOM has financial resources that the AMS is lacking, due to connections, sponsorships, and the ability to receive grants. Bruno commented to me that;

The biggest difficulties we have are financial. Everything we have to do, like bringing courses for the ONGs, getting to meetings, conferences, involves money. Participating in conferences involves money. For the Associacao to go to a different neighborhood involves money. Transport, snacks. Here we are not paid, we are volunteers. But we need money for transport of materials and crafts, paint. To maintain our light, water, and we have been unable to serve as many people because of lack of financial resources. We need paint, we don't have it, we need mats, we don't have. We don't have because of financial resources. We can't serve children because of financial resources. ("Bruno", personal communication, 5 Nov 2015). 25

IPOM also struggles with the issue of financial resources, but the AMS may perceive IPOM as being considerably more financially stable; for instance, all the staff at IPOM receive a salary, while the AMS is unable to provide this.

Since Dona Mariazinha has become less active, and IPOM has grown rapidly, the power balance between the two spaces have shifted, as have perceptions on who is responsible for the work going on in the space. I noticed that people in the community often referred to the AMS and IPOM interchangeably. I was walking towards IPOM one day and a woman I had met the week before greeted me, asked if I was heading towards the

Associação. I responded yes, to IPOM. She shrugged and said ‘of course, the Associação’. (Field Journal, p11). I do not know if

25 As maiores dificultades sao financieras.Tudo que voce vai fazer, tipo levar um oficio para os ONGs, trasportacao, ir para or reunioes, congreso, todo involve dinheiro.. Participar de congreso involve dinheiro. Ir para outro bairro involve dinheiro. Transporte, lanche. Aqui a gente nao recebe, somos voluntarios. Mais precisa de dinheiro para transporte de material e oficio, fichario, tinta. Para manter o proprio pre dio, a luz, a agua, e a gente aqui deixa de abranger (serve) mais pessoas por falta de recursos financieros. Precisa de tinta, nao tem, precisa de tatami, nao tem. We don't have because of financial resources. Nao pode atender as crianzas por falta de recursos financieros.
this linguistic usage is just in reference to the shared space, but since I was associated with IPOM, and was introduced to her as a volunteer there, I think the interaction is more telling. Staff at IPOM also mentioned to me that D. Mariazinha often confused the two spaces (Field Journal, p9). Since they use the same space, and D. Mariazinha was initially so involved at IPOM, work done by IPOM, and vice versa, may be conflated.

**Relationships with PetroBras**

I heard two narratives on the relationship between Serviluz, or the AMS, and PetroBras. The first was that the relationship between AMS and PetroBras began due to Dona Mariazinha lobbying PetroBras for social help, alternatively in a music program that was run by the Associação, or, when she asked them to donate notebooks for the school, which lacked resources. (Interview with D. Mariazinha, Nov 11 2015). This would have been in the early 80s, although dates are very difficult to establish as her memory with dates is hazy.

The second narrative was that the relationship with PetroBras only began after a gas fire that occurred at the Lubnor in 1982, after which they established the Cômité Comunitario, in order to “spread information” (Field journal p8) and began calling leadership from all of the neighborhoods surrounding the Lubnor to meet with PetroBras. This narrative emphasizes that PetroBras has an obligation to help the community, and that they also have an obligation to leave the community, due to the possibility of future environmental disasters.

In respect to the first narrative, when I asked Dona Mariazinha if it was necessary to organize for any kind of social help, she responded that “It has been a long time for things to develop. Yes, in that time everything was this way... for the houses, everything. So we had asked for those books and PetroBras gave them. Then we started having meetings with them, over there [at the Lubnor]” (D. Mariazinha, personal interview Nov 11 2015). She also elaborated that after her initial contact with PetroBras, they asked her to bring the other Associações over to them, using her influence to cement relationships with other neighboring communities. She is adamant that the association remains an active part of the community; “And we are here, we are fighting for the community, with all the branches of the government, state and the city, As people of the community, to take care of them, give medical assistance, vaccines, everything, with the old
people and the youth.” (D. Mariazinha, Personal Interview, 11 Nov 2015). Her son, Bruno, the current president of the AMS, emphasized to me that “this partnership, just with PetroBras, has existed for more than 15 years...It started because of Maria Ferreira Dias, my mother. She went to the companies [the oil companies that work in the Lubnor], so that they would listen to her, to the big problems in Serviluz. It’s that these companies are inside of Serviluz, that these companies, according to our rights, they had the duty to help the community.” ("Bruno", personal communication, 5 Nov 2015). PetroBras’s social involvement was often expressed as an ‘obligation’, or duty of the company - by Dona Mariazinha, Lorena, the AMS’s secretary, and even by staff at IPOM - Maria, who works in the office, and Luiz, one of the founders, also used the term ‘dever’ (duty, or obligation) when referring to PetroBras’s involvement in Serviluz (See all interviews, Field Journal p8). When I pressed for why it was a dever, different people had different answers. Both Bruno and Lorena explained that it was only after a huge fire that occurred within the Lubnor in 1982 that PetroBras started to call leadership from the communities to meet at Petrobras, but Dona Mariazinha did not mention this to me in question of why PetroBras wanted to meet with her or other leadership (although she did remember the fire). Bruno stated that “there was this conflict in the social area, ever since the big problem with the fire that they had over there [at the Lubnor]. It was necessary [for PetroBras] to bring together the communities to listen to the needs that the communities have. It affected us a lot because we lived here, because “it was a problem of another neighborhood” [we might have had to leave for another neighborhood] so we were worried, scared because it is very dangerous here” ("Bruno", personal communication, 5 Nov 2015). Although sometimes it is difficult to understand what he is expressing, one of the staff members at IPOM helped me to understand that he was saying that they were worried at the time that the community would have to leave the area. I began to ask

26 Ahi a gente esta aqui, a gente esta lutando com a comunidade, com todos os orgaos, com governo e a prefeitura. Como povo da comunidade, para dar atendimento, assistencia medica, vacina, tudo, os idosos, os jovens
27 Essa parceria, so com o PetroBras, existe a mais de quinze anos. 15 anos, so com o PetroBras. Comecou a traves de D. Maria Ferreira Dias, minha mae. Que ela chegou ate as empresas, para que as empresas escutasse, as grandes problemas da Serviluz, que essas empresas ficam dentro da serviluz, que essas empresas que tinha por direito, que tinha o dever de ajudar a comunidade.
28 Houve esse conflito na are social, desde um grande problema de incendio que houve por la. Foi preciso acionar as comunidades para escutar as grandes necessidades que a comunidade tem. Afeitou muito porque nos moravamos aqui, porque foi o problema de outro bairro, tinha medo porque e muito perigoso aqui.
other people if they remembered the fire, having had a lot of difficulty finding any mention of it on the internet. When I mentioned this to Lorena, she laughed and said of course not, that they keep it quiet, they “cale a boca” on this subject (Field Journal, p8). It seemed to indicate that it was after this fire that PetroBras started holding the Cômite Comunitario at its headquarters every month. The Cômite Comunitario is a meeting that brings together community leaders, leadership at NGOs, and other important institutions in the six neighborhoods surrounding the Lubnor. It is an opportunity for PetroBras to inform the communities on any programs, from the government or PetroBras that could affect or offer opportunities to these communities, on the status of the environmental safety of the Lubnor, and to listen to any issues that are occurring within the communities. (Field Journal p1, p8, Interviews with “Bruno”, “Luiz”, Dona Mariazinha)

When I started asking other people about the fire, one of the ladies in the kitchen at IPOM said she remembered it very well: “It was a huge fire, we were very scared, because at that time tanks of gas were sold in stores, so you can imagine, if the gas exploded it would be a chain reaction. Everyone went running for Praia do Futuro [the beach after Vizinho], the whole community. My mother had a truck, she she took us over there to Praia de Iracema, Barra, [other neighborhoods downtown]. You can image, stuffed full of kids. But thank god, it was controlled, it didn’t leave the area, [Lubnor] and it didn’t affect the community. But it was after that they were worried the community would kick them out, so they started having meetings with the community and such.” (Field Journal, p8).

Both Bruno and Lorena were adamant that all of the companies would have to leave the area so close to Serviluz; that they were forced to by law. Bruno gave me a copy of an old newspaper that published that “according to decree N31.034, Oct 19 2012; It is established that all of the businesses installed in the area of the Port of Mucuripe in Fortaleza-CE, with base establishments for the storage, import and distribution of combustible liquid gas, will transfer their establishment to the new chosen area, available in the industrial complex and port of Pecêm-Cipp² (Editoraçao Casa Civil, Ceará, Diário oficial do Estado, 2012). The document states that the businesses involved in storage and transportation of gas, due to the dangerous nature of this work, “will not be able to remain in their current location after December 31,
reality “(Editoraço Casa Civil, Ceará, Diário oficial do Estado, 2012). When I asked why the businesses still remained, if it was illegal for them do so, both Lorena and Bruno expressed that people are afraid if they leave that their social help will leave as well, and thus the community is not interested in forcing them to leave. Lorena stated that “PetroBras invests in the community, they give that money because then people will be like “oh, but PetroBras, they can’t leave, because then we will lose our jobs, what will the children at IPOM do, you see what I mean?” (Field Journal, p9). In respect to the relocation of the Lubnor Dona Mariazinha told me that, “they were going to go over there, to the beach at Pecem, they said they would take everything to the beach over there, but there was a lot of talk, and then nothing. I don't know if they will go”29 (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015).

Lorena’s view is interesting, because I also observed during the Cômité Comunitario, and with Dona Mariazinha and Bruno, that representatives of these communities are proud to be allied with Petrobras, or at least express that outwardly. During the Cômité Comunitario, a representative of a nearby community stood up and talked for about ten minutes about complaints that these communities suffer due to broken promises from the government and the city, in needed infrastructure and social programs that are talked about but never appear. He prefaced this speech by thanking the representatives of PetroBras directly for their consistent involvement in the communities and their commitment to the wellbeing of the NGOs and community associations in these nearby neighborhoods. He expressed that he was very thankful to PetroBras for making this meeting possible (Field Journal, p1).

When I asked Maria if she thought proximity to the Lubnor helped them win the grant she responded that “I believe so, we are inside of the area that belongs...well, doesn't belong, but is nearby to PetroBras. So their interest is in helping the institutions within those areas. So if IPOM were in another place, I don't know [if we would have received the grant].30

Other staff at IPOM also expressed that now, due to the current corruption scandal within PetroBras, that there is more uncertainty with whether the grants and programs that PetroBras invests in will continue - due to reorganization within the company (Field Journal p

29 Eles vao la pra praia, Pecem, eles dizem que vao levar pra praia ali, mas nao sei, so vi a conversa e depois nada.
30 Acredito que sim, dentro do localizacao, que pertence... assim pertence mais em si , que a Petrobras esta proxima. Assim, a interesse deles, e justamente ajudar as instituicoes das locais. Assim se o IPOM estiver em outro local, nao sei.
This was also mentioned by the representatives from PetroBras during the Cômitê Comunitario that I attended. Due to the current ‘situation’, meaning change within the company due to the corruption scandal, grant requirements would be more stringent, as leadership was changing (Field Journal p1). Staff at IPOM told me that the relatorios, or reports required for the grant, were getting more and more complicated and rigorous over time, and had to be redone several times this past quarter (Field Journal, p4). This means extra work for the staff in the Favela sobre Favela program, and more pressure to be organized in terms of ‘evidence’ of certain actions performed with the children; every activity needs to be photographed and documented.

Antonia was critical of the extra work required by the PetroBras requirements.

The bureaucracy shouldn't be an extra thing you have to do, it should emerge from the work you're actually doing. That's what I always had a problem with. You know, I'm happy to do the work that I'm doing, and if you want to come and photograph me while I'm doing it, then fine, go ahead. But don't say to me, I need to have photographs of you painting outside, because that's what's written in the grant application. Just arrive one day, get the kids outside, do the scene, take photographs, and bugger off home. No, I'm not going to do that. That's completely not, like, ethical, for me. I think you've got to be a really strong leader to be able to not let it go that way ( “Antonia”, personal communication, 10 Nov 2015).

To be specific, she did not have a problem with the grant itself, just when the documentation required by the grant began to interfere with the integrity of the work required at the project. Pressure within PetroBras, due to instability within the company, seemed to be transferring down the line through the financial partnerships such as with IPOM, and putting more pressure on the accountability to the specific grant requirements and the way the NGO fulfilled those requirements. On the other hand, various people cited PetroBras’s rigorous system of accountability as a point of credibility and respect in the community; perhaps because it ensured that money was being transferred to the community, and not going into the pockets of corrupt politicians.

Dona Mariazinha: That's their [PetroBras’s] obligation, to help the communities, to help with projects, because they have a fund for social work. They don't give money, just projects. So they pass the money into the account of the person. or entity, and the person
makes the project. And they have to ensure the account is correct, it's very rigorous, how they do it there.31 (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015).

Luiz: There are people who are inside PetroBras, who are politicians, and being politicians they are corrupted. But PetroBras itself is a very serious company. Very very serious company. And I can tell you that in the last five to ten years it has crashed. Because of the politicians. Because ten years ago you didn't have any politicians involved. I would say, technicians, the experts, started leaving PetroBras to start their own businesses. And PetroBras needed to fill that place, that job. So politicians indicated people, you go work at PetroBras, so then they started poisoning PetroBras. Its not locally -PetroBras is poisoned in the high ups, in the presidents...locally they are serious people, they are doing their job. You can go through, and track how hard it is to work with PetroBras [in terms of accountability, lack of opportunity for corruption]. So, us, we are working in the communities favor, spending the money they give us in the community, and you can see how bureaucratic, the bureaucracy is so big for us to get that money, we have to be very clear, that each and every penny we are spending is going to the right place, so this shows how serious they are. (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

Maria: You have the question of evidence, for the activities, understood? We already did that, but we have to have this standard it requires, this is a good knowledge to have. So I think we grew in every area [after receiving the grant]. Also the question of having more visibility, in relationship to IPOM itself. Be more well known. We collaborated, it was a collaboration with Petro. Not that we weren't known before, we were known, but with this collaboration this improved. In the reports, they require a lot of information in the reports, all very well presented, and so this improves the activities. Some ways we control attendance, of evidence, everything that happens has to be documented. This is very good. It was a learning process for us. We were already doing it, we just had to improve the way we were doing it.32 (“Maria”, personal communication, 4 Nov 2015).

31 Esse, e o obrigacao...para ajudar as comunidades, ajudar, fazer projetos.... Porque tem a verba, para o trabalho social. Nao dao dinheiro, so projetos. Ahi eles passam o dinheiro na conta da pessoa, entidade, e a pessoa faz o projeto. E tem que prestar conta, e muito rigoroso, como eles fazem la.
32 Ahii, a questao das evidencias, da atividades, entendeu?? Ja eram feio, mais ahi a gente tem que ter esse padrao,que exige, isso e um conhecimento muito bom. Em fim, eu acho com todo. A gente creceu como todo. A questao tambem de ter mais visibilidade, ne, e em relacao com o proprio IPOM. Ser mais conhecido. Ela colabora, foi uma colaboracao com a petro. Mais nao necessariamente nao era conhecido antes, ja era conhecido, mais com esse colaboracao, melhorou.
Nos relatorios, eles exigem muito informacoes nos relatorios, tudo isso muito bem apresentado, e ahi e uma melhoria para as atividades. Alguns controles de frequencias, de evidencia, todo que acontecer tem que ser evidenciada. Isso e muito legal. Foi um aprendizagem para a gente. Nos ja faziamos, so que tivemos que dar uma melhorada, do que ja era feito.
**Winning a Grant: Dona Mariazinha and PetroBras**

There was, among the individuals that I interviewed, a near consensus that the relationship between the AMS and PetroBras, or, to be specific, the relationship between D. Mariazinha and Petrobras, was, if not the deciding factor, at the very least a large factor in IPOM’s winning of the grant from PetroBras in order to establish the *Favela sobre Favela* project. Luiz explained to me that:

The major factor [in winning the grant], I believe, was the link between the Associação and PetroBras. Because before we started here, that link between them already existed. She [D. Mariazinha] was very influential, in PetroBras, and vice versa. So PetroBras used to bring some projects here, and Dona Mariazinha used to go there a lot too, to tell about the community, to sort of shorten the distance between PetroBras and the communities. Because PetroBras has responsibilities for this community. They explore things, petro, for example… like exploitations. For example, if a disaster happened at PetroBras, this community would be gone. (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

The question of exploitation is a tricky one, and I often perceived a kind of double view of PetroBras in Serviluz. Although if asked directly, or pressed, people would express doubts about PetroBras’s motives, they were also outwardly proud to be allied with a company such as PetroBras, and would express gratitude for PetroBras’s involvement in social projects and support of community associations surrounding PetroBras (Field Journal, p1). Luiz seemed to not be too concerned about being beholden to PetroBras; the Favela sobre Favela project depends on that money, but the arts program within IPOM is not the biggest part of what IPOM does; they also have the English, Surf, Grupos Operativos, and the *Surfista Digital*. Although winning the grant from PetroBras was important for IPOM in terms of adding a big name to the project, and the rigorous systems of evidence required for such a grant, IPOM is mainly supported by

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33 He was unsure about this word. *Explorar*, in portuguese, can be used to mean exploit, or take advantage of.
systems of influence related to the good social conditions of its founders (Field Journal p11-12). I observed over and over again that relationships are they key to opening doors, regardless of situation or social class. Luiz explained that in terms of future sustainability, financially, that influence and connections they have as members of the upper class helps ensure their success.

I would say that the most important part of this is all about influence, friendships, and connections...For example, the group, like us, the founders, we all came from a good background. I can't deny if you compare their lives here in the community to our backgrounds, we came from a huge background. And our parents worked really hard, studied really hard, to give us the best. So having this, and having also the other side, which is Dado's family, who also came from the same environment, same background, having his relatives, my relatives, Henrique's relatives, we four have at least 30 or 40 relatives who are influential. (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015).

Luiz’s position as a well educated member of the upper class might allow him to be more critical of the companies motives. In terms of financial support and ability to maintain IPOM, Luiz explained that at the beginning “amongst all the difficulties, all the struggles, we were surviving. We had people, close to us, that were very influential. I would say... not rich, but with some kind of power” (“Luiz”, personal communication, 18 Nov 2015). These connections continue to allow IPOM to remain sustainably financed and provide opportunities for the children.

Another staff member at IPOM also mentioned to me that in question of PetroBras, as he perceived it, they only won the grant because of Dona Mariazinha. When I expressed surprise, he said that the recently retired manager of the community relations departments at PetroBras told him that directly- she said it was only because of D. Mariazinha that IPOM got the money. I asked specifically if he thought it was just because of her relationships with IPOM and PetroBras that they won, and he clarified that “No, of course the project has to be good, has to have the base, but because of her weight in the community, the forza that she has, the respect she has also causes IPOM to be more respected” (Field Journal, p9). Luiz also expressed doubts about PetroBras’s motives in giving IPOM the grant to establish Favela sobre Favela (FSF), and connected the grant to PetroBras’s desire to maintain a strong relationship with the AMS.

So the major effect was the link between the Associação and PetroBras. Because PetroBras was desperate to have a project in the Associação that was totally, like regularized. Totally formal, with all the documents, up to date and able to receive social
help, funds, grants, anything. Because for you to receive this money you have to have everything up to date, the documents, your accountant, everything… We have that. Once the leadership at PetroBras realized we were able to receive the grant they didn't think twice. I do believe - you know, it's hard to say, and I don't want to put anybody in danger. but at the time we were three years old. And being a three year old NGO we were too young- TOO young. Winning this grant at three years old, I do have my doubts about, in terms of, my goodness, "did it happen because, did they give us the grant just because of Dona Mariazinha? Because they knew that place was desperate to have some help to develop in any way possible? Or was it because they knew we were organized and capable of receiving the grant. Because the other NGOS that were competing against us, were like 10, 15, 20 years old. Don't get me wrong, I'm not belittling IPOM, dismissing the importance of our work, but what I kind of thought was that we were too young to get this grant, straight away, the first time we compete for it. (“Luiz”, personal communication, Nov 18 2015).

I also noted here that AMS and Dona Mariazinha are often used interchangeably. This is a testament to how strong her leadership was, and still is, despite her limited mobility and age, but is also evidence of how change in leadership has been hard for the AMS. The partnership between IPOM and the Association, using the same space, and working towards similar goals, was fundamental in receiving the grant, which in turn benefitted both institutions. To be specific, staff at the AMS perceive the grant as being received by IPOM in order to benefit both institutions - just as they perceived it only being received because of the partnership between them. Dona Mariazinha explained to me that:

They [PetroBras] help us, they have to check in, they have to make sure it’s going ok, they call here a lot to see how it is, if it’s going well, if it's organized, if it working correctly. They always call me, even as they visit they call for me, because I am part of the Associação. And that project [IPOM], only came because I participated. There, it was because I participated a lot, the Association was not legalized, and [the grant] was passed to IPOM (D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015).  

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34 Here it is unclear if she is referring to the Associação or to IPOM, specifically the project with the grant from PetroBras. She is possibly referring to both. When she says the Associação was not legalized, she may mean that they were not registered, as every year the Associação has to register to be recognized as an official community association (Interview with “Luiz”, Nov 18 2015).

35 Ahí, eles ajudam a gente, tem que prestar conta, tem que saber se esta bem, eles ligam muito pra ca para saber como esta, si esta direitinho, se esta organizando, se esta trabalhando direitinho, eles ligam sempre para mim, mesmo que elas venham ver elas ligam para mim, porque eu faço parte da associaco. E aquele projeto (IPOM) so veio porque eu participe. Ali, e porque eu participei muito, a Associação nao estava legalizada, e passou para conta do IPOM.
She perceives IPOM as being recognized for the grant due to the respect and recognition she has as community leader and part of the AMS; in fact, she perceives IPOM as existing in the community due to her participation and support of the project; something which is also recognized by staff at IPOM (Field Journal p 14). Bruno, the current president of the AMS, also perceives the involvement of PetroBras as only due to IPOM’s relationship with the AMS. He goes as far as to give almost the entire responsibility for winning the grant to the Associação.

Bruno: The Associação launched a project…. IPOM launched a project, through the Associação, if not for this PetroBras would not have become involved. It was in partnership, Associação, IPOM, PetroBras. Favela sobre Favela, and PetroBras. They have the project for two years, and then they have those resources, you know, they help a little bit with bills for water, light, telephone.

Leila: And how was the Associação involved in this project?

Bruno: It was because… the Associação has a very big partnership with PetroBras, and they created a project inside the Associação, and they indicated the NGO IPOM [to be part of this project]. Through 25-30 years of work of the association with PetroBras, they called IPOM to put in place this project; Favela sobre Favela, to operate in the community, inside of here [AMS] with IPOM. Because if they [IPOM] were to go there to ask for this help, they [PetroBras] would not give it.\textsuperscript{36}

It is important to note here that although IPOM pays for the utility bills, the grant money from PetroBras does not directly go towards these expenses. However, in the grant application, IPOM uses the connection with Dona Mariazinha and the work of the AMS as justification for receiving the grant.

\textsuperscript{36} Associação lançou um projeto... O IPOM lançou um projeto, através da Associação, se não não entrava na PetroBras. Em parceria Associação, IPOM, Petrobras. Favela sobre Favela, e o petrobras. Tem o projeto por dois anos, e ahi tem os recursos, toda, ajuda um pouco com conta de agua e luz, e telefone.
L: A Associação foi desenvolvido em que sentido em esse projeto?
Z: E devido... A Associação tem uma parceria bem grande, com a PetroBras, e ela criou um trabalho dentro do Associação, que a ONG que indicou foi o IPOM. Atravez de 25 a 30 anos de trabalho a Associação com a petroBras chamou IPOM para acionar esse projeto F s F para acionar a comunidade dentro daqui (AMS) com IPOM. Porque se eles chegasse la pedir essa ajuda nao daria.
Despite much effort, and positive results, the growth of the community and projects put into effect, the work\textsuperscript{37} is no longer as effective. D. Mariazinha is getting older, she has various health problems, and because of this we perceive that we need this investment now, so that we can continue spreading her actions today. Representing as well many other families that need this support for the education of their children, the nucleus in question is located in an area that has easy access to minimize many issues, such as lack of quality schools and cultural resources (Favela sobre Favela, 2012, p13).\textsuperscript{38}

Staff at IPOM, who have more knowledge of the specifics of the grant, and more knowledge of how money from the grant can be used, do not necessarily perceive it as being received to benefit both institutions. However, they do often realize actions in collaboration to benefit both institutions, such as the establishment of a used clothes sale to benefit the AMS (Field Journal, p 10).

The Need for Collaboration

I heard over and over again from many different individuals emphasizing the importance of working in partnership; partnership with companies, with other individuals, with the community, and with other NGOs and organizations. The answer to the question, “Do you think it is important to work in partnership?” always elicited a positive response, from staff members at IPOM and the AMS. Dona Mariazinha emphasized to me that “one hand has to help the other… we cannot pass over each other. We have to be in partnership. There are people who try to go over our heads, but that never works”\textsuperscript{39}. She elaborated that “because it is important to be one project, one friendship, be friends among ourselves, to be a family, the family of the Associação and IPOM be one family together. Because we have to be a family. But there are people there that are not like this”\textsuperscript{40}(D. Mariazinha, personal communication, 11 Nov 2015). Maria told me

\textsuperscript{37} Here it is unclear what “the work” is, but from context I took it to mean “the work of the Associação in the community”.

\textsuperscript{38} “Apesar de muito esforço, e resultados positivos, a comunidade cresceu e os trabalhos realizados, já não surtem tanto efeito. D. Mariazinha está com a idade avançada, passa por vários problemas de saúde, por isso vemos que precisamos desse investimento hoje, para que possamos ampliar suas ações ainda em vida. Representando também muitas outras famílias que precisam de um suporte na educação de seus filhos, o núcleo em questão que está localizado num ponto de fácil acesso poderá minimizar alguns problemas, como a falta de escolas de qualidade e a falta de equipamentos culturais” (p13, 2012)

\textsuperscript{39} Porque assim, tem pessoas, que nao reconhecem o trabalho da gente. Quer passar por cima da Associação e nao pode. Nos tem que ser assim, amiga mao amiga

\textsuperscript{40} .
that “we work in partnership. No institution can work alone. We have to have partnerships, with other institutions, to be able to have a greater strength”\textsuperscript{41}(“Maria”, personal communication, 4 Nov 2015). Bruno also told me that it is important to be “arm in arm” between the AMS and the NGOs in the community.

However, in practice these collaborations were affected by factors such as differentials in power, resources, formal authority, and discursive legitimacy. Partnerships and collaborations do allow both institutions to be more effective, but it is not without occasional conflict. Even conflict however, can end up being beneficial, such as in the case of contention over space, which led to IPOM investing more in the building and renovating new classrooms. Due to the sharing of space and how other stakeholders in the domain, such as PetroBras and community members, conflate the two organizations, both spaces are perceived as legitimate stakeholders, capable of effecting change and creating meaning. The AMS’s discursive legitimacy has allowed IPOM to develop more quickly and gain legitimacy as a stakeholder, capable of shaping the relevant social issues that collaboration in the domain addresses, such as education and wellbeing of the children in the neighborhood. The AMS has also been able to benefit from access to IPOM’s resources. By combining their forces, the AMS and IPOM have become more dominant stakeholders within their domain, granting the more power to shape the construction of social value and meaning within Serviluz.

\textsuperscript{41} A gente trabalha em parceria. Mesmo instituição não consegue trabalhar sozinha. A gente tem que ter parceria com outras instituições, para dar uma força maior.
Conclusions and Discussion of Results

This particular interorganizational domain is currently going through an extended period of change, due to shifts in leadership in all three spaces, shifts in organization, and uncertainty in the question of resources. Contention between the AMS and IPOM occur frequently, as formal authority is shared between both spaces, due to the status of the building as ‘rent free’ - owned by the AMS but used most actively by IPOM. IPOM, despite having access to the resources to make improvements to the building, does not make decisions in question of changes to the space IPOM uses without consulting AMS. In this partnership, IPOM maintains control of most scarce and critical resources, in the question of financial resources, connections to people in position of power, and knowledge and information in the question of management of a social project. IPOM also has more staff. These resources mean that even as formal authority lies with the AMS, they also rely on IPOM to help provide the with needed renovations, utilities, such as internet, and even supplies for events such as the Bazar, to which IPOM donated the materials to be sold.

In the question of the grant from PetroBras, IPOM benefitted from the combined discursive legitimacy of the AMS and Dona Mariazinha. It was due to Dona Mariazinha’s decisions to include them in the interorganizational domain that IPOM was able to win the grant from PetroBras, adding to the financial and knowledge based resources at their disposal. IPOM’s
discursive legitimacy, or right to speak as representing Serviluz, has its base in the initial partnership with the AMS. Outside individuals and community members now view IPOM as representing and defining the social issues that the interorganizational domain is centered around, partly because IPOM has been able to achieve such high integration with the community. This integration would have been much more difficult without the blessing of Dona Mariazinha and the partnership with the AMS.

Shifts in leadership, in all three institutions, and turmoil in the wider interorganizational space, due to the political climate, have opened up chances for power shifts and change within both the AMS, IPOM, and PetroBras. IPOM lost strong leadership in the past year, but has also gained new leadership, while the AMS has also begun to shift direction with the addition of new, more active leadership. I witnessed more involvement from the AMS even within the time I was at IPOM. Discursive legitimacy still lies most heavily with D. Mariazinha; something that both benefits and provides challenges for the current AMS and staff at IPOM. It is due to her recognition of their right to act as legitimate organization within the domain that IPOM has been able to grow so rapidly, and achieve such success - both on the level of addressing social problems, and on being recognized as a legitimate stakeholder in the domain.

Participation in the Cômité Comunitario is the ultimate recognition of legitimate participation in the interorganizational domain that includes the communities and PetroBras; as PetroBras retains formal authority over the right to participate in and shape the events at this meeting, they also maintain an ability to shape the strategies of engagement and definitions of social issues within the spaces surrounding the Lubnor. Hardy and Phillips (1998) explain that “social problems do not exist in any objective sense-they are "named" as a result of the collective, discursive practices that create meaning for them. This process is, in turn, influenced by the interests and actions of different players with different stakes in the problem. The way in which a problem is defined has important implications for the subsequent direction of the domain; it places limits on the potential nature and outcome of interactions and plays an important role in determining who has a legitimate case for membership in the collaboration (219). PetroBras uses their position as a dominant stakeholder in order to move attention away from issues of potential environmental damage caused by the Lubnor, to social issues such as
insecurity and lack of infrastructure that can be addressed by third sector partners, which PetroBras helps to fund. Thus, leadership from NGOs such as IPOM are legitimized as stakeholders in the domain, shifting the way that social problems are both defined and addressed within Serviluz. PetroBras retains control of a huge amount of resources financially, and in other areas, such as knowledge of outside programs that could affect the domain, and information about environmental issues that could also affect the domain. These resources, in the resource-scarce spaces that the Lubnor operates in, grant PetroBras authority and increase their power to make decisions. Even the ability to grant space for the meeting, and the ability to bring together such a wide variety of stakeholders, are forms of critical resources used by PetroBras that the stakeholders, or community members and NGOs, rely on. PetroBras, however, relies on the discursive legitimacy retained by the stakeholders, such as Dona Mariazinha, at the meetings in order to maintain connections and goodwill among the communities surrounding the Lubnor. In this context, “the identification and legitimation of stakeholders is not, then, determined by any objective "right" to participate, but is influenced by whether dominant stakeholders allow less powerful stakeholders to participate, which, in turn, is related to the former's vested interests.” (Hardy & Phillips, p219). This goes both ways; leadership such as Dona Mariazinha also legitimize PetroBras as a recognized stakeholder through consistent involvement with the company. IPOM became recognized as a legitimate stakeholder, and gained entrance to the meeting, after winning the grant through partnership with Dona Mariazinha; it is her discursive legitimacy and formal authority that allowed them to gain a level of discursive legitimacy and become included in the larger domain through PetroBras. It is also her sponsorship that recognized IPOM primarily as a legitimate stakeholder in Titanzinho; thus allowing them to be recognized as a legitimate stakeholder in the wider interorganizational domain of Serviluz and the other neighborhoods around the Lubnor.

PetroBras’s probable lessening of involvement in the domain in the next couple of years, due to change within the company, will open up a new space for new stakeholders to be recognized, and the domain will go through a period of change. D. Mariazinha’s retreat from active participation in the domain and her granting of some formal authority to new leadership at the AMS, also signifies shifts in power as she shares her formal authority with new leadership,
who, through association with her, also gain some of her discursive legitimacy. This applies as much for the AMS as IPOM. New stakeholders are attempting to shape the domain in new ways. IPOM and the AMS together are able to bring together different forms of power and be more effective than they could be alone. Without IPOM’s *scarce and critical resources*, the AMS might still be inactive, and without D. Mariazinha’s *formal authority* and *discursive legitimacy*, IPOM might not have been able to develop so quickly or integrate as well in the community. The combination of these different forms of power allowed IPOM to be recognized as a legitimate stakeholder by *PetroBras*, granting them access to even more resources in the form of the grant. However, this increase in power also meant that the organization had to deal with new expectations from the AMS, in terms of sharing of resources.

In conclusion, both IPOM and the AMS have power to shape the way that social problems are addressed in Serviluz, especially if they maintain strong leadership. Antonia explained to me, that in connection with true collaboration and the role of NGOs in relationship to communities:

> That's what I'm talking about the strong leadership. You need to have someone who understands that balance, you need to have someone who appreciates the complexity of it all because it is really really complex, it's all about relationships, and it's all about being genuine, and it's all about showing yourself to be learning just as much as the people you're trying to help. It involves being humble and, it really does involve love, unconditional love for other human beings. That is a very very difficult space to occupy. (“Antonia”, personal communication, 10 Nov 2015).

These spaces are changing, but through maintaining strong leadership and collaboration, and the recognition of the role of partnerships in accessing new forms of power, NGOs and community associations can shape the domains they work within, opening space for new meaning to take shape.
References


**Appendix**

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?**

I could probably explore the issue of cross-sectoral partnerships in the US - in fact I’m sure I could - but the context would of course be very different. The political and economic climate in respect to PetroBras made this an interesting time to examine these relationships. Working in a community such as Serviluz, and the particular benefits and challenges that offers, would also be impossible in the US. The way that this NGO was established in this community was very particular to this place. IPOM is also going through huge changes, due to staff leaving, and
restructuring of certain parts, so future research there will be in a different context. The grant from PetroBras has really been a tipping point for them, and it's about to run out.

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

I could have explored cross-sectoral partnerships, but they would be in different organizations with different contexts. All results would have been different, because in the US we don't really have any state-run businesses. The context would be extremely different, as would the culture, and the history.

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

No, it did not. I of course had to learn how to approach doing research and organizing my data, which was new to me. I have never had to maintain focus on a specific research question for such an extended period of time, and so I became a bit overwhelmed with the amount of data that I had collected and the amount of information that I had obtained, which caused me to really have to focus on my specific question. I ended up expanding and focusing on some issues and leaving other I was originally interested in by the wayside; such as the role of NGOs versus governments services. People gave me much more insight on political corruption and PetroBras’s role in relationship to the communities than they did on NGOs.

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

I would say it is 70-30 primary to secondary data. I used a lot of research and gained help from documents obtained from IPOM and the AMS, as well as a doctoral thesis written on IPOM, and previous ISPs based at IPOM.

**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?**

I read through all of my interviews and pulled the quotes that were most relevant to the subjects that I was evaluating. I had one interview that I did not transcribe due to time constraints, but that interview was a repeat of an interview that I did transcribe, and which I took notes on, so I was not too concerned about losing potentially important data.

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

To be honest not at all, besides perhaps practice interviewing. The drop-off seems to be very hyped, but if we were not so sheltered during the program the drop off would not be a big deal at all.
7. What part of the FSS most significantly influenced the ISP process?
The ethics portion really influenced how I thought about my role as a ‘researcher’ and what I was really doing at IPOM and within Serviluz; it made me be more conscious of how I was representing myself and the ways I was interacting with people. I loved Vanessa and Paolo’s classes; they were my favorite lectures of any we had.

8. What were the principal problems you encountered while doing the ISP? Were you able to resolve these and how?
The principal problem I encountered was the inability to obtain an interview with anyone from PetroBras, and the sheer amount of information that I obtained. I know this is not usually a problem for students, but since I did my community project at IPOM, I more or less started my research period two months before the end of the semester. I started doing research and going to the meetings at PetroBras in the beginning of November, but I didn't really get organized about field journal, or focus on specific questions, until a week into the ISP period. So I had all this unorganized information floating around in notebooks and in my head. My research question evolved during that time, and some of the things I decided to focus on shifted. Thus, organizing my data became very important. I ended up somewhat glad that I was unable to interview anyone at PetroBras, because I had such a wide amount of perspectives to cover already.

9. Did you experience any time constraints? How could these have been resolved?
I did, in the sense that I would have been able to write a much better and more comprehensive monograph if I had more experience organizing data and interviewing before I started. I really think students would benefit from practice doing interviewing and transcribing before the research period, as my interviews improved immensely later in the research period. I think 6 weeks to do the research - a month of field research, and two weeks to write, would be perfect.

10. Did your original topic change and evolve as you discovered or did not discover new and different resources? Did the resources available modify or determine the topic?
Yes. As I stated in the monograph, this was really a process of discovery. I realized pretty early on that the dynamics between the AMS, IPOM, and PetroBras were way richer and more complicated than I had realized before. Part of this was because I already had established rapport and friendship at IPOM before the research period, so I was able to gain a deeper understanding very quickly during the ISP period. Themes began to come up in interviews, such as political corruption, vote buying, and problems in collaborations, that I found really affected my research question, and caused me to change my lines of questioning in future interviews. I found out that there had been a huge fire at PetroBras in the 80’s that very much affected the beginning of relationships with the community about halfway through the research period, so I began asking people about their experience with that. Thus I shifted to examining how PetroBras was perceived, and what their role in the community was perceived as, since this grant from PetroBras really seemed to be a tipping point at IPOM and with the relationship with the AMS.

11. How did you go about finding resources: institutions, interviewees, publications, etc.?
Most of my interviewees I found because Neilyanne helped me to meet them, as they worked at IPOM - I had already seen them around, or met them, since I did my community project at IPOM. I had already met Dona Mariazinha twice before the research period. If they no longer worked at IPOM, Neilyanne passed me their email. Basically doing my community project there already, and having Neilyanne being super pro-active about asking if I could do interviews, made finding interviews very easy. Also, being at IPOM three days a week allowed me to be spontaneous. I went over to Dona Mariazinha’s house at least once a week.

In terms of other resources, I used JSTOR and access to journal articles online through my home institution. I found SIT’s online resources to be badly organized and confusing to use.

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

I used formal interviews, observation, and participant observation. I decided to use formal interviews because my topic is pretty straightforward and based on perceptions of individuals and gathering of facts about institutions, which recording helps me to obtain easily. I also know that recording would allow me to understand the conversation more fully through transcribing. Participant observation allowed me to integrate more fully at IPOM and understand more fully the role of collaboration in how the institutions works together.

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?

It was kind of like I had two advisors. Neilyanne works at IPOM and at SIT, so has the view of what the ISP is and how best I could guide the research. She also has valuable insights on the working of IPOM and was able to pass me information and ease my entry into interviews with the office at IPOM, for example.

My official advisor, Boneca, really helped me in understanding life in Serviluz and helping me feel like a part of the community at IPOM, so she was indispensable. However, in terms of research questions or ethical dilemmas, I almost never relied on her. She does not really use the internet, and does not have an email address, so I always contacted her in person or through Neilyanne. I think having these two help me was really the perfect mix, because Boneca was kind of a bridge to Serviluz and the AMS for me, and Neilyanne was able to advise me on more technical questions and research dilemmas. I felt comfortable going to both of them for different kinds of help, but I didn't have a lot of formal meetings with either of them.

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

Some interviews were more helpful than others, but I think I learned something from all of them. No, since I was at IPOM so often, it was easy for me to access interviewees and ask questions
whenever. The only dead end was in interview with officials from PetroBras, which become too complicated and bureaucratic to obtain.

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

SO many things! I learned so much about Serviluz and what it means to live there - how connected it is to the ocean, to fishing, to surfing, but yet how hard it can be sometimes as well, due to indiscriminate violence, and marginalization from the government. I learned so much about communicating in Brazil, about Brazilian culture - about Portuguese. I learned how relationships can be so important but so tricky - in Brazil especially but everywhere.

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

Yes. Working so closely with a community like IPOM and becoming part of it really affected my experience in Brazil and my understanding of the culture. From little things, like the ladies in the kitchen calling me ‘gatinha’ and trying to marry me off to their sons, to bigger things, like the importance of connections, influence, and relationships to any NGO in Brazil, I learned so much. I loved working and doing my research at IPOM and leaving will be so hard.

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

Technically, I learned a lot about interviews, creating a useful field journal, and transcribing, all skills I had never used before. In a bigger sense, I really explored and learned more about human relationships and working together, and how important those two things are. I also learned a lot about living and working ‘in translation’. This is not a new concept to me, as Portuguese is my fourth language, and Brazil is the fifth country I have really tried to immerse myself in, but doing ‘research’ in another language really makes you think about what it means to translate, and how the way we communicate with one another affects our relationships.

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

To any student I would recommend going to IPOM, but only if you’re open to a kind of crazy and incredibly tight knit culture- you need to be able to laugh at yourself, relax, and joke around to really be accepted there. Also be open to new experiences. I let Mariazinha drag me around for a full hour by the hand while she made fun of the ‘gringa branquinha’, and after that my relationship with her allowed me to open doors. Also just talk to everyone - sometimes they will say not to go into Serviluz, but I think as long as you're with a local you're ok, and you’ll really miss out if you don’t. Especially along the beach, you’re fine.

I would say if you’re interested in PetroBras’s role in the community, focus on the Cômité Comunitario, and try and go at least twice. Make connections there and try and interview various people from different neighborhoods on their perceptions of PetroBras and the Lubnor.
was barely able to scratch the surface on this; there’s a whole ISP or three on the Lubnor, looking at whether the relationships with the communities is exploitative, or beneficial.

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

Most definitely. I loved this experience and learned so much. Coming from a background in Anthropology, this was the real reason I chose to do this program, and I would say without it the program is not worth it. I will definitely be undertaking further research.