Empowering Women as Mothers?

Stories of resistance, reaction and hope for a better life

María Sandra Gonzalez

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the vital issue of empowerment in development work and development projects, a multimillion dollar enterprise which engages donors, governmental agencies and governments. More specifically the thesis deals with a development intervention in education as social policy in Uruguay, investigated as a case study. The methodological intention is to present the voices of the subjects of development, in this case the mothers of the children who are the primary targets of the development intervention. Using Critical Pedagogy, Postructuralism, and Post-colonial studies, the results of interviews and observations are analyzed to disclose identity construction in the framework of development discourse. The results show that women's opportunities for empowerment within the framework of the intervention are limited to individual empowerment, rather than group mobilization that could affect the broader context that has positioned them, and keeps them in this subjugated position. The development discourse disclosed through the analysis, maintains a conceptualization of empowerment and participation that functions to reproduce colonial ways of categorizing and objectifying people. The possibility of counteract this with women´s development of critical consciousness, that would allow them to become aware of their embeddedness in power relations that subjugate them, is discussed. The results clearly indicate the need for dialogue and the necessity to make power relations explicit while at the same time clarifying the significance of historical and social relations in the context for development.

Key words: empowerment, participation, critical consciousness, development discourse, post-colonial.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Cowen and Shenton (1996), who extensively analyzed the concept of Development, show how planned development has been historically conceptualized since the XIX century in correlation with capitalist development. Escobar (1995, p.23) explains the extension of the concept internationally after the Second World War, also as a project to extend capitalism by incorporating the so called Third World in a subjugated position.

Currently, Development is worldwide and aims at the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals (MDG) by 2015, which according to the World Bank will cost between 25 to 50 billion US dollars a year, and involves reforms of policies and improvements of service delivery to make the additional spending effective (World Bank & International Monetary Fund, 2007, p.7). The investment is justified by the conviction that poverty reduction in Third World countries is possible and necessary to achieve world peace and ensure social justice

Other perspectives are critical to this project, however, maintaining that development is a dominant discourse; understanding it as a way of representing the reality in a way that "shape the ways in which this reality is managed and acted upon" (Escobar, 1995, p5). Using "Poverty" as an organizing concept "Western" justifies the subjugation of the "Third World" through knowledge control, normalization and bureaucratization of social action (ibid, p. 53). The former is done through the "development apparatus" (ibid, p. 86), composed of normative practices developed by bureaucratic devices that include a huge number of technicians, planning, reports, etc. These critical perspectives require that this development discourse have to be challenged, incorporating concern for the

people self-understanding, and revalorizing the local as a prerequisite to engage the global (ibid, pp 101, 226).

In response to this critique development discourse integrates the concept/practice of "participation" linked to "empowerment". However new criticisms sustain that this association is based on a simplistic concept of power and power relations that in extension results in a dualistic approach that reinforces inequalities (Mohan, 2001, pp156-159, 162-163). Developers who work with a participatory approach assures, that by giving primary stakeholders ("the disempowered") the opportunity to participate in different stages of the project, some power is transferred to them from those who possess power, such as global organization institutions and professionals. This conception of power results in the development of a dualistic model, i.e., insider/outsider, European/indigenous, local/central, etc., in which the differences between actors and particular historical situations become unclear.

In contrast, critical authors like Cook & Kothari (2001) base their analysis in a foucaultian concept of power, leading to an alternative concept of empowerment. They understand power as a productive force that is everywhere, expressed in the micro-social relations (Foucault, 1980, cited in Kothari, 2001, p. 141). It is not possessed by anybody but "carried out" (Deleuze, 1988 cited in Fox, 2000, p. 858). They also emphasize the historicity and contextuality of power relations, making situated analysis necessary in development interventions.Then, power is present in a complex web of relations (contextually and historically established) among and between primary stakeholders, facilitator, managers, donors and the wider environment, determining in unpredictable ways the process and outcomes of participation. Since relations of power are always unequal and unstable, the former power relations, as well as others that exist in the society, are uneven but can be challenged and destabilised (Foucault, 1984 cited in Fox, 2000, p.859). However, in the case of dominant discourses such as Development or Capitalism, that had acquired a high level of "fixation" (Jorgönsen, M and Philips L., 2008) of certain groups´ identity situating them in a subjugated position, challenges are

restricted and demand a process of empowerment of certain groups. Guijt and Shah (1998), drawing on Giddens' (1984) definition of power as people or groups' 'transformative capacity', argue that empowerment must entail 'increasing people's capacity to transform their lives (cited in Guijt & Shah, 1998, p.11). Like this, they both recover the productive quality of power and its fluidity (in Foucault terms), emphasising the necessity of changes in subjugated groups´ capacity to move power in a way that can transform the discourse.

In the context of the previous debate, and drawing on the critical perspectives, this study analyzes how the empowerment process of a group of development intervention´s beneficiaries (women) was expressed in the specific case of development intervention in Uruguay: CAIF (Centers for the attention of children and families) [1]. This is done by clarifying how power flew along it, which measures were more conducting to empowering participants, and disembeding the discourse of empowerment. By doing the former, the study aims to contribute to broaden the understanding of the complex process of empowerment in participatory development, challenging mainstream ideas and offering alternative perspectives. Also it may contribute to critical development interventions, which may offer participants´ opportunities to control the development process from their cultural and historical particularities.

Given the scope of the present study, only one of the 319 centers in which CAIF is developed was chosen; the center called "Las Hormiguitas" (The Ants). For the same reason, a limited group of beneficiaries was identified, namely the mothers of those children that attend the selected CAIF center. Consequently, the aim of the thesis is formulated in the following manner: *To understand the ways in which the increasing transformative capacity (empowerment) of participants is expressed in a participatory development intervention.* To achieve the former aim

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[1] Centros de Atención a la Infancia y la familia

the following research question is originated: *How is the process of women's empowerment, more specifically the mothers of pupils of CAIF "Las Hormiguitas", expressed?*

The specific objectives are the following:

- To clarify how the transformative capacity is expressed in women´s descriptions of their reality.

- To identify what measures are described by women as empowering.

- To disembed the discourse(s) on empowerment in the context of a participatory development intervention.

Description is understood here as Potter (1996, p.108) does; as the construction of facts turning abstract into material and also undermining alternative versions of facts, turning material into motivated or distorted talk (abstract).

It is assumed, then a constructionist approach in which participants are considered as active subjects who produce different version of social reality that are neither true nor false, but rather inform us as to the ways the participants recreate (reproducing and/or modifying) the dominant discourses about empowerment and related concepts (Silverman, 2006, p. 137).

This work includes then, after the first introductory chapter, a second chapter of Theoretical Framework, where there is an explanation of the main theories on which the following interpretative analysis of the results and their discussion drew. The third chapter, called Contextual Background, provides information about the case and its position in development field in order to situate the following Analysis chapter. In the latter, the collected data is analysed through discourse analysis and conversational analysis, and interpreted with the support of the theoretical frame. In chapter five there is a discussion of the main findings of the analysis regarding power relations, empowering measures and discourse on empowerment (the topic of the specific objectives). Finally, conclusions´ chapter makes finally remarks and posits alternatives and challenges for future works.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 POWER, KNOWLEDGE AND DISCOURSE – MICHEL FOUCAULT

Foucault's (1984, p.93) idea of power is that power is not the possession of some people that use it to dominate others, but that power is relational. It is '. . . *the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable*". Power in the Foucaldian (ibid) sense comes from everywhere, as it is a force generated in the relation between actors; it has to be exerted in order to be. Therefore, there is no passive subject, but rather a resistant or reactive subject. Power is also intrinsically linked with knowledge and knowledge production (Law, 1986 cited in Fox, 2000, p.857). Then, in the process of learning, for example, Fox (2000, p. 861) explains how Foucault developed the idea of a matrix power/knowledge by drawing attention to the self, either conforming to instruction or resisting that instruction. In Participatory Development people can react, adjusting themselves to the set of knowledge produced in Development or they can resist to this knowledge by shaping their participation or chosing not to participate. Whatever the strategy they use, participants are active, producing an impact on the discourse (Kothari, 2001, p.142).

2.2 DOMINATION AND DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Post- colonial studies analyze widely and with different emphasis the legacies of the European colonization to the present world order, contesting its pervasive means of domination (Loomba, 2002, p. 12). Identity construction and its relation with language is a central topic in these approaches. Considering language as a socially determined system that represents and creates the reality, these perspectives agree that it also produces subjectivities (Loomba, 2002, pp.37, 44). Following this tradition, Escobar (1995, pp.23-24) understands development as an instrument of a new type of colonization. By defining poverty in economic terms,

after the Second World War, the former became an organizing concept that justifies the intervention of Western ("the rich") in "poor countries" through the development apparatus, making it possible the maintenance and extension of the capitalist system (ibid).

During the last decade, development discourse has been "rearticulated" (Laclau 1993 cited in Jorgönsen and Philips., 2008, p. 48). The word "participation" linked to "empowerment" was introduced to development jargon and articulated with the other concepts that form part of development strategy. Based on Chamber´s work (1983,1992,1994,1997 cited in Cooke & Kothari, 2001, p.5), who developed Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), efforts were made by project managers, governments, and development organizations to promote project beneficiaries participation in different stages of project management.

2.3 CRITIQUES TO PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH: DECONSTRUCTING AND DISCUSSING ITS MEANINGS.

In their book *Participation: The New Tyranny?* (2001), Cook and Kothari together with a number of contributors present a critique of the participatory development discourse by deconstructing it and addressing the complexity of power relations within the participatory process.

By analyzing the relation of the concepts "participation" and "empowerment" with the other concepts that give them the final meaning within participatory development practice, they problematize certain practices and ideas that had been given for granted, and unveil the potential tyrannical quality of participatory methods in development.   Cleaver (2001, p.37), for example, explains that "empowerment", that was associated in Freiran discourse with individual and class action, with the transformation of structures of subordination through radical changes, has been depoliticized in development discourse by associating it only with individual action and by disconnecting it from transformation of structures. Participation is mainly associated in development discourse with technical

strategy and efficiency, so its meaning has to do with the improvement of project efficiency. By linking participation with 'empowerment', which is implicitly assumed to have a greater moral value due to its original roots, the complete meaning of participation in development discourse is disguise, leading to the claim that participatory projects necessarily empower beneficiaries (ibid). Removing empowerment from its radical content, the focus of empowerment becomes the individual, who represents general categories such as "community" "women" "the poor", who participate through, for instance, his/her position in management committees (Cleaver, 2001, p.38), leaving power structures untouched and group mobilization under control.

Mohan (2001, pp 157, 164) points out the risk for postcolonial studies that inspired many of the participatory development interventions, of reinscribing authority over the non-West if they do not move beyond dualisms (insider/outsider, self/others, powerful/powerless). He assures that dichotomies result in a portrayal of the opposed parties as homogeneus: local vs central, indigenous knowledge vs expert knowledge, western vs. original, etc. This homogenization obscures more subtle forms of domination and control, allowing the reinforcement of inequalities (ibid, pp.158-163). For instance, the depolitisation of the outsider through the role of facilitator, disguises the facilitators' political position as well as the ideological dimension of the instruments and methodology being used, leaving no place for contestation (ibid, p. 161-162). Furthermore, the homogenization of community allows consensus–seeking, covering unequal power relations within the community and reinforcing community´s elites and specific groups´ privileged position (ibid pp.158-159). Finally, the analysis focused on the "local" reality cloaks broader power relations by moving the focus away from inequalities produced, for example by the state or the global capitalist system; and limits the possibility of action to counteract inequalities (ibid, p. 163).

Consequently, he suggests emphasizing the productive dimension of power in the analysis of participatory development interventions (ibid, 2001, p 164). This

implies to focus on what happens as regards power distribution among the different actors of development in a participatory process, in order to allow more possibilities for change; *"to 'work the hyphen'(Fine, 1994) between dualisms because it is within these inter subjective worlds that meaning, knowledge and political action will emerge"* (Mohan, 2001, p. 164).

2.4 RECONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF EMPOWERMENT

Departing from a more complex concept of power, the critical authors of Participatory Development give another view of participants empowerment. Referring to Giddens (1984) definition of power as people or groups 'transformative capacity' Guijt and Shah argue that empowerment must involve 'increasing people's capacity to transform their lives (cited in Guijt & Shah, 1998, p.11). Thus, the aim is to increase a capacity for change, immediately challenging notions that by addressing material or service needs, without identifying and changing root cause of existing unequal power-relations serve little in the direction of empowering (Guijt & Shah, 1998, p.11).

2.5 CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Critical Pedagogy is a theory based on Structuralism, so it is concerned about the unequal relations of power in the society in order to "understand and act in education"(Apple, 2010, p.152). One of its pioneers has been Paulo Freire, whose work is still valid and reinvented (by contextualization of his theory) by current critical pedagogues (Mc Laren, 1999, p 52). He emphasizes the importance for the oppressed to take control on their own history in order to assimilate in the society in their own terms. In his work on critical consciousness (1973, p.23), he make the difference between adaptation and integration, being the former typical of submission and the latter typical of democratic systems, that require a critical thought. Freire´s commitment is with creating counter-hegemonic sites of political struggle for disenfranchised groups to subvert those structures of domination (Mc

Laren, 1999, p54). This concern is shared by later authors as Flores (2003) that analyzes the necessity for groups of people historically socially oppressed, of empower themselves by group action in order to face the oppressive forces of social structures. Critical Pedagogy criticizes Post-structuralism because its "over relativistic epistemological assumptions" that ignore class dynamics and the materiality of powerful social structures (Apple, 2010,p.153). However, there have been progressively more approaches that combine the two mainstreams, achieving to widen the dynamics of power looking contradictory histories and relations, and, at the same time, acknowledging class dynamics (ibid).

3. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Within the framework of the Millennium Development Goals, the Uruguayan government focuses on poverty reduction. Poverty (measured in economic terms[2]) increased during 1980s and 1990s resulting in a severe economic crisis in 2003 (Presidencia ROU, 2007, p. 12). The Uruguayan government attributes this increase in households´ poverty to "changes in work structure and in the incomes coming from the former" (ibid). From the 90s, these changes lead to increasing unemployment, which in 2005 reached 9.5% for men and 15.3% for women. The incidence of poverty is highest among children under 5 years of age and has increased from 30% in the mid-nineties to 56% in 2004. This increase is attributed statistically to the fact that most of the poor households are those with many children. This in turn is in relation with the situation that those households which the majority of children under 18 belongs to, depend upon work generated income, making them "highly vulnerable to the dynamics of this market."

The Uruguayan state have developed a group of social policies called "Equity Plan" in which the population that is "under poverty level" is prioritized (Presidencia ROU, 2007, p.8). It is currently applied in Uruguay and it includes

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[2] According to the National Institute of Statistics (INE), poverty is estimated by the income method, which is to compare the per capita income of households in relation to thresholds or "lines" representing the cost of a basic food basket and the cost of food plus non-food goods and services according to the number of household members and the presence of children or adolescents. (INE, 2009)

CAIF within Educational Policies. The aim of the plan is to " *guarantee all national territory inhabitant´s full excercise of citizens rights but especially those in situation of social vulnerability, through a evening out access opportunities to: universal social services, incomes through decent work and basic social benefits"*(Presidencia ROU, 2007 p.17).

CAIF [3] is plan and public policy, based on an inter- sector alliance among State, Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and Municipalities. Its aim is *"to guarantee and promote children rights from their conception until their 3 years old, prioritizing those coming from families in situation of poverty and/or social vulnerability"* (Cerutti et al, 2008, p.1) .CAIF has the children at the center of the intervention. It considers the development of the child in intimate relation with their context, so it has an approach, in which children´s adult referents' involvement is promoted to strength ties with their children and to foster their nurturing abilities. It also aims to foster the full participation of children and their families in the community (Cerutti et al, 2008, p.2). In the last years CAIF has developed different methodological guidelines that also tend to stress the importance of the networks and the work with the community, pointing out the importance of participation for the empowerment and social equity (Tejera, 2006, p.10).

This intervention is funded by the Uruguayan State through the National Division in charge of children welfare, INAU (Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay), through CAIF´s Executive Secretary. The governance of CAIF is organized in national and regional committees. The National Committee is constituted by representatives of Public Institutions, CSO representatives and the Executive Secretary. It decides the policies, negotiation and planning body. The Regional Comittees are constituted by representatives of Public Institutions and CSO representatives. They analyze the plan and inform the national committee of local needs.

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[3] Centros de Atención Integral a la Infancia y la Familia. It started in 1988.

The plan is executed in 319 centers spread throughout Uruguay, administered by agreements between the state and different local civil society organizations. The present research was undertaken in one of those centers called "Las Hormiguitas".

"Las Hormiguitas" is located in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, in zone 1105 in the neighborhood called "Piedras Blancas", according to Las Hormiguitas Institutional Project (2009). This is very close to the city limits. Many people, that were evicted from different parts of Montevideo were re-located in this zone in 1992, which constituted the formation of new neighborhoods and settlements. The participants of Las Hormiguitas come, according to the coordinator (personal communication), mainly from the settlements (aproximately 70%): 3 de Enero, 30 de Abril,5 de Abril, 17 de Junio, Santo Domingo De Guzmán. Included are also families from the following neighborhoods: Santa Maria; the Housing Cooperatives COVILG, COVITRAB, HOGAR I and the Núcleos Básicos Evolutivos from the group of houses Teniente Rinaldi (SOCODE&Las Hormiguitas, 2009, p2).   There are 155 children, of which 51 are aged 0 to 23 months, 59 are 2 years old and 45 are 3 years old, all of which come from 132 families (SOCODE& Las Hormiguitas, 2010, p2)

SOCODE (Solidarity with the evicted communities[4]) is the Civil Association that manages CAIF –Las Hormiguitas, composed mainly of professionals. SOCODE started to work in the zone in 1992 to support the evicted groups. At that time, SOCODE identified the necessity of organizing a daycare for the children of single mothers, in order to give the latter the opportunity to work. In cooperation with Housing Cooperatives of the neighborhood and in agreement with INAU, they funded it in 1995. The main actions are in connection with CAIF general guidelines: 1)- Family approach from the gestation with Health Services Teams (workshops for pregnant mothers), 2)- Program of Opportune experiences (workshops with children from 0-1 year and their parents) to promote children´s integral development and strengthening children's ties with their referent adults, 3)- pre-school education for 2-3 years old children. In conjunction with actions 2

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[4] Solidaridad con las Comunidades Desalojadas

and 3 above, a nutritional program, a health care and promotion program and a program the aim of which is to develop adults' potential within their communities have been developed. There are also home´s visits to inform, invite to participate or support the family in the center's service areas (psicomotorism, psychology, social work, education).

4.METHOD

4.1 APROACH AND SELECTON OF THE METHODOLOGY

The approach of this thesis is based on postmodern and feminist contributions to theory of science (Haraway, 1988, Fox, 2006) that argue for 'situated knowledge' and 'partial vision' challenging claims of 'objectivity' and 'universal truths'. Like this, I situate the knowledge produced in this work, making underlying assumptions or commitments open for scrutiny and contestation, thus ensuring accountability. The selection of method, the data collection and their account, are inscribed in a certain context and determined by my "biography"(Fox,2006, p. 349) as researcher, therefore the acknowledgement of my biography is a condition for trustworthiness of the results.

Considering that the research question is a "how" type, according to Yin (2003) I used a case study strategy that allows to go in depth in the understanding of an specific social phenomenon. Consequently, I also assumed the limitations of this type of study regarding possible generalizations. It is not possible to generalize the results, even to other CAIF´s centers, given the restricted sample analyzed. Nevertheless, the knowledge produced with a study of this single case, can be accumulated with other types of knowledge about development field, education, and specifically CAIF, contributing to support other researches and helping to understand similar phenomena in similar contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.227). I combined documentary analysis with primary sources collected by fieldwork. Given academic schedule and my personal budget, the time available for the field work was necessarily restricted to three weeks.

4.2 SELECTION OF THE CASE

Preliminary readings of CAIF´s documents[5] reveal both hegemonic concepts of participation and empowerment and alternative meanings, which can be interpreted as evidence of a struggle among different discourses. This makes it an interesting case to study the process of empowerment, because it can provide interesting information about the process of change, the discourse struggle and the strategies that can be considered in future experiences and research. The selection of " Las Hormiguitas" among the other centers was due to the my link with former employees and the center´s explicit intention of work with the community.

4.3 METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Given the research question and the theoretical background that generates it, the method I chose for the analysis was discourse analysis. I combined Laclau and Mouffe´s discourse theory (Jorgönsen&Philips, 2008, pp 25-59) and the method developed by Jonathan Potter (1996) that combines the post-structuralist approach and conversational analysis. In the following paragraphs I explain the purpose of this combination.

4.3.1 THE STRUGGLE FOR MEANINGS BETWEEN RIVAL DISCOURSES: LACLAU AND MOUFFE´S DISCOURSE THEORY

How are discourses challenged, transformed or reproduced? Which kind of re-articulations do they produce? How do they fix elements in different positions? These are the kind of questions that Laclau and Mouffe address with their discourse theory, based on the post-structuralist tradition. Having as a point of departure the understanding that reality is produced discursively and that both material and language are part of the discourse, they insist on the instability of

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[5] Cerrutti et al, 2008; Cerruti &Perez, 2006; Rodriguez, 2006; Tejera,, 2006; Bernardi et al, 1996.

discourses. Although they acknowledge the existence of hegemonic discourses, they open up for the possibility of change, when analyzing the dynamic relations among competing discourses. As such, they explain that those signs that were fixed in a certain position (so acquiring a fix meaning) within one discourse are always challenged by the alternative meanings they have in rival discourses.

Since competing discourses coexist in reality, when we analyze a specific organization, practice, project or discipline, we can follow the trail of their mutual influence in the organization, practice, project or discipline´s discourse. Depending on the context, there would be different articulations and re-articulations of the competing discourses as well as specific strategies to dominate the meaning production and achieve hegemony. What kinds of re-articulations are produced in participatory development discourse, when challenged by alternative discourses? Do the latter challenge the former and the other way around?

4.3.2 A MODEL TO ANALYZE THE PROCESS AND MEANS OF REALITY CONSTRUCTION

The model developed by Jonathan Potter (1996) assembles post-structuralist tradition that gives light on how particular discourses come into being, and conversation analysis, which provides the tools to figure out how factuality is worked up by using a set of techniques and rhetorical devices specific to particular settings. This combination is particularly useful for this case, which approaches a particular phenomenon (the process of a specific group of women) inscribed in a broader scenario crossed by major narratives as it is the Development field. Post-structuralism can provide the tools to understand how words and practices (of women, institutions and other actors) construct the world, the facilitating or diminishing process of empowerment, which kind of process and which kind of empowerment is constructed in this particular context. Conversation analysis will allow us to see the particular ways in which these groups of women work up their reality in the specific setting of a development intervention and the current research.

Given the time limitation, I focused on the interviews with women, both group and individual interview. In accordance with the above, the texts are analyzed

focussing on both the strategies used by the participants to build up or undermine certain descriptions and on the actions these descriptions are directed to accomplish in the interview frame and in relation to the topic and the identity the interviewees wanted to construct (Potter, 1996, p108). Given the scope of the present work, I can not present these two dimensions in all the cases. Thus, I alternatively emphasize one, the other, or both to make the point and make it more readable. When I present the analysis of the action orientation, I use the long extracts to better illustrate the context and possible motives of the descriptions that can only be seen in the conversation. When I emphasize the "build up" short extracts are used.. Again due to the scope of this thesis, long extracts of interviewes are to be found in Appendix 2. The interviews are not edited, only translated to English. My intention is to communicate as much as possible of the women's versions of reality, such as they have been expressed in the interviews.. I understand that this can make it a little bit more difficult to understand, however, it is my belief that it is important that the cultural shades of the descriptions are preserved, as they can make a difference for the interpretation. I also explain throughout the analysis the signs I picked up for the analysis and the context. With the same logic, I use the transcriptions conventions suggested by Potter (1996, pp. 233-234) to get part of the shades of the oral expression in written language. These conventions are in appendix 1.

In order to emphasize the context of the descriptions and how they are generated relationally, I use the pronouns correlatively with the person that performed the action. Then, if it was me: I, if both Graciela and me: we and so on. I use verbs in past tense with regard to facts that happened during the fieldwork and in present tense for the interpretations I present in the analysis. The following reasons are advanced: the descriptions were generated historically in that specific moment, and they could not be now the same way. I tried to keep historicity of facts in coherence with my theoretical framework. Furthermore, this is also an attempt to allow the reader to be aware of the temporal distance between the "facts" and the analysis, something that affect interpretations. However, in the discussion I use present tense because I imagine a real current discussion with the readers.

4.4 CONSTRUCTION OF THE RESEARCHER POSITION IN THE FIELD

My position in relation to the field was marked both by my access to the it and by my personal and professional background.

I got to contact CAIF centre "Las Hormiguitas" (L.H) by a colleague who was my classmate at the University, 15 years ago, who had been working at L.H until some months before the moment of the fieldwork. The women were not aware of my relationship with her, but the staff knew about our relationship. Then, my first contact in the field was with L.H´s coordinator, who warmly welcomed me, and the second with the rest of the team, that did the same. I spent considerable time explaining the objectives I had with the research and its framework as well as getting their impressions of CAIF and the community.

Regarding my personal background, being Uruguayan I managed the language and most of the cultural codes used by the participants. Being a woman, a mother and an immigrant in other country situated me closer to women´s situation regarding their gender and cultural situation as a minority in a society. These aspects greatly facilitated the dialogue. However, I did not belong to the same social class of the participants, due to my level of education and economic situation; I had to travel 1 hour from my family home in the downtown to reach the neighborhood where the participants lived, enough time to get to the limits of Montevideo city. If places are constructed socially, so their position give us information about status of the people and activities that are developed there, the latter can give the measure of our positions in the Uruguayan society (Stein, 2006, p.61). I belonged to the part of the city most of the team came from, and I shared with them a similar educational background. I had been living in Bolivia for more than 13 years, so I missed almost the whole history of the CAIF Las Hormiguitas and many of the participants regarding National context. Then, I did not know the codes people were constructing during this period. My experience in Bolivia shaped my perception in another way, as many of the Uruguayan cultural values

and practices taken for granted had to be revised to adjust myself to another culture. The same process occurred when I came to Sweden. My perception of reality in the field then, was closer to the outsider pole of the continuum insider – outsider. .

In the field, I acknowledged this position and consider it in my analysis. I also acknowledged the privileged position in which the very identity as researcher situated me regarding knowledge production and tried to counteract it letting the people gain control on schedules and places to meet, once they accepted to participate, as well as sharing with them what I understood from their comments so to give them the opportunity to challenge my understanding. However, I think the time was not enough to go deeper on this approach and it is a matter for further research how to achieve this more horizontal way of knowledge production. We were so embedded in pre established roles to get a "co-participant production of field reality".(Fox, 2006, p.356)

4.5 POSITION OF THE CO –INTERVIEWER
Graciela Licandro is a friend and fellow student at the University (we shared study group throughout our education). She is also a middle class white woman, married, and a mother. I asked her to help me out collecting data for my thesis by working as co-interviewer, but also to share with me the encounter with the field to exchange points of views about and discuss interpretations as a learning process. She immediately accepted ith enthusiasm despite her busy agenda. She contributed a lot with her professional knowledge as psicomotorist and teacher as well as with her life knowledge and observational capacity. Despite the fact that we have not seen each for many years and we did not have too much time to coordinate the fieldwork, it was extremely easy to work collaboratively. She helped me out in the group interviews as co-interviewer, but also by taking care of the children when I had to talk with some mothers individually. She evaluated the day with me and discussed new possible routes of inquiry. She even supported me

with practical problems that run from setting the recording equipment to my daughter´s infection, due to mosquito bites.

4.6 DEFINITION OF THE SAMPLE

To compensate for the short time that I had, I focused the selection of my sample, so to allot more time to the most relevant groups of participants regarding the topic of this thesis. Then, the study was focused on the women, mothers of the children that attend to CAIF center Las Hormiguitas.

I considered them as a relevant group to study power relations and process of empowerment, mothers in CAIF are central actors as the means to achieve child development, due to the importance of the vinculum mother-child during the first childhood. Local studies of poor populations in marginal areas of Montevideo show that in situation of socio-economical and family crisis and disintegration women as mothers are those who remain being the support for their children (Bernardi et al. 1996, p.91). This position of women in Development has been controversial during the last decades due the risk of turning them into passive recipients or functional means without voice and the possibility to exert their right of self-determination (Mohanty, 2003).

I chose purposive sampling, where I chose the participants in this atudy according to "informational considerations" (Mikkelsen, 1995, p.193). Since the interest was in the empowerment of women, I chose to hear the perspective of those whom I was supposed to talk about, trying to give them voice. I consider, based on the theoretical perspective I chose for the research, that there is no one true or unique perspective of reality. Nevertheless, I assume the limitation of the recovering people voice, given the process of codification and re-codification that took place in the research. There were 9 women interviewed in groups and 3 women interviewed individually.

The criteria for setting the group was " intra group homogeneity" (Flowerdew, & Martin (red.), 2005, p.134), to let the people speak freely about their experience. I

chose natural groups that got together spontaneously to maximize confidence to speak. However, there were different levels of confidence among them.

In the case of individual interviews, the purpose was to get the perspective of women, all of them mothers of children attending to CAIF, representing exceptional cases. The exceptionality was related to the historical value of their experience (between 10 and 14 years in relation with the plan), and the multiple roles that these women developed along the history of CAIF intervention: two of them being mothers of former CAIF´s children and current employees of the center, and the third one being a former pupil of CAIF and current mother of one of the pupil.

4.7 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Considering the method of analysis to be used and the exploratory character of the study, the approach of the data collection was qualitative. The main method was interview both individual and in group. There were also observation and documental research. The original plan considered only a general structure that was specified later in the field, after the first interviews with the pedagogic team and the center´s coordinator. There were also progressive adjustments considering the data that was being collected and the relation established with the interviewed. The general question and the topics approached in the interviews and observations can be found in appendix 3.

4.7.1 INTERVIEWS

I spent one week to observe and get to know the people in order to do a suitable recruitment for the interviews. Although I had a free-flowing relation with the team, so their disposition to collaborate with the research, I preferred to approach the women independently in order to make them clear that I was an autonomous researcher. independency from CAIF. , . My intention was to achieve with the participants a relation in which they could talk "freely" (though this was relative) about their relation with the institution. Consequently, the first days in the field I approached them, during the time they were waiting for their children in the centre´s yard (back and in front of the building) having a chat. The waiting time

was due the adaptation period for the children, who stayed at the kindergarten progressively more time, so it took between 15 minutes at the beginning of the week until half an hour at the end of it. Firstly, I got into the group´s conversation, after a while I introduced myself and the research. Finally, I asked them to participate in group interviews. Graciela joined me one week later.

However, even though the interviewees had clear idea of the researcher's role and the independency of the research from CAIF, we were identified as belonging to the professional group, and similar to CAIF´s staff. For instance, I had been introduced to some mothers by the centre´s coordinator during the visit to the facilities; and I introduced Graciela later on, people saw us freely accessing those parts of the facilities where mainly staff has free access, and while going around, some newcomers (mothers) asked us about information for registering their child or about permission to get in.

4.7.1.1 Interviews with key informants

These interviews had the purpose of getting information, complementary to the documentary research, about the context, namely the history and characteristics of the neighborhood, characteristics and methodology of the development intervention, institutional relations and history. There were three interviews with the Coordinator of the center, one with the Social Worker, one with the President of one of the Housing Association of the area, one with the team of the Opportune Experience Program and one with two members of the Consultant team of CAIF in the national level.

4.7.1.2 Individual in depth interviews

I got to know about these cases through the meetings I had with the coordinator and through the participant observation I did. I also used unstructured interviews in which I approach them explaining the objectives of the research and asking a general question: How good is your involvement in the CAIF for your daily life? After this, the conversation conducted to many topics in relation with their relations within and outside CAIF.

4.7.1.3 Group in depth interviews

Initially, it was meant to organize focus group, one of the most valuable strategies for giving insights to exploratory studies like the current one.(Wellington& Szczerbinski, p.88) However, both Graciela and me were not enough trained in this method, so we decided to do group interviews conducted by a pair of researchers, in which we had experience. They are similar to focus groups in the sense that there are interactions among them motivating and jogging each other memories and thoughts. (ibid) The additional advantages using this method were:1)- the shared role of facilitator would allow us to support each other keeping the focus on the research question and being alert to the emerging topics, 3)-since there were unstructured interviews, they allowed to explore women´s different interests letting them communicate in a style they use to do spontaneously when they meet at the center waiting for their children.

Regarding the place of the interviews, we agreed with the women to have the meetings in the centre´s yard, while they were waiting for their children. Doing this, we made sure their participation, because they had to be there at least half an hour to wait for their children. We also saved them time. The latter was an ethic concern, because there was a busy time for parents (School started). The disadvantages of meeting there were the interruptions. Children asked for their mothers when they came out to play and the educators, sometimes, approached the parents to give some news or to agree schedule for the next day.

We interviewed two groups of women, two times each. The intention was to get to know each other better with the women in order to go into the topics in depth. We always reflected and evaluated the interview right after it in order to make the necessary adjustments for the next one.

4.7.2 OBSERVATION

I developed open observations along the visits to the field, registering both facts and reflections. I reflected after the visits about the facts and also wrote down my thoughts and feelings I experienced in the field as well as my reflections about them. I did it systematically the same day or the day after in the early morning to

keep the information fresh. This helped to direct the research in detail considering the feedback from the field: formulation questions for the interviews, reorienting the approach to different actors and adjusting the strategies with the colleague that was cooperating with me. I took some pictures of the center and surroundings to support the observations of the physical environment.

The majority of observations were non participant, but I did two participants observations. In one case they invited me for lunch and in the other for a planning meeting. I got direct information about the dynamic of the center and specificities of CAIF´s methodology to feed my context´s information, and to saw the participation of the two women that were mothers to children of CAIF and later became employees.

4.7.3 DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

I got general documents about CAIF, political and legal framework of the plan through its web page previous the field work. I also collected part of the documents regarding methodological guidelines in the interview with the consultants, and CAIF Hormiguitas´s documents thanks to its coordinator. This method was used to get information about the context, and the official discourse on empowerment and participation.

5. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I draw on the collected data to establish the bases to answer the research question: *How is the process of women's empowerment, more specifically the mothers of pupils of CAIF "Las Hormiguitas", expressed?*

When doing so, I try to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which empowerment of participants is expressed in a participatory development intervention. The process of codification of the information collected in the field was done by questioning the data with the specific objectives formulated before. I focus on the interviews to women, and later on I complete the analysis

approaching the interviews with the staff, observations and documents. I asked the data: how is the transformative capacity expressed in women´s descriptions of the reality? What measures are described by women alike as empowering? Which are the signs that constitute the discourse on empowerment in this participatory development intervention, where are they, how are they connected? Whereas I tried to be open to the data to generate different categories to those I managed in my initial theoretical framework, the former determined strongly my interpretation of the data. However, during the process of analysis, driven by the data, I, unexpectedly, had to include Critical Pedagogy in the theoretical framework.

I develop the analysis organizing it in the following main topics: Group and individual Identity, Participation and Negotiating Participation.

As I said before, I assume a constructionist approach in which I consider the participants as active subjects who produce different versions of social reality that are neither true nor false, but that inform about the ways the respondents recreate (reproducing and/or modifying) the dominant discourses about the social life (Silverman, 2006, p. 137). Discourse here is understood as a "structured totality" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985 cited in Jorgönsen and Philips , 2008, p. 26) constituted both by language and material practices, since the access to the material is always through language. Then, I understand that when the women talk, they are but also their material lives; not only constructing talking. The other way around, practices that they talk about, and the practice of talking itself have specific meanings depending on the context (Potter, 1996, p.108). The latter relates to what Potter (ibid) calls "the action orientation of descriptions", regarding them as part of an action to be accomplished in certain context.

Consequently, the interview data is not treated as a reflection of the reality but as a reflection of the social encounter among the interviewers and interviewees whereas the person who talked produced herself as a specific type of person in relation to the topics, in interaction with other people, in a given scenario. (Silverman, 2006, p.137). Therefore, I consider these descriptions in the context

they were generated. This context or scenario is constituted by the place where the interviews were developed, by the presentation of the research activity with its relations with CAIF´s dynamic, the interview strategy, and the consequent role of the researcher.

5.1 GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

The issues in relation to group and individual identity were recurrent in the interviews. From a theoretical perspective, they are crucial for the analysis of power relations in a context of profound social inequalities. Is the case for "Developed world" and "Underdeveloped World" in the context of Development, or in capitalist society where class stratification is so dramatic.

5.1.1 STEREOTYPES AND CONSTRUCTION OF A SUBJUGATED POSITION

The extract 1 is from the first interview to group 1. It is relevant to say that I encountered the different participants at different times: I met the first time Lola[6], Katerine and Lucía some days before the interview (during the natural meetings), whereas, we met together with Graciela) Yamila and Silvia the day of the interview the first time and invited them to stay. Although I explained to the whole group the purpose of the research as to see" how, in which ways CAIF work is useful to their daily lives?", during the natural meetings I add to this my concern about social change "I am interested into look at how things can change and be more fair". Then, at least for some members of this group, the space of the interview was habilitating to talk about inequalities and describe them to an interviewer who was interested in surpass them. As In the analysis of the following extract (see appendix 2, extract 1) it will be seen that this is relevant, from a constructionist approach.

Before this extract, there had been a dialogue about the ways women discriminate each other in CAIF on the base of their dirtiness or cleanliness, so I asked: *"Do you mean that here one values cleanliness? Could it be? Here in the center?"*

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[6] The names of the participants are not the real ones in order to keep confidentiality

When reading what women answered as a construction (as it was explained before), I understand that they were portraying themselves, and talking about the neighbourhood in a way that was acceptable to the already explained circumstances, as well as reflecting the contemporary ways of understanding, experiencing and talking about the emergent topics in the broader social context (Silverman2006, p.137)

Therefore, one can interpret that the concept of inequalities (so unequal power relations), that was the backdrop for this conversation, is in close relation, for these women, to the construction of group identity. Laclau and Mouffe (1985 cited in Jörgensen & Phillips , 2008, p.43) assert that "the subject acquires its identity by being represented discursively and the identity is discursively constituted through chains of equivalence where signs are sorted and linked together in chains in opposition to other chains. Identity is always relationally organized (the subject is something because it is contrasted with something that it is not)". Finally "identity is understood as identification with a subject position in a discursive structure." (ibid)

What I see in women´s description is that, in contemporary Uruguayan society, identity is under the influence of stereotypes. As Loomba (2002, p.59) explains "stereotyping involves a reduction of images and ideas to a simple and manageable form. Rather than simple ignorance or lack of 'real´ knowledge, it is a method of processing information" (see for example lines 2 and 3, 9-14 and 29-32).

In fact, women were depicting a situation that has been studied by post-colonial authors as central to achieve and maintain the subjugation of one group over other, which is the production of identity. According to Loomba (2002, p60) the function of the stereotypes is "to perpetuate an artificial sense of difference between 'self´ and 'other´", and this has indeed a relation with unequal power relations and subjugation, they are the means through which dominant groups maintain and justify the subjugation of subjugated groups. Like this, identifying themselves as "us" and the oppressed group as "them", and by associating certain

attributes defined as bad, elites attribute themselves a positive identity and justify the latter´s subjugated position and the necessity of being ruled by superiors. In the research situation (as described before), the women presented themselves as aware of social differences; they talked about them being categorized by "others"; those that live in other neighborhoods than settlements (line 8 and 17), that have valuable things like a "motorcycle" (line 21) or other things that the "blacks" can steal (line 18). The signifiers used to weaved the identity of the group of people to which these women belong are black, criminal ("steal"), illegal (not pay electricity and water services), without money, dirty, living in settlements (where you live determines the way people "look at you") while the signifiers associated with those groups in power to define the categories are material possessions and place of origin (where they come from), far from settlements, places where one pay the services that get (see line 13 and14). Identity construction is linked, in this context, to socio-economic relations and civil rights. This is particularly clear regarding racist attributions in group identity construction, which according to Marx (n.d cited in Loomba, 2002, p.124) served capitalism system to appropriate the labor of colonized people. In this sense, it is interesting to trace colonial racism in the above social thinking, what call the attention on the weight of Latin-American colonial history on the nowadays social structure: "black" reminds the African people taken to America as slaves, and that in Rio de la Plata[7] were "used" to perform tasks as servants and laborer in Colonial society. The subjugated position of black people continued during the Post –Colonial period, and nowadays, studies of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística of Uruguay (Bucheli&Cabela, 2006:51), indicate that there is still labor discrimination based on racial differences, and that black population in the country has lower incomes and access to lower educational level than white population. Then, it is not casual that these people living in poor neighborhoods and developing the same labors, even though having white skin, are constructed as blacks. It shows how class and

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[7] The region called "Río de la Plata" or "Silver River" includes Argentina and Uruguay, that share a common Colonial History around the "Silver River" through which the silver from the Colonial mines in South America (Bolivia and Perú) circulated to Europe.

race are interwoven in the society determining CAIF´s participants social position and rights as citizens.

As it was seen, identity is constructed and re-constructed socially in the daily experience;*"when you go down town, whatever"*(line 29). Identity is never fixed or stable as well as Discourse. Therefore, when they went to CAIF the categorizations were present in the relationships among participants and between participants and staff. Categories determine the relationships, institutional organization and management, and they can be reproduced or transformed by the different groups and people. Women depicted many attributes (signs) that influence in the rearticulation of their identities, so of the social categories within CAIF: studies *"it doesn´t matter (0.1) her teacher ((of her daughter)) comes from there around the corner and you don´t see that they make differences with her because she is teacher, she studied..."*; possessions (material) *"there are people that because earn a little more […]* work outside home *"because you work and you have salary and I am at home […] ,* good nursing practices *"but sometimes the people make the difference, because I explain you something(.) I can come with the best pant but if my son comes with a snotty nose you can be sure that she will be frowned upon;* and where do you come from, as in the case of teachers that *"come from the down town"* and had *"considerable social life .* Due CAIF provided the tools for nurturing their children, informed about their social rights and supported with their services those working mothers, the signs that conformed women identity got articulated with children development: "dirty" with "mothers that do not clean their children", "come from with teachers" and "different parts of the neighborhood", "material possessions" with "working mother", and appeared a new relevant sign "studies", that is associated with teachers. The dominant discourse about social group identities, still dominate the social life in CAIF. Teachers were situated in a higher status by its association with "coming from other parts", as well as those participants that came from the "well off neighborhoods of the area". Like this, the latter became associated to the "others" that classified them. Studies, and by, association, professional knowledge acquire also a privileged position in relation to non studies. Finally, those mothers that

work and have a salary were also in a higher status that those that do reproductive work at home.

5.1.2 STEREOTYPES AND POWER STRUGGLES

In the depicted conversation, women reacted against being categorized as belonging to a lower social category; they managed this conflict rhetorically using different strategies to portray themselves as valuable people. I will analyze them and put them in relation to power struggles within CAIF´s workshops. One strategy is to identify themselves with "the outsiders" by letting know their relationship (line 17,18 and 21) or by differentiating themselves from their neighbours by calling them as the "outsiders" call them: "hoodlums" (line 26). One could say that they make use of their "hybrid" condition (Bhabha, 1994 cited in Loomba, 2002, p147) to demand their rights. Stating their blood links to the groups that *naturalize* them as different, they undermine the discourse, so becoming subjects with rights and dignity, in opposition to slave that had been linked to black. Many post-colonial authors talk about the multiple efforts colonizers had to do to keep the discourse based on racism given the process of mixture (mestizaje) in the Colonial America. This mixture of races but also of cultures determined the hybrid condition of the colonized, that represented the always unfinished project of the colonization and a place for resistance (ibid).

Another strategy is to neglect the existence of problems that constitute the attributions the "others" assigned to their group identity. This is done by using detailed descriptions, a rhetorical strategy that leads the listeners to see the story through the narrator´s eyes: Silvia described with detail her personal experience of living close to those who are supposed to steal, and assured (line 28) that she had no problems (Potter, 1996, p.164). She reinforced her arguments finishing with "thanks god", which identifies her with a religious believe and so with certain positive moral attributes and an accepted sense of good and bad. Then, she qualified herself as a witness and, at the same time denies the label of criminal and illegal. Finally, Lola counteracts the power of the "outsiders" to exclude them by displaying her desinteredness on the exclusion (see line 22).

As we saw before, in CAIF all this aspects have to be reread: we saw that CAIF project is to provide the participants with those tools of modern society that make it possible for them to get integrated and exert their citizenship. When doing this new signifiers enter to play a role in social categorization, such as "good nurturing practices" and "working mother" and get combined with those pre-existent: "where do you come from" "material possessions". To be skillful nurturing your child make you respectful and put you in a position in which you can talk about others s Yanira summarized: *"But if you take your son every day with the same pant and you do not wash it and it comes with the hair dirty What do you intend? […] and in addition you have the courage of talking about others […] who has to talk about whom? They about you or you about them?"* Even over those who have material things. This reminds the process of whiteness discussed by post-colonial authors, in which the "black people" had the possibility of becoming "respected people" as whites if they acquire the manners and practices of the whites (Loomba, 2002, p.173). In the same way, people that are considered less valuable in the society can become more respected if they develop those practices attributed to the modern individual.

I do not mean that giving people access to health and educational skills is meaningless, it is extremely important. Especially if it is of good quality and the environment is respectful as it is, according to participants, in "Las Hormiguitas". It indeed has, as it was seen, both practical effects and impact in women´s self-confidence, *"it helps you to feel better with yourself"*, probably motivating them to react to stereotypes. However, reaction to stereotypes, is not enough to get emancipated, because, as Freire (1993) sustains, if the oppressed becomes oppressor it get trapped into the process of "des-humanization", so incapable to free herself. The latter is only possible by developing a critical consciousness. From a post colonial perspective, Ella Shohat (1993 cited in Loomba 2002, p.178), qualifying the concept of hibridity, unveils, as I understand, how pervasive is the experience of subjugation that can undermine the transformative capacity of the hybrid subject by making her more conformist or getting her assimilated to the dominant ways of understanding. Like this, the above dialogue calls attention to

the conflicts the women face when constructing their subjectivity in a neighborhood labeled as poor, being the latter concept link to dangerous, dirty, criminal or illegal. They are perfectly aware of how they are labeled and they react against the label discursively[8]; but they do not´ problematize the nature of the labels. They do not challenge the system that put them in this unequal power relations in which they are "looked at" by others in a degrading manner. By this conformist attitude they sustain the practice of stereotyping, transferring the categories to "other" people (their neighbours), hiding or displacing those problems that have been naturalized by the dominant group as their negatives attributes (violence, dirty, etc). In Freire´s words (1973, p.23), they "adapt and adjust to their circumstances instead of seeking to integrate themselves with reality".

5.1.3 WOMEN, FAMILY, AND MOTHERHOOD

Throughout the interviews, women expressed that what counts are the familiar links and the place this family has in the neighborhood. This net protected them from aggressions and supported them in difficult circumstances. Institutions were not reliable. It was clear when they were talking about security in the neighborhood: they describe the Police and the Judicial System as negligent and authoritarian, not trustfworhy as institutions to protect them from *aggressions.*

"There are two sentry boxes there (.)There is a guy(.) that is sitting everyday there with the uniform drinking "mate"[9], eating "bizcochos" [10](0.1)and there is a pick up truck at the corner there (0.1)[…]but they robed it ((the bus at the bus stop)) and the pick up track was not there"

In Uruguay one can drink "mate" the whole day, even during working hours, but only during the breaks with "bizcochos". Then here, I understand she meant the person in charge of taking care of the security was not doing his job but resting. Moreover, she undermined guard´s entitlement by calling him "a guy with the

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[8] Discourse is understood here both as material and language, so people construct their reality by talking about it, giving meaning to material things, to actions and concepts they make them exist, and the other way around, omitting the latter, they blurred them (Jorgönsen and Philips, 2008, p.19).
[9] "Mate" an infusion of yerba mate (Ilex paraguariensis) common of South America
[10] "bizcochos" are kind of dry pies

uniform" , so putting in doubt his professional competence.He had a uniform but she did not assume that he was a police (Potter, 1996, p.137). She detailed all the resources that were displayed for security, and afterwards disentitled all of them by telling us the failure preventing the robbery of the bus (ibid).

During the same conversation, the same women had described an experience of being robbed in the neighborhood *"we were coming with my syster […] and they told to my syster 'give me the jacket'(.) and my sister told him(.) 'you take my jacket and I know where I have to go to get it back' […] 'oh, but you are Carlos systers'(.) and he run away […] and they told me 'don´t tell your brother because he will kill me'* In contrast with the above speech, here, the person who can protect them, her brother, was entitled by attributing him the capacity to scare the thieves. He is not only portrayed as brave, but as completely trustworthy. He would even "kill" to protect his sister (ibid).

However the strong links had the other face of the coin: the extension of the dependency that, plus their limited incomes, extended the dependency on the "grandparents" in time causing problems in terms of authorities. Many of the women had their houses close to their parents or parents in law, even in the same plot, and their children came back and forward to their grandparents. This is due, in part, to the fact that they did not have money to get their own plot, but in most of the cases because there are emotional links between grandparents and children, that tied them there. For instance, one of the mothers commented:

"[…] I lived at the back of my mother in law´s […] and once I took him ((her son)) out for a week to see how <u>he</u> could get adapted if I would go to live on myself (.) because we have plans to go to live apart (.) and the one that got ill was my mother in law ((laugh)) she got something like depression […]

While some of the women solve by this establishing strict limits and taking the children out to *"protect them from future suffering, when their grandparents were gone"*, others prefer to negotiate spaces and authority with their parents or parents in law to whom they feel accountable, due to the support they gave them in the

most difficult moments. *"when my husband left me and I was completely alone"* *"when my son was sick" "when I gave birth" "when he ((partner)) left to Congo ((to join the U.N Army))"*

Their value and power as women are in an intrinsic relationship to motherhood. They get brave to do things that they would not do, if they were not mothers *"to beg for their children when they did not have money"* because *"it is not a shame if you beg for child, it would be if you beg money and then you go and by clothes for yourself"* Then, to be a "mother", protect you of loosing dignity in the practice of begging ("not shame") which would indeed be associated with less dignity, if was only associated with women (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985 cited in Jörgensen and Phillips, 2008, p.26). For example, talking about possible mistreatment of teachers (from private school) to their children, *"at the first try:: I hit her leaving her unconscious"*

But at the same time, this power gives them more responsibility. Every time, when we talked about children nurturing they present themselves as the main accountable for that: when they did not have money, their husband did not have job *"as mother you get more worry because your children [...]"*, when the children were sick and their husband were abroad working they *"did not tell him anything when he call, because there was no point in doing that, he would be worried and he could not do anything"*, when they have to teach their children some habits they *"give him ((partner)) the task of showering him ((son))"* or ask for *"help me with this"*. The men are "told" what to do in order to fulfill their duties as fathers while women "know". They make appear motherhood knowledge as natural, intrinsic to being a woman.

These huge responsibilities as mothers, turn them into vulnerable citizens as women. They do not have other spaces as women, because they do not have time to look for them. They have to do the reproductive work at home and take care of their children´s welfare, so they have to bring them to school or CAIF, to the

health center to vaccinate them, and to other social institutions where they continue playing the role of mothers. The role of mother "eats everything"

What did they do when children were at the daycare? They "have more time to clean…" and to "be more with the baby" and very seldom "to visit my friend that lives by the same block as me and talk ((in company of their baby))

In CAIF, the staff approaches them as "mothers", especially when they are in groups and when they regard them in third person "I have a mother waiting" clarified one of the educators to the group, when she had to leave.

If identity is "constituted through chains of equivalence where signs are sorted and linked together in chains in opposition to other chains (Laclau and Mouffe cited in Jörgensen and Phillips , 2008, p.43), I imagine this women identity chain with many big links in relation with "mother", such as brave, endure, strong, proud, and few weak links in relation with "women" "crying" (when their partners leave them), "abandoned", "pretentious" (when they dress up nicely), "weak health" . If I complete the identity chain with the signs mentioned before about their group identity as "poor", it becomes a quiet unbalanced chain. Then, I wonder how rich could be a relation with their children if they can only be mother, how can they let them go without becoming "depress"? How could they show them ways of personal realization if the only one is to be mother? Should they have to keep the dependency of their children from them as grandmothers? Should they keep giving birth more children to attend to CAIF? Or, as one of the women told me: "I would borrow a child and keep coming"

5.2 PARTICIPATION

I identify Participation as an area of analysis because CAIF is compromised, discursively, with *"participation as an instrument for development, social equity and empowerment"* (Tejera, 2006, p.10) , and because in my theoretical framework the link empowerment –participation is critical for the analysis of the measures that women identify as empowering.

5.2.1 SPACES AND FACILITATORS FOR PARTICIPATION IN LAS HORMIGUITAS

Based on the different data collected, I understand that both the spaces and facilitators for participation in CAIF -Las Hormiguitas (Ants) are underpinned by their particular history and CAIF´s development strategy.

"Ana (.) can you take care there?", it was the beginning of the ants´ track in 1992. The situation was described by the coordinator as *"terrible"* because there were burglary, assaults and *"many other problems"* *"[…] so men started to leave and women remained alone with their children".* Consequently, SOCODE thought about opening a daycare for the mothers to go to work because the communal networks were not enough. .

The coordinator, described Hormiguitas´ history as interwove with the history of the community, both very linked to the housing history in the area. They started to organize the daycare and the *"Cooperative Housing joined that project and they offer a room(0.2) that they had half prepared as a building work daycare"* to keep their children cared while they were working there . When they got a project and built a room in material *" the cooperative itself took us out the room",* then the other cooperative asked them to go over ther and afterwards *"we came here".* The latter was due to the fact that the room of the cooperative was full of building material, and was used for many different purposes.

Both people and institution shared similar fates: being evicted, being subjects and objects of solidarity at different times. The institution got involved with different groups of people in a story of encounters and disencounters: they left "Las Palmas" to go to the Cooperative (though they continued working with children from the former), some of the neighbors of "Las Palmas"[11] moved far away some stayed at the "Evolutionary Nucleuses" and others initiated new settlements as "17 de Julio", from which many children come from to Las Hormiguitas nowadays. They were victims of robberies as the neighbors, as one of the oldest members of the staff, and former mother to three former pupils explained: *"when*

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[11] Area of the neighborhood where the Evolutionary Nucleus are nowadays

we get founded they robed us everything" "they took e::verything, everything, everything, […] there to start again, going back and forward, back and forward" "now, it is a luxury […]"

5.2.1.1 Colaborative work

People from the neighborhood participated in neither the administration nor in the decision making process of the daycare, since the beginning until the moment of the fieldwork, but there was a coolaborative work. For instance, when they were robbed in 2002, as the mentioned member told us: *"we organized a collection with all the mothers ((they collected food to cook for the children))"* . Nowadays, the parents also participate in activities organized by the staff to improve center conditions combined with socialization .For instance, by the time of the fieldwork they organized an activity to paint a carriage they had in the yard, that they use for meetings.

5.2.1.2 Trustful environment and Flexibility

People coming to CAIF –Las Hormiguitas received assistance in many areas related to children and family that, given its particular history with the neighborhood, have acquired a particular style. Las Hormiguitas, had been constant providing the service *"we did not close […]"* despite the difficulties, becoming a trustful place, where, they knew could approach when they have difficulties, and, as one of the mothers said *"there was always somebody that guided you"*. For those that had been involved longer time it is even *"a familiar"* place. "To stay" acquires major significance in this context, marked by histories of abandonment, evictions, uproot.

Along the years, and despite staff had been changing in their members, Las Hormiguitas kept an institutional identity of solidarity, where times, plans and methodology were flexible to adapt to the needs the staff could perceive from the people. The fact that part of the staff was from the neighborhood also helped to create this easy environment: I was present when a mother called to one of the educators that will borrow the former an overall for her son,. We could observe how people came in and out all the time with different issues, sometimes with

booked times with the Social Worker, sometimes without; and Ana María talking at the phone or personally with the women always with kindness and familiarity. An example of this flexibility and adjustment was the workshop of opportune experiences, where the professionals let the mothers influence the methodology. I think this is an especially relevant example because it was the most valued center´s activity by the people I interviewed, so I will approach it later on.

However this is a source of tension for the team; *"to be open to the community is ok and that helped us to have the relation we have now and the demand for the service, but maybe we are also missing the aim" "There was a moment when everybody was coming in and out and we could not work, there were no limits, so we could not work... then we had to say ok, we have to come insidefor a while"*, the outside is perceived as demanding, out of track. And it constituted indeed an overload for the team that tried to fulfill their duties regarding plan activities.

5.2.1.3 Children´s Pre-School Education
Regarding school activities with children 2-3 years old, women were informed about their educational process, and at the beginning of the school year they participated in the first lessons with their children to help them to get adapt to the new environment. Educators kept parents informed about children development process and they were welcome to ask doubts about it. Women were aware that they could be called by phone if anything went wrong with their children so they can came, and that made them feel quiet. *"they call me, if anything happen, I have the mobile and::" "[…] and I was afraid about leaving him […]now we are doing this(0.1)that we see them from here and::, I was here and he never left the class, because that, ok(.) I get more quiet […]*

5.2.1.4 School´s Trips
The staff also organizes trips every year for the whole family to participate, in which they visited different places that parents tell they enjoyed. Sometimes they contributed with some money to pay the bus and the staff did the rest regarding organization. *"[…]we went to the zoo::[…]" "we went to Molino de Perez"*

Graciela:*"how do you organize the trips?"* *"no, they <u>tell</u> you(.)within the group(.) during the vaca::tions who want to go somewhere"*

5.2.1.5 Workshops to develop adults background

Women also had the opportunity to participate in workshops to develop their background in different areas (garden, baking, etc). INAU organized some of these workshops during the year and the staff communicated the women about them and made the contact for those who were interested to get involved. There were also experiences such as one woman, mother to one of CAIF´s pupils, that was invited to get training to be educator, and she was working there at the moment of the fieldwork. However, this was not something women from group interview mention at all.

5.2.1.6 Short workshops for parents

What one of the mothers in the group mentioned where some short workshops or speeches in relation with children that are also possible to assist. However, this is a space where not so many people assist as it was stated by Adriana, the Social Worker of the center in interview " there is not a high percent that comes" . Asked about the explanation, Adriana said: *"there were some conflicts from outside among participants, that were brought inside, but it is not the only cause... it is multicausal"*. Other possible explanation was given by other staff member*"there are people that do not like meetings, for example [...] she gets a headache, she get nervous"*

5.2.1.7. Workshop for pregnant mothers

The activities in which mothers I interviewed, participated the most, where the workshops for pregnant women and the opportune experiences workshop. The first one was regarded as a place where they mostly receive information and guidance very useful for the moment of birth and also a place where they can expose their doubts and give and receive information from other participants. This was something that improved their self confidence and sense of control to the experience of pregnancy, where women are usually in a situation of high vulnerability. *"the workshops were very useful to me, [...] because when I was to*

give her birth I new everything that (0.2) all about what was happening(.) although the labor was complicated and everything, I already knew everything. Then, that was also good"

5.2.1.8 Opportune experience workshop "a place for us"

This space was the most valued by the women as a space of encounter with other women and enjoyable. *"It was very useful to me […] because [..] I am not with my daughter´s father anymore(.) he did not either see her::[…]at the beginning she got upset about stopping meeting him from one day to the other […] and I was afraid […] and it was so useful ((the workshop)) because […]it was a space where you could talk and express yourself as you wanted, because there were mothers in the same situation or in similar situation […] it was good for instance the opinion of other mothers, that maybe had gone through the same thing […]"* other woman described it as *"it was a space for us, we had two hour for us" "where we could talk while the children play" "we were for the children, in a different way […] because we are all the time with them but:: there we were more for them […]and we could chat with other mothers" "we got to know many things that were happening in the neighbourhood(.) because you know(.) sometimes you are every day at home or you are working and you don´t get to know [..] cause for example they were doing Papa Nicolau close to my house and half part of the mothers didn´t know[..] when we came here we told them when they would come back "*

It is recognized by a member of the staff as *"the institutional space that enables, nowadays, that people meet weekly, with a defined framework but that enables them to express themselves the most"* This quality was also due to the characteristics of certain colleagues that have been willing to hear the mothers' concerns""

5.2.1.9 Social Work and eventual group mobilization

Participation in the activities is individual (people attend as individuals, parents to specific children) but it can eventually derive in collective initiatives when there are common concerns. This was the case when mothers brought up their

difficulties with the health service at Opportune Experience Workshop and the Social Worker helped them to get organized and use the proper mechanisms to complain, achieving a significative improvement of the situation. *"it was a recurrent topic(0.3)and still it is so […] but there were some achievements (.)the Director got to kno:w about what was happening and it was possible to articulate some things"* The experience is recalled by one of the representatives as a powerful experience that reinforced her self esteem when realized herself capable of counteracting arguments of people in a higher social status: *"I would not imagine myself doing so good when talking to a doctor, I remained calm while arguing while he lost control"*

5.2.1.10 Workplace

The fact that CAIF hired people from the neighborhood gave the possibility to some women of getting involved in the staff, so in other kind of social network and in the decision making process. Especially at the time of the field work, that the institution was in a transition period to transfer the governance of the center to the already constituted Employees´ Cooperative. The staff met frequently, and had assumed different responsibilities within the cooperative, so these people from the neighbor have the opportunity to influence in varied ways the center development. Even one of them who does not like the cooperative meetings, because they "talk a lot and it takes a long time to decide something" and she does not *"… like to talk in front of many people"* exerted her influence. From her workplace, chatting with her colleagues individually, making fun and talking seriously making the list for the shop (to prepare food for the children). They discuss the needs, prices, brands, and she had the authoritative voice there, taking care of CAIF economy (savings) as it would be hers. The Educator that was first mother at CAIF, got to know CAIF after having failure experiences as mother with some private daycares. She highlighted the team work as a possibility to influence others work and get influenced by others in a way that produce a better educational practice. *"In CAIF you have a team(0.1) you have many people working, people that see your work and the other´s (0.1)so, you share experiences[…]you can ask for*

opinions yourself(.)or you see something in other colleague and you can comment her on that(0.1) here there is the confidence to tell (0.2) 'don´t you think so?

5.2.2 DECISION MAKING: ADMINISTRATION AND PLANNING

SOCODE is the organization that manage Las Hormiguitas nowadays, it administrate the resources coming from the state hiring the people to implement the plan according to the guidelines of CAIF central and coordinate with other organizations. The annual plan of the center CAIF –Las Hormiguitas is done in coordination by members of SOCODE and the staff based on the annual diagnostic which intend to figure out the local needs and possible responses from the center based in a SWOT[12] analysis. The pedagogical plan is done by the pedagogical team (teachers and educators) and the coordinator.

Until 2010, the administration was responsibility of Ana, the coordinator, that was accountable to SO.CO.DE and by now it is being transferred to the Employees Cooperative.

5.2.2.1 Information and Decision making

The extract that I will analyze here[13] is part of the second interview with group 1. Departing from the news that one of the mothers had just got a job, we started to talk about how she was going to organize her time with the children. From this chat emerged the issue of access to CAIF full time schedule; while most of the children attend 4 hours to the kindergarten, those whose mothers work and are 3 years old can stay 4 hours more. Women subtly complained about the cover of the service and the changing criteria to be eligible to it alternating critiques (1- 10) with positive things of LH (lines 11-15) and justifying the lack (line 16-17).

They let us see that there are problems with the information they get from the program about their rights to receive certain benefits. It is possible to see that in the establishment of the criteria for the services and the reasons for the restriction were actions where they do not have a say. They were not sure where the

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[12] SWOT analysis (in Spanish: FODA) is basically the identification of Institutional Strenght, Weakness, as well as external Opportunities and Threats.
[13] SEE EXTRACT 2 IN APENDIX

decisions come from, because when we inquired about where they should go to suggest, they doubt about different people duties and power regarding decisions. *"well but here they tell you that is(0.2) INAME or INAU[14]", "I was talking with Adriana ((one of the educators)) [...]" "I talked to Ana María (the coordinator)) the last year [...] and supposedly having proof of working they let him (.) but now it seems that the thing changed [...]* .

Analizing the spaces and facilitators for participation, I could see that the participation of the women regarding decision making, was in the level of information. Participants did not take part on the decision making process; they did not own the project. These descriptions, coincidently with others, portray the State and the staff as owners of the plan and the participants as the beneficiaries of it. Information was fluent regarding operative issues and children educational process individually, but regarding decision making, there are some concerns from the women.

5.3 NEGOTIATING PARTICIPATION

CAIF- Las Hormiguitas is identified by the women both as service provider and as part of social policies (as it will be seen soon); two social spaces that get in relation with women´s identity in different ways. Therefore, the complex processes of identity construction as undervalued citizens, and the role given by CAIF to the participants determine their position and relation to the center, from which women have to negotiate their participation.

The previous extract was linked to the following, and the three of them were part of the same conversation: the first situates CAIF among social policies and basic services (electricity and water), and the second is about the struggles to get the benefits from the former. The three extracts are related in a way that determines

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[14] INAU (Instituto Nacional del niño y el Adolescente/ National Institute of Children and Teenager) which its former name was INAME (Instituto Nacional del Menor/Minor National Institut) is the State office that leads CAIF plan at the National level. Its duties are: to provide the funding to be administrated by Social organizations, to implement guidelines actions through the Plan´s Executive Secretary and the Division of Promotion and Development of the Plan, control and monitoring of plan´s management,training of human resources, strengthening of Social organizations, evaluation of Institutional Project, inter-sector coordination.

the meanings of what the women said. Therefore I continue the numbers of the lines correlative to the previous intervention.

5.3.1 WOMEN STRATEGIES TO SURVIVE, SERVICES AND CAIF

In the conversation analyzed in the previous section, women where softly complaining about the insufficient coverage of CAIF – Las Hormiguitas and in the next one they situate CAIF in the category of services and commodities.

From line 18 to 24 women situated CAIF among social policies claiming that the insufficiency of the service provided by Las Hormiguitas is part of a broader "lack" of "centers". Again, they make the blame (of Las Hormiguitas) softer making the responsibility appear vague, widening the issue to public social services that form part of social policies; those which one should "not pay" (line 23 and 24), so leaving CAIF among the former. Then, they explained why it was necessary for daycare service to be cost- free, because that they had to pay other utilities (line 26 and 27), and they are supposed to pay other services (line 27), that they do not pay at all (line 26). Like this, in lines 26 and 27 the argument to have free daycare became complicated and confused. It seems that Lola was giving a reason (spending in water and electricity service) but suddenly she realized that it was not her case, so she lower the voice when mentioning so. Furthermore, after this extract, when Graciela asked about the payment of services, they made it appear normal and common by saying that *"everyone"* did it (Potter, 1996, p.160). Finally, to complete the meaning of this way of talking about the services, when they started to recognize that the practice of getting free energy could be detrimental to those neighbors that pay the service (because they were overcharged), they shift the topic to children´s sphincter control training; a common topic in Pre-school education, so it was in Las Hormiguitas.

My interpretation of this is that the women, stereotyped and assimilated by the dominant discourse that situates them as bad citizens, or not citizens at all[15], have difficulties to see and describe their strategies of getting electricity other than

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[15] See part 1, where I analyzed the relation between women identity and slavery made in the first extract

"cheating the services" and this put them in difficult position in the context of CAIF as service provider. Since the strategy of getting electricity is of common knowledge, they know that CAIF staff knows about it, they get a vulnerable position as service users, with an undermined credibility. From this vulnerable position: how to claim their rights, how they think they will be trusted when asking for "full time service"? (see previous extract) how they can claim their rights, discuss about the quality of the service and influence in the decisions? Based on the above, I think that their possibilities to involve themselves in the center get restricted, and that they would tend to state their concerns as they did in the interview: very indirectly and limited.

Nevertheless, when using the strategy that we could call "subtle statements" they are indeed exerting power, they are negotiating with the interlocutor, in this case the researcher (and indirectly the institution) despite their position´s constraints. They are telling the service what they see as important whereas keeping the position they are given by the society.

5.3.2 WOMEN, SOCIAL POLICIES AND CAIF16
In the context of Social Policies "poor" becomes a more important signifier as part of these women identity having contradictory effects in their process of participation and empowerment (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985 cited in Jörgensen and Phillips, 2008, p.26). These women were "in the society" as "poor" which allows them to negotiate State support if they could be classified as "in need", a criteria expressed by the women of the latter group. To be poor allows them to be prioritized by CAIF, that although is a national policy, it prioritizes *"... families in situation of poverty, extreme poverty and or social vulnerability"* (Cerruti, A et all, 2008, p.2), and to get money from the state through the former Emergency National Plan[17]. Within the category of poor they are eligible to get more benefits

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[16] SEE EXTRACT 4 IN APENDIX 2
[17] The PANES (Plan Nacional de Emergencia/National Emergency Plan) was a National Plan, funding by the World Bank, developed in 2005 to address the social impact of the macro financial crisis that hit the region in that year. It consisted in a group of social policies directed to very low income households. One of the actions was the deliver of money directed to household´s heads "that assumed compromises linked to the exercise of her/his own rights": to develop the health

if they were *"single mothers"*, *"hard workers"*, and demonstrate certain behaviors that are in relation with good citizenship such as fulfilling their duties as parents (sending their children to school, feeding and cleaning them, etc), *"not consuming drugs", "taking care of your property",* etc.

This can be seen in women´s descriptions regarding benefits from the State (in general) and from CAIF, becoming unveiled the disempowering dynamic in which they get trap when trying to negotiate from their identity.

They construct themselves as morally authoritative and poor, *"I am not mean", "I take my children to school"* reproducing the social values that make them deserve the benefits, as it was explained before. But in the struggle to characterize themselves as eligible to get the benefits, they diminish others as they did when rejecting stereotyping. Like this, they indeed make power flew to get what they need, they use effective mechanisms to get their immediate needs satisfaction, but they cannot transcend this. The latter undermines possibilities for solidarity that would allow group mobilization and collaborative initiatives to transform their situation in a more sustainable and independent way.

As Alicia Rodriguez expresses in CAIF´s guide about Community Approach (2006, p.19) "people have an idea of the State based on their history of relation with it, that is defined by the types of policies there have been developed, and this idea condition their relation with the State´s institutions such as CAIF". It conditions the way people participate and also the way State´s employees participate and frame participation.

5.3.3 NEGOCIATING WITH MOTHER IDENTITY: WORKSHOPS A SPACE FOR "US"

What is interesting of this workshop is that it is developed in a subtle different way as it is suggested in the methodological guide (Cerrutti & Perez, 2006). This would be indeed a place for mothers to meet and share experiences by talking, but this is only part of it. The workshop consist in three parts that are proposed in the

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control of the family, ensure children´s continuance in School, to develop community work, to improve his/her environment and to participate in training activities.

guide in certain order that is possible to change: Moment of playing (for parents to play with their children and share playing with others) Moment of the snack (to share a snack and socialize) Moment of reflection (to talk of different topics in relation with children nurturing and familiar life)

Women took this place for them. (it was meant to be for mothers and children to play) but they rearticulated its identity, making a place for chating about their interest. A space where they can be a little bit less mothers, but still enough to be there. *"We talk about everything"." Also about sex?" "Yes, they talk about contraceptives" What would you do if CAIF disappear? "I would borrow a child to come" "I would come to visit them" "I would get former participants to reopen it"*

5.3.4 LANGUAGE AND POWER: NEGOTIATING CODES

5.3.4.1 Individual vs. network

Women explained that proactive and talkative women, get the power of suggesting changes, indicate difficulties or problems about plan´s activities and the service it provides, accessing and influencing decision makers in a local level. During the interview with this group it was possible to see that individual proposals of solution were an effective mean to solve problems in participants´ relations, access to information, and activity framework. However, not all the individuals were listened in the same way; those with rhetorical skills where more alike to make their concerns prevail, so to transform some aspects of the program and also to make use of it to transform other aspects of their reality. The extract 5^{18} about the access to information and group cohesion can illustrate so.

Silvia had had interventions before portraying the access to activities information and communication among participants as a problem. She protected her identity as supportive of CAIF and CAIF itself as good by using rhetorical strategies to make her critiques indirectly. (Potter, 1996, p. 109) After a number of this kind of

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[18] SEE EXTRACT 5 IN APENDIX 2

comments that let see access to information as a sensitive issue in the program, I interpreted her message and verbalized the latter, also, in order to validate it.

Silvia responded reiterating the difficulties as facts, using rhetorical strategies to soften the description again; this time she provides detailed warrants for her claim such as a description of specific situations (line 2-6) and witness, other mother (2) and her husband(4). In addition, she qualifies her witness presenting her as a working mother (3), an important quality as it was analyzed at the beginning (Potter, 1996, p. 134). She portrayed her personal difficulties to express herself, so instead of verbalizing she used networks to get the information she needed.

Katerine, that have talked many times along the interview about her successful experiences when raising problems to people in situation of more power, presents herself as proactive suggesting a specific solution to the problem that is a suggestion itself; she recommends Silvia to have a proactive attitude to solve the problem. She supports her suggestion by depicting herself as "entitled" (Potter, 1996, p.134) to do so; a self-confidence person, capable of talking aloud to the professionals (13) and connoisseur of parents needs (11-14), and she gets Lola´s support. She showed how communication can be easy solved, and how information in the center is a matter of talk.

It is interesting that the recommendation is done indirectly, she tells the interviewer, what Silvia should do. Considering that the interviewer is here in the role of facilitator, with this approach Katerine (and the rest of the interviewees by taking the behaviour as normal) illustrates what is for the group an expected procedure for suggestions: going through the facilitator. It is the same procedure she and other mothers follows to make suggestion in her CAIF´s group, as it is possible to see in other parts of the interview. *We talked to [...] ((workshop´s facilitator)) I will not come anymore [...]because the last year was different we were all together [...]then we talked about it, and there was an integration work done, we play and some other things to get integrated [...]*

5.3.4.2 Occupation of the space: settlements

Power is always fluid and never possessed by anybody (Foucault, 1984, p.93), so powerless and powerful are not fixed categories either totalities; people and groups despite their categorization mobilize power in unpredictable ways that constantly challenge the status quo In this sense it is necessary to remark the powerful actions that imply the settlements or "cantegriles" mentioned by the women in the first interview. "Irregular settlements" (as they are called in State´s and Municipality documents) consisted on the occupation of one place by fact, with a correlative establishment, organization and development of households. Although it is not possible to generalize, the testimonies of the women and the staff, observation during the visit to two of the settlements, it is possible to assure that settlements are not only the establishment of precarious houses randomly. There is an organization and self-regulation of distributions of plots (they pay for their plots and sometimes they sell it to third person), every settlement has its name, as well as their streets and many of the houses are constructed with building material, having even particular identity such as name for the house or the address number in fancy material. Neighbors have been capable of organizing themselves to get the basic services though there were in an irregular situation for the Municipality; as it was expressed by Carla from the group interview 2: *"here, the last year when they came to work on the streets, a group of people came to get signs that they said if we wanted that they fix the street or the water (.) we got and said (.) the streets and the water(.) both things...and they did it"* It was mentioned also the possibility of coordination with one engineer of a factory, that was in the neighbor before, to improve the systems of sewage. Though these coordination was described by LH coordinator as an initiative of the professional, the authoritative participation, by consent, of the neighbors is evident in the following description: Coordinator: *"[…]He ((the engineer)) worked a lot for the neighborhood, all the dwelling system was done by the engineer, he made the plans, he talk to the Municipality, he talked to other engineers, it was a settlement it was not allowed to go into and he (0.1) compromised the people to go into […]*

All the previous analysis is not to idealize the neighborhoods and hide the huge problems they have, as it was mentioned before, but to highlight that the "irregular settlements", which by short hand are called settlements, deploy also a productive force capable of transform their reality. Then, it would be too arrogant to attribute only to national and international authorities the last years, changes in the national policies that shift from evictions to regularization of the property rights, and provision of services to improve inhabitants´ life conditions. This demonstrate the powerful act of settlement and so the capability of people to organize themselves and get what they need transcending the social structures and making them work in their favor further on.

5.3.5 PASSIVITY OR ACTIVE RESISTANCE?

Conformism and co-optation to the dominant discourse together with the strategy of displacing the problems "somewhere else" lead these women to "passive" attitudes in relation to their environment. I put the word passive in brackets because, according to Foucault, paraphrased by Fox (2000, p. 861), there is not but either resistance or reactive attitudes; so what it is usually characterized as "passive" behavior it can be an expression of resistance or reaction. This became evident in our chat about garbage management. Graciela and me got impressed with the pile of garbage accumulated in front of LH building and all along the street, so Graciela brought the issue in the first interview with the group 2 (Julia, Dinora, Carla, Carolina and Leticia)[19] in a moment when the conversation was declining (becoming less fluent and interesting) after talking during around 20 minutes about LH activities (workshops, school trips, kindergarden). The women reacted enthusiastically and complained as it follows[20]:

They portrayed themselves as spectators of the situation making circular descriptions: first the problem, second the possible solutions that were associated with institutions´ duties (out of their reach), and finally the failure. They presented themselves as victims of the situation and waiting for an answer from someone or somewhere else.

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[19] Names have been changed to respect confidentiality
[20] SEE EXTRACT 6 IN APENDIX 2

I relate this "passivity" with the already discussed process of subject formation and critical consciousness and with group identity construction. Before, we saw how the group of people leaving in that neighborhood is constructed as "thieves" "illegal" and "not paying services" positioning them as bad citizens. Therefore, they are not "good citizens" that can use the mechanisms the services provide to the formers to claim their rights.

However, they did not leave the neighborhood, they continue their life there and by doing so, institutions that are positioned by the system to solve social problems are put in action. They keep their place in the discourse of Poverty and Social Policies: "They are poor not able to solve it"

6. DISCUSSION

"This book first arose out of a passage in Borges, out of the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of my thought - our thought, the thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography – breaking up all the surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things... This passage quotes 'a certain Chinese encyclopaedia' in which it is written that 'animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies'. In the wonderment of this taxonomy... is demonstrated... the limitation of our own system of thought, the stark impossibility of thinking that. (Foucault, M, 1970 Preface,p xv)

Citing Foucault and his subsequent citation of Borges, one of the best writers "Río de La Plata" have had, I am trying to surpass my language limitations, when trying to explain you, my readers, how I would like the following to be read. I think you are maybe a student of Development Studies or a Uruguayan Development or Educational professional as I was. Then you are maybe so embedded in the categories of Development and Education that it will be difficult to think on this disciplines as "that". My invitation is just to do that, to think that our taxonomies regarding Human Development are maybe not, so to analyze them as Discourses or a way to produce the reality, what is true and not (Foucault, 1972, p.117).

The present discussion of the analysis presented before intends to respond to my research question: *How is the process of women's empowerment, more specifically the mothers of pupils of CAIF "Las Hormiguitas", expressed?*

And so to achieve the Aim of this thesis: To understand the ways in which the increasing transformative capacity (empowerment) of participants is expressed in a participatory development intervention. I assume the limitations of one single interpretation of the data (mine) although based on empirical and theoretical sources. My experience about the process of categorizing and re-categorizing the data, even done systematically, it is that it is such subjective and theoretically influenced, that can only acquire the quality of scientific if it is discussed and contested. This is my intention, to contribute to a discussion that takes us a little further.

To guide the discussion toward the thesis´s aim, I will be addressing also the specific objectives:

- To clarify how the transformative capacity is expressed in women´s descriptions of their reality

- To identify what measures are described by women alike as empowering

- To contribute to disembed the discourse(s) on empowerment in the context of a participatory development intervention

6.1 DISSEMBEDING THE DISCOURSE ON EMPOWERMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF A PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTION

6.1.1 THE MEANINGS OF DEVELOPMENT ACTION FOR THE WOMEN OF LAS HORMIGUITAS AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR EMPOWERMENT

CAIF actions as other Development interventions happen in a community that has its social history, which constitutes its identity and that of those who live there. This is a history woven by the struggles in which class, race and gender are

interconnected. Struggles between groups positioned before hand, by Colonial History, in unequal power relations (Loomba, 2002).

Construction of action´s meanings, as part of people cultural life, is also done in this relationship between groups in unequal power position. The former determines the impacts of development actions in people´s identity so in their lives. In this way, the meaning of certain words and practices are especially relevant for this specific context. TO BE SEEN has the meaning of being judged and categorized as "black" "criminal" "dirty" , in general "less valuable" "mother", because it have been the way in which these women identity have been constructed (see the analysis). Something similar happen with TALKING: people have been talked; others talked about them and they have at the best, the right to talk about each other; they talk about their identities, they criticize them. They have been also historically (longer before and currently) talked what to do: to serve, to leave their houses and go to shacks, to send their children to school, to have the health control updated in order to get State´s benefits, etc. In response, they talk to claim, to get (information, favor, money to survive, etc) but never to discuss with others what to do or how to do about issues that are transcendent to their lives. If they dare to do that, they have to do it in a "subtle way" as it was analyzed when we see their position regarding social policies and CAIF.

This is counteracted by women, by hiding themselves, or making themselves appear with those qualities accepted by the "other" or indeed, to transform themselves to resemble the other. But in this practice, people gain no freedom, they do not get emancipated, they "get transformed into inert matter" and it is used to "fertilize" the "other" own image (Mc Laren,1999, p53). They have been turned into objects by the dominant "others" sight; they have been seen and shaped and put in categories by them and talked by them under these categories. Then, when CAIF´s staff approach and SEE them, all the above come into play, and the position that CAIF staff come to occupy, because their class belonging and their social role as representative of institutions, is that of the outsider.

Despite the intentions of the latter, the sight of the outsider will be a menace of being devaluated.

According to Freire (1973, p.5), the process of objectivation, develops a subjugated consciousness that avoids any possible change. Then, to get emancipated people have to get their subjectivity back. In this case we should talk about women becoming subjects of talking and seeing. Regarding the measures, we talk about having a space to SEE their reality, and to TALK about it in their codes and to influence significantly the measures to change what they want.

6.1.2 REINFORCING SUBJUGATED IDENTITY BY SETTING THE FRAMEWORK

Within Development discourse, there is the assertion that inequalities in the society can be compensated by giving more to those who have less, leaving untouched the system and without interpreting each society´s history. Poverty appears as an unhistorical phenomenon, and the poor becomes an object of management to be developed (Escobar, 1995, p 22). The Equity Plan proposes " *to guarantee all national territory inhabitant´s full exercise of citizens rights but especially those in situation of social vulnerability, through a levelling of Access opportunities regarding: universal social services, incomes through dicent work and basic social benefits"*(Plan Equidad, 2007, p.17). Although the policies are Universal, there is a prioritization of vulnerable groups where poor children are. In this context CAIF intends to guarantee children´s rights by providing good quality educational services, based on a risk approach, which is within development discourse (Bernardi, R et al,1996).

The risk of approaching social life with a Development mind set, is that does not allow to see the complexity of the social process and power relations involved. Social life could become, in Escobar (1995, p52) terms *"a matter of rational decision and management to be entrusted to that group of people (the development professional).* Like this the development interventions produce certain mechanisms and procedures to make the target groups to *"fit a "pre-existing model that embodied the structures and functions of modernity."* This

takes away the focus from the causes of inequalities, to compensate the effects of the capitalist system and contribute to sustain it by producing consumers (enough wealthy to consume) (ibid 23). In the specific case of CAIF, poverty is the explanation of the existence of deficits in children development and family psico-sociological wellbeing, and the strategy is to provide the means for the families and children to compensate those deficits.

However, the very definition of deficits implies a conception and a position where the "one" that define the deficits construct herself in a more powerful position as having the knowledge to name the reality, and to manage the other in order to compensate those deficits. Knowledge, as Kothari (2008, p.141) among others assured, is a normative construct "culturally, socially and politically produced", so it is knowledge about human development. Therefore, the model and patterns we have to measure and interpret certain group or individual behavior have been built upon the accumulation of social norms, ritual and practices embedded in power relations (ibid). Then, when one group controls the information, classification (categorization), its analysis and representations, it becomes dominant over the rest that did not. In the context of CAIF, already determined by the history mentioned in the previous section, the monopolization of the information and decision making by the group of professionals, at different levels, and Civil Associations, as it is shown in the analysis, constitutes a reassertion of the social subjugation in which the people already are (Kothari, 2001, p.142).

Consequently women get trapped in the identity of development beneficiary: poor/mother. As Escobar (1995, p, 5) says, development discourse colonized the reality in such a way that is difficult to think in other terms, and one of the mechanisms throughout that made this possible was through the construction and reproduction of identities. If the way we identify ourselves conditions the way we construct the world, the latter process does not give room for women to develop farther than being poor and mothers, being the latter a dimension of their identity that is already overdeveloped by the patriarchal society.

6.2 MEASURES IDENTIFED BY WOMEN AS EMPOWERING

Discourses are never fixed or complete, they are always challenged (Laclau &Mauffe, 1985 cited in Jorgönsen and Philips., 2008, p.26). In this sense, there are different practices and products that counteract the above dominant discourse that are in struggle with the practices and products of the latter. One example is the mentioned CAIF guide called "Communitarian Approach" (Rodriguez, 2006) that stands for participation, suggests the social negotiation of meanings between the staff and the community, and advocates for the local interpretation of the reality. Other aspect that fractures the discourse is the flexibility of the team and the center´s history of sharing with the community their fate. As Freire (cited in Mc Laren, 1999, p.50) said, for educators to be an instrument of change it is necessary to share the oppressed lives.

The former left a gap for women to negotiate, and also for the staff to implement some measures that were recognized by women as empowering. They regard as so the communication with the teachers and the possibility to see children´s adaptation period, as well as the existence of spaces for them as women to share knowledge and information with other women. They describe their process of empowering as their increased capacity and better self confidence to control specific difficult or conflictive situations.

Furthermore, the opportune experience workshop as a space for sharing experiences together with the flexibility of the staff derived in eventual group mobilization to confront the violation of their rights in Health Service. Like this, the workshop evolved as a political space where the educational process could transcend the reproduction of the consumer identity (of services) to a more encompassing concept of citizens (Mc Laren, 1999, p,50).

6.3 HOW POWER IS EXPRESSED

The prevalence of a compensational approach, which put expert knowledge over common knowledge and centers the view on the individual, limits the possibilities

for radical changes in the center´s relation with the people. The previous determine Plan´s framework in a way that any movement to a relationship between participants and staff more empowering to the formers, cause tension and derives in group immobilization. Keeping their availability and faithfulness, so letting the participants to take more space in the center, while keeping the assistance demanded by the model, became so demanding for the team. *"There was a moment when everybody was coming in and out and we could not work, there were no limits, so we could not work..."* said one of the members.

In this context, power is expressed mainly in the form of negotiation within a constrained structure which keeps the participants in a subjugated position. Participants do not have a say in center decision making regarding organization or curricular content; an aspect that unveil the conceptualization of expert knowledge as superior to common knowledge and the consequent participant´s infantilization (Escobar, A 1995,p 30).

Kothari (2001, p.142) talks about the strategy of "subversion", that participants develop to become agents and actors, which consist in disrupting development discourse (that intent to control information) by shaping the form of their participation or through acts of self-exclusion and non- participation. Examples of shaping their participation is the opportune experience workshop, where women participate as mothers, talking about family topics whereas they take more time for the talking than for playing with the children, as it was the frame. Examples of self-exclusion could be the absentism from the workshops where they were supposed to be taught about different topics.

The former compensational approach reduces empowerment to the individual sphere, as it is expressed by women. This limits the impact either to move individualities to a higher social status e.g parents that became employees of CAIF and parents that get better jobs or education through getting informed at the information board, or to relieve the daily experience of oppression e. g developing some social skills that let them manage better in their daily life.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight the group mobilization to claim for their rights against the Health service, though it was exceptional, as a clear example of power could be also moved to produce community empowerment. As Flores (2003, p.93) explains, to share experiences gives the possibility to grasp of themes of oppression and to intervene in reality instead of remaining "on lookers". Discovering mutual interest and action they create an "imagined community" (Flores, 2003, p.95), which has powerful meaning if we think about the history of displacement these women have. Finally, the experience itself of confronting the service and the authorities allowed them to discover "new strengths" (ibid) to face systems inequalities: *"I would not imagine myself doing so good when talking to a doctor, I kept quiet arguing while he lost control"* This kind of experiences, open the door for women to be citizens not only to "get assimilated into the host society but to renegotiation of what means to be citizen" Flores (2003, p.97).

Finally what the above has to be with children development? As Winnicott (cited in Bernardi, R, p.62) said : *"A child, that does not exist"* meaning the intimate relation mother – child. In this frame, if women are oppressed, if they can not construct their own development as integral Human Beings, what would their sons and daughter have?

7 CONCLUSIONS

After going through data, analysis and discussion of it I can conclude that identity matters; that its construction is historic and dynamic and influences any relationship. Then when thinking about development and empowering, one might think first about who is to be empowered and who dares to empower other, what history put them in the position of doing that. When these positions are given for granted, as it is in development discourse, it is easy to transform the process of increasing people capacity to change their lives to increasing people capacity to change what is necessary for others to keep their privileged positions. As I see

CAIF experience, the empowerment is indeed expressed in increased capacity to transform their experiences into more positive ones. It is empowerment at an individual level; but still from their subjugated identity and contributing to keep it by omitting to question it.

There are other possible analysis here, like a more structural one that could qualify better my interpretation of the situation, that it would be worthy to approach in future research. For instance, the fact that Uruguay has been transforming as society where working class has gradually more representatives, where there is a recognition of capitalist system causing inequalities and a concern to address them. But, as was showen structures and knowledge production are embedded in a discourse that rules beyond borders, so when trying to do something practical to solve a problem we could be doing the opposite. Marcus Power (2008) cited an influential economist (Keynes, 1936, cited in Power, 2008, p.73) who wrote "practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exept from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist" to illustrate much of development thinking today.

Nevertheless, recognizing my own embedment in now in postructualist discourse in this research, I realize the risk of assuming an "enlighting" (Power, 2008, p.74) relativistic position that dismisses the work of those people that are just next to the subjugated people, sharing their lives daily. I refuse to do so, by declaring my identification with those developers, close to grass root because I was myself one of them for more than ten years. I believe in change and process, in the dynamisms of development beyond trusteeships (Marx cited in Cowen & Shenton, 1996, p.168) and complementarities. I advocate for people to be humanized in Development field, both the participants and developers. I think that Freire´s thoughts, that inspired Critical Theory (Mc Laren, 1999), about collective construction of knowledge and critical consciousness should be more explored in the context of initiatives like CAIF. To bring the politic back to education seems to be a way to counteract current forces of domination. Nevertheless, any movement toward people emancipation implies, for those that have been the

trustees of development (researchers, development professionals), to be ready to leave their privileged position in order to construct relationships that do not reproduce the mechanisms of oppression. However, as it was seen the processes involved in development are very complex, so maybe the challenge is to accept that no single answer will enough to answer the needs of disenfranchised women, men and children today.

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APPENDIX 1

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The transcription coventions used in this thesis are based on the system developed by Gail Jefferson (for example, Jefferson , 1985; Sacks et al., 1974). They were transcribed and adapted (reduced) from the book of Jonathan Potter (1996, pp. 233-234) *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rethoric and Social Construction.* London: Sage.

- Underling (<u>walked</u> <u>out</u>) indicates words or parts of words which are stressed by the speaker.
- Colons mark the prolongation of the sound immediately before (<u>the:n</u>); more colons would show a longer prolongation(Ah:::) .
- The comma marks a continuing intonation (not necessary a grammatical full stop).
- The brackets across lines []mark the onset and completion of overlapping talks.
- Numbering in brackets(0.5) are the times of pause tenths of a second; where there is just a full stop in the brackets (.) this is pause which is hear-able but too short to measured.
- Talk that is quieter than the surrounding talk is enclosed by degree symbols: °Yeh°.
- Talk that is louder than the surrounding talk is capitalized i.e (WHERE).
- Where the transcriber doubtful of a word or phrase it will be placed in parenthesis; if no guess is plausible these parenthesis are left empty.
- Clarifactory comment is placed in double parenthesis; i.e ((laughs)), ((stands up)).
- Where material from the tape has been omitted for reason of brevity this is indicated by square brackets around three full stops [...].

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW EXTRACTS

EXTRACT 1: **STEREOTYPES AND CONSTRUCTION OF A SUBJUGATED POSITION**

1   *Silvia: ye:::s*

2   *Katerine: what happens is (.)that, well the fact that you live in settlement*

3   *conditions you are considered a dirty black man(.)generally people thinks*

4   *like that*

5   *Silvia: yes it´s like that*

6   *Katerine: so, you have to take care of yourself more*

7   *Sandra: more than other people?*

8   *Katerine: more than other people of not going around dirty, because they*

9   *think you are a dirty black man because you live in a slum(.)*

10   *in reality it is not like that(.)a lot of people live in a settlement because*

11   *they don´t have possibilities of renting a place because you don´t have*

12   *warranties or because you can´t make the deposit or because thousand*

13   *of things, not because you want to live in a settlement to avoid paying*

14   *electricity and water as many people think*

15   *[….]*

16   *Katerine: of course(.) but isn´t it like this? When I said that I lived in a*

17   *settlement to my family(.)that they didn't even know what was a*

18   *settlement (.) and do you dare to live there? My aunt(.) nowadays she*

19   *doesn´t come to my place in the afternoon because at night she gets afraid*

20   *going outside because the blacks that may rob you*

21   *Lola: my mother too(.) my mother does not drive her motorcycle here*

22 because "*oh dear*"(.)*ok::: don´t come* - jajaja

23 Silvia: and anyway, where I live my house is just next to a factory (.)

24 so, the plot is enormous, and after, my plot finishes

25 and there're are some houses that everybody calls "cante"

26 because a bunch of hoodlums live there that if they have to knock you over

27 they´ll knock you over you see? Then of course here they were admired that

that

28 "*oh(.)you live next to a "cante"* (.) and well, for now, thank god there::

29 Lo: whenever you go down town, whatever the reason, say that you hav

30 to do any errands or something, if you have to give your address and you

31 say neighborhood "5 de abril" settlement they look at you with *a face* oh

32 this "canterosa" jajaja but it is like that

33 Yamila: "and they´ll ask where is that? Is it a settlement? *Ah*

34 Katerine: they start to look at you different you see?

*EXTRACT 2:*INFORMATION AND DECISION MAKING

1 Lola: I Luis ((Lola´s son)) ehm (0.2) I alwa/ (.) and to Luis (.) it doesn´t

2 matter (.) I have put him from 8 to 4 and they told me *no* because I had

3 already stop wo:::rking and they did not *allow*(.)eh (.) children, Luis

4 turns 3 in August (.) ºthat they did not allowº.

5 [...] Lucía: yes, but the *last year* did you saw there were *2 years old* (.) full

6 time?

7 [...]

8 Lola: [...]I had a different idea whta CAIF was. When it came out it was

9 *big news(0.1)* that was for mothers that wo::rked(.) that it was full ti:me
    [...]

10 ((they commented how CAIF decrease the age cover since they started))

11 G: and does it resolve you *anything* to bring them ((the children)) anyway?

12 Lola: *now* I realize, that I saved Luis; because Luis is used to being

13 *Around his older siblings. Now, I see/ he is with children at his age*

14 *[…] ((some explanation about how the children develop with their*

15 *classmates))*

16 *Lola: yeah, but what´s happening here too, is that there are few*

17 *Teachers and few classrooms, ºmaybe it is because of that as wellº*

EXTRACT 3: **WOMEN STRATEGIES TO SURVIVE, SERVICES AND CAIF**

1 *Lola: For me, well There should be, and (.) ºI am not talking about CAIFº(.)*

2 *there should be more centers (.) get it? where for example a single woman,*

3 *(.) or maybe one who has a husband but she can´t manage*

4 *on her husband´s money (.)can say I will work 6 hours or 8*

5 *hours and say I have a place to leave the kid (0.2)*

6 *Lucía: and not have to pay*

7 *Lola: and not have to pay […]I mean, because sometimes it is*

8 *complicated, and when you have more than one is more complicated. I*

9 *mean […] ºLook at the place where I pay rent, I don´t pay for electricity, I*

10 *do not pay for the waterº, but if you have to pay a house rent, electricity,*

11 *water, 3children. Sure, you have family assistance ((regarding the benefit*

12 *payed by the Uruguayan State to all the children under 18 years old)) the*

13 *family assistance is nothing because now the more children you have*

14 *((laughs)) the less you get.*

EXTRACT 4: **WOMEN, SOCIAL POLICIES AND CAIF**

1 *Lola: and me, when I brought Carlita and Fernando ((her daughter and*

2 *son)), ah, I was furious ((que bufaba)), because there was one that*

3   *made her given a letter from anyone ((fulana)) ok to go to the market*

4   *and it came to be that the child stayed the whole day with the full time.*

5   *But ok, I am not mean, because if I would be the other evil woman I would*

6   *have told to Ana María ((the coordinator of LH)), at the end of the day*

7   *each house is a world of its own ((cada casa es un mundo)). But when*

8   *I got home I was fur:::ious ((rabiaba))*

9   *[…]*

10 *Lucía: I got angry do you know with what? With the Emergency Plan*

11 *Lola: ok so I did*

12 *Lucía: I really needed it and they didn´t give me it (.) and there was*

13 *people that bought music system, washing machines(0.2) I could not*

14 *believe what they spent the money on*

15 *[…]*

16 *Lola: […] well (.)the emergency plan (.)the girl from there in front of*

17 *my house got the Emergency plan, her husband is a drug addict*

18 *((pastoso))²¹ (.) but a bad "pastoso latero" did you see one of those types*

19 *ugh? Well, ok bad. She, that does nothing the whole day ((todo el día se*

20 *los rasca)), because the whole day. The kid, the last year she took him*

21 *out from School at the middle of the year, now she started him on*

22 *because they don´t have money, because they only have the Emergency*

23 *Plan, that Equity plan and the card*

24 *Yamila: and there are people that live in a hovel ((rancho de lata)) and*

25 *they were not capable of buying themselves building materials with the*

---

[21] They call "pastoso" to those who get drugged with cocaine basic paste ("pasta") a current
concern in Uruguayan society nowadays. The drug addicts put the paste in a can and inhale it.

26 plan

EXTRACT 5: **INDIVIDUAL VS NETWORK**

1 *Sandra : So (.) you felt as if the information (0.2) [did not always reach*

2 *everybody equally?*

3 *Silvia: No, it did not reach(.) because(.) myself with the other mother that*

4 *was the one who we let each other know about, of course she <u>worked</u> and*

5 *sometimes <u>did not arrive</u>(.) or she arrived late or her husband came and*

6 *he did not get started to listen sometimes(.)then of course(.)the other*

7 *mothers; "ah so what ¿did't you hear?" "¿why didn't you come earlier?"*

8 *Sandra: aha*

9 *Katherine: and there she could make the suggestion(.)look they put a sing*

10 *when everything will happen (0.2)*

11 *Silvia: yes*

12 *Katherin: of course(.) recently, when they started the first day, when they*

13 *asked what they could do(.) the first thing I told her was(.)put benches in*

14 *other place if you don't want them to wait in that particular part ¿did you*

15 *see where the toys that are broken are?*

16 *I told her: BECAUSE THE ISSUE OF GOING TO THE FRONT PART (.)*

17 *it is about going to sit there because that is the only place where there are*

18 *benches*

19 *Lola: of course(.)we are also not going to wait one hour standing here*

20 *outside*

21 *Katherine: of course(.)I told her(.)well if you put benches in other place*

22 *you will see that(.) parents will not be there(.)I tell her (.)the problem is*

23 *that it is there where the benches are*

24 *Sandra: yes what happen is that it seems as you are confident to say the(.)*

25 *but in your case for example it did not come up that(.) you was not*

26 *confident to tell her that*

27 *Silvia: of course(.) I talked yes(.) but the issue that the other mothers [got*

28 *angry*

29 Lola:[AND HER GROUP WASN´T EITHER VERY(.)

30 Silvia: there were times that I did not remember (.)but in that moment an

31 idea flew away and I gave it(.) ah but the others mothers no no(.) they did

32 not accept it you see?(.)they tried not to accept it

EXTRACT 6: **PASIVITY OR ACTIVE RESISTANCE?**

1 Graciela: […] I was thinking that the other day we had been looking to

2 the dump (0.1) you see that is everything spread around there? Can you

3 manage to do a::nything with that?

4 Julia: it is the Municipality, [but it is the same as nothing because:::

5 Leticia: listen (.) I am of the opinion(.)] that is that they clean(.) but you

6 realize that the culprit for me is (.)the dirty people (.) because they throw

7 trash away

8 Carla: maybe they see them cleaning the::re (.) and maybe they go and
(0.2)

9 […]

10 Carla: No(.) what they have to do there is to put big trash cans out yes (.)

11 because they don´t

12 Dinora: But didn´t you see that there was a big trash can there? That it

13 Was the big empty trash and the dirt all around?

14 Carla: Actually no(.) I never saw that […]

15 Julia: One should be put here or on the Santos Dumont´s corner

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION GUIDE

Both individual and group interviews were unstructured (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007, pp 83-84). Then, they were very flexible and varied from one individual to another. The intention was to let the interviewees construct their descriptions as free as possible from pre-established research categories. Then, there was one question that initiated all the interviews to give room for the conversation: *How good is your involvement in the CAIF for your daily life?*

Nevertheless, based on the theoretical framework, the research question and the specific objectives, I went into the field with a list of "case study questions" (Yin, 2003, pp.73-74), not formulated as such to the interviewees, but that determined my line of inquiry during the conversation. Since topics emerged from the interaction between interviewees and interviewer these questions played an important role as backdrop of the descriptions.

CASE STUDY QUESTIONS:

1. How do the women participate in CAIF?

2. How decision making process take place? Who participate, where and regarding which topics?

3. Is there a process of capacity building toward a more sustainable development?

4. How do participants conceptualize their community?

5. Which kind of power relations are among participants and members of the staff?

6. Is there a promotion of participation? How?

7. How the coordination to expand network´s relation works to increase participant´s capacity to change*?*

8. How does participation in CAIF helps to change things people wants to change in their lives?

The observation was also open and influenced by the above questions. Then, I was paying attention to:

1. Occupation of the different places to see the different level of access to center´s space.

2. Material means of information.

3. Body language in the relations among different actors.

4. Place of the center in relation to the neighborhood (physical limits and access of people)

5. Groups formation and participation of the individuals in the dialogues.