International Institute of Social Studies

Graduate School of Development Studies

Working Title:
Marginalization and Lifelong Learning of Emboscada, Paraguay: Analysis of Adolescent Identity and Aspiration from a Gender Perspective

A Research Paper presented by:

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:
Poverty Studies and Policy Analysis
(POV)

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The Hague, The Netherlands
November 2010

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Contents

Map

Map 1.1 Map of Emboscada, Cordillera, Paraguay

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACEID: Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation
CEDAW: Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CREP: Resource Center of Permanent Education (of Emboscada)
CSW: Commission on the Status of Women
EFA: Education for All
ILO: International Labour Organization
LLL: Lifelong Learning
LLP: Lifelong Learning Programme
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
MEC: Ministry of Education and Culture (in Paraguay)
MECE: The Education and Science Ministry (in Spain)
OEI: The Organization of Ibero American states for Education
PIO II: The Second National Plan for Equal Opportunities for Men and
   Women, 2003-2007
PLA: Participatory Learning and Action
PRIOME: The inter-institutional Equal Education Opportunity and
   Achievement Programme for Women
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNIRISD: United Nation Research Institute for Social Development

Abstract

This research paper explores the issue of *marginalization* in the context of Lifelong Learning (LLL) among a group of young learners in Emboscada, Paraguay. It traces the main reasons behind the high dropout rates among female learners, the majority of whom are of Afro-Paraguayan origin. The research examines the main gender assumptions in programming and curriculum design. It shows how the mechanisms of *marginalization* have continued to oppress female learners and limit their choices in life despite the programme goals to integrate them into mainstream society and to prepare them for labour market opportunities. Their marginalization seems to have two sides: 1) the visible one is related to the limited access to economic participation, and 2) the invisible one is related to learner's identity affected by curriculum and social norms structured within post-colonial contexts. Both sides of Afro-Paraguayan women's marginalization seem derived from faulty assumptions at many levels of programming and implementation. While the adoption of a gender perspective has played an important role in curriculum building and programming, this perspective also remains blind to processes of cultural, social and economic marginalization that shape the experiences of Afro-Paraguayans, both as learners and actors who have their aspirations created by self-identity.

Keywords

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1   Research problem

Despite much effort made by the government in Paraguay since 1994 to increase enrolment numbers in primary education nationwide, the results have been disappointing.[1] The average annual enrolment rate for primary education reached 94 per cent[2] of the basic age group for that level of education during the period 2000 to 2007. UNESCO reports that the survival rate to the 5th grade was approximately 88 per cent[3] in 2007. The national dropout rate of female learners is lower than male learners,[4] although the data does not show differences based on ethnicity.[5] The national illiteracy rate (between ages 15 and 24) was 6.9 per cent for men and 9.8 per cent for women in the statistic years between 2000 and 2001;[6] however, the indigenous people's illiteracy rate was 63 per cent in 2001(CEDAW 2005: 10). There is no reported data for the literacy rate of the Afro-Paraguayan group anywhere in policy monitoring reports by UNESCO or CEDAW.

The poor primary education records prompted the government to take a pragmatic approach by offering a second chance education for young adults. Within the framework of both goals 2 and 3 of the Millennium Development ment Goals[7] (MDGs), Lifelong Learning is goal number 3 of the 'Education for All (EFA)'.[8] The Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) is a Paraguayan National Plan, which has the broad goal of reducing the number of persons living on the margins of society by providing training opportunities. This would empower them to gain access to a better life under the following international policies: MDGs on combating poverty, and eliminating gender inequality in education (CEDAW 2005: 6-7).

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[1] http://www.jica.go.jp/project/paraguay (accessed 02/05/2010).

[2] http://data.un.org (accessed 02/05/2010).

[3] www.unesco.org (accessed 27/10/2010).

[4] According to the statistical data from CEDAW (2005: 9-10).

[5] In field research of Barrio Fatima, Emboscada, I learned that only five per cent of young women had completed nine years of compulsory education.

[6] http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/socind/illiteracy.htm   (accessed 20/10/2010).

[7] MDG #2: achieve universal primary education targeted at ensuring that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

MDG #3: promote gender equality and empower women targeted at eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015 (http://www.un.org, accessed 20/10/2010).

[8] Education For All, a framework to achieve MDG #2.

The Paraguayan government has received assistance from Spanish-based funding agencies such as the Education and Science Ministry (MECE),[9] AECID, and the organization of Ibero-American States for Education (OEI)[10] to enhance the poor's access to education and entry into the labour market. Lifelong Learning (LLL)[11] has been promoted in Emboscada since 2007 as a national pilot project under the framework of the Spanish Cooperation Master Plan, part of the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID)[12], in cooperation with other agencies.[13]

The LLP in the Regional Resource Centre of Permanent Education (CREP)[14] has two sections for adolescents and adults; one is vocational education, which seeks to promote the return to basic education among young adults who have dropped out. The other one is the Basic Education programme for dropouts (15 years old to adult) as a second chance to complete their education. In Paraguay, Basic Education requires nine years to complete, but through the Lifelong Learning Programme, students can complete the programme in four. The first two years cover primary education (1st-6th grade), and the remaining two years cover the next three years of secondary education.[15] Vocational education, as an additional part of the programme, has two major aims: to provide capacity training to access employment, and to promote completion of Basic Education as a part of the national plan.[16]

According to the ACEID Master Plan (2009-2012), women are one target group to reach through LLP, specifically young women with small children, for whom nursing care service is included as a major part of the programme.[17] This is in line with the norms of gender equality in CEDAW, which recognize gender inequality in the domestic sphere as having consequences for achieving equality in the public sphere (labour market and political participation). Mechanisms for monitoring implementation of such inter-institutional programmes as Equal Educational Opportunity and Achievement Programme for Women (PRIOME) were adopted to review the Ministry of Education and Culture regulations, aimed at introducing change and ensuring educational practice to achieve equal learning opportunities for both men and women (CEDAW 2005: 7). Encouraging the curricula at various formal and informal levels of education such as community

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[9] Ministerio de Educación y Cilencia de España (MECE).

[10] Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (OEI).

[11] LLP, EFA goal #3,[2] is referred to as 'Permanent Education' in Paraguay, meaning education providing both youth and adults the opportunity to learn lifetime skills.

[12] Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECID).

[13] Ministry of Education and Culture of Paraguay (MEC), MECE[8], OEI[9], NGOs and Municipality.

[14] Centre Recurusos de Educación Permanente #3.

[15] Information collected in MEC Paraguay in 2007.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Data from interview with CREP programme coordinator (2009).

awareness of equality of educational opportunity between men and women is also set up for another aim within the programme implementation (ibid).

The main reason behind the selection of Emboscada as a national pilot site is that it is where the female population faces a high degree of social marginalization caused by historical factors, which have created a unique intersection between ethnic identity and gender, which in turn, affect their access to information, education and employment. Within the support of International Labour Organisation (ILO), the National Tripartite Commission is challenging surmounting poverty, generating decent work, promoting gender equality (CEDAW 2005: 14), and focusing on high poverty areas.

According to the MEC report of 2009, the dropout rate from LLP has been disappointingly high: for instance, approximately 26 per cent of females and roughly 17 per cent of males dropped out from the final grade of Emboscada's Lifelong Learning Programme in 2008; comparable with the general rates for Primary Education nationwide.[18]

My analysis situates this project in the context of international development aid where the goals of poverty reduction and gender equality are converged and lifelong learning as an approach in adult/adolescent education is seen as instrumental to achieve these goals.

1.2   Marginalization and lifelong learning in Emboscada

Paraguay was colonized by Spain in 1515, and remained under their control until they achieved independence in 1811. 'Most contemporary Afro-Paraguayan find their roots in slave trade which was practiced by Spain in its South American colonies prior to the struggle for independence in the early nineteenth century' (Pedro 2000: 1). Emboscada was founded in 1740 under the name 'Pardos Libres ("place of ambush of free blacks" in Spanish)' by 500 freed black people and 'pardos (mixed race or mulattoes)' (Diaz 2010: 1, Lipski 2005: 6), while many of the original settlers were still enslaved (Blujaki 1980, Granda 1983 cited in Lipski 2008: 6).

Today the region of Emboscada suffers from discrimination due to its well-known association with 'Post-Slavery livelihoods' or 'livelihoods of low social class'. It is an urban area located only 40 km from the capital city, Asuncion, with approximately 14,000 inhabitants (Diaz 2010: 1), 58 per cent[19] of whom are of Afro-Paraguayan origin. However, little awareness of Afro-ethnic tradition remains except for the occasional holiday celebration (Lipski 2008: 6). Pedro describes the difficulty of being Black within invisi-

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[18] School dropout number for primary education (first and second cycle) is 25,584 female and 28,480 male; and for secondary education, 8,966 female and 11,093 male recorded in countrywide total (MEC data from 2001 yearbook, CEDAW 2005: 9).

[19] 89.5 per cent of total Afro-Paraguayan population in Paraguay (Díaz 2010: 1).

ble discrimination against Afro-Paraguayan in Paraguayan society as fol-
lows:

> …Afro-Paraguayan, despite their lack of numbers[20] and the daily
> racism to which they are subjected, maintain a distinct identity
> characterized by a vibrant and continually evolving culture
> (Pedro 2000: 1).

The region of Emboscada had been isolated due to the lack of transport con-
nections with the capital city and other provinces. The road system connect-
ing the area with major cities is barely seven years old. Other infrastructures
such as electricity and water have developed in the same period.

Understanding *marginalization* in the context of Lifelong Learning Edu-
cation cannot ignore the perspectives of learners as actors, the ways in
which they give meaning to learning and how they build their aspirations.
Marginalization in this paper addresses two aspects: gender and gender
identity created through the LLP, and the social invisibility of Afro-
Paraguayan identity.

Analysis of managerial aspects such as the incentive system (lack of
budgetary support for teacher salaries, skills suitable for entry into decent
work) can help reveal the contrast between the main assumptions behind
LLP and its actual implementation. Analysis of how 'gender' issues (e.g.
female learners as a target group and their needs, gender barriers both to
education and to employment, invisible social discrimination against Afro-
Paraguayan women) are defined within the LLP framework—of how female
learners define themselves, see the benefits of LLP and respond to activi-
ties—can help reveal aspects of marginalization that are based on gender
and post-colonial identities (being Afro-Paraguayan). Insights gained from
this research may then contribute to the broader debate on the meaning and
value of vocational education in the post-colonial context of Paraguay.

1.3   Research objectives

This research has three objectives:

1) to explore any discrepancies between the conceptual definitions of
   LLP framed in the national policymaking and hidden aspects beyond
   Afro-Paraguayan's class status in society.
2) to analyse the situation from a perspective of 'care' as conceptual-
   ized in the following statement:
   > Care work, both paid and unpaid, contributes to well-being,
   > social development and economic growth. But the costs of
   > providing care are unequally borne across gender and class
   > (UNRISD Research and Policy Brief 9, 2010: 1).
3) to examine how curriculum has been related to Afro-Paraguayan

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[20] The author refers to lack of statistical representation in comparison to other
neighbouring countries.

learners by
- revealing the institutional and personal aspects of learners' identities such as illustrate how the (LL) Programme's design reproduces the structure and whether the structure has been marginalizing learners rather than social transformation.
- debating the meanings and value of education in a post-colonial context.

1.4 Scope and limitation

The word limitation does not allow me to cover the deepened component of marginalization in terms of economic aspect and adolescent studies. Analysis of further unemployment issues, poverty policy analysis from an economic-based perspective, or adolescent identity from a right perspective could not be explored. Furthermore, the research time period covered was limited to approximately two years,[21] during which this LLP project was implemented as a pilot initiative. Therefore, it is not possible to show the government's response to issues of marginalization beyond those stated in this project.

1.5 Research question

Main question:

How are the social and cultural norms behind post-colonial contexts related to young learner's identity and aspiration through the Lifelong Learning Programme in Emboscada?

Sub-questions:

1) How does the LLP identify learners, define 'skill', 'gender', 'employment', and what are the main reasons for especially targeting young women?

2) What are the main gender-based institutional arrangements supporting the programme?

3) How do male and female learners each relate to the learning objectives of the curriculum; what skills do they acquire and in what way do these meet their aspirations and reflect their identity?

1.6 Research methodology

Given the fact that quantitative data on education generally and the LLP in particular is very limited, not to mention data on the impact of education on employment, this research adopts a qualitative approach, which places the

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[21] From May 2007 to August 2009.

analysis of the LLP policy in a philosophical frame, and examines the relationship between epistemology and methodology (Trochim[22] 2006).

Dixon et al. (2004: 559-60) explains a philosophical framework for policy analysis, '...how policy analysts choose to interrogate the social word, so as to describe, explain, understand, judge and address policy problems and issues depends on their philosophical disposition, the constituents of which are their epistemological predisposition...and their ontological predisposition'. My research methodology adopts the perspective of Afro-Latin studies. It treats Afro-Paraguayan women's social world and experience of self-identity as an ontological issue, whereas the difference in the approach adopted by 'the national pilot project programme' and the 'Pedagogy of Freire' may be considered an epistemological issue.

Primary data collection (2007-2009) used mainly qualitative methods. In social development research, especially in field of education, generic qualitative studies are most common (Merriam 1998 cited in Caelli et al. 2003: 6); and they do not provide a single understanding of a situation, but acknowledge the complexity (8). For that reason, the following key points on the credibility of such research takes a significant role: 1) the theoretical positioning of the researcher, 2) the strategies to establish rigor and 3) the analytical lens through which the data are examined.

My theoretical positioning is based on my field experience, which motivated me to study the hidden issues of Afro-Paraguayan women's identity further. The methodology of empirical study aims to bring out the stereotype of gender knowledge by using qualitative research (interviews, focus group discussions, and Participatory Learning and Activities). Using a comparison of quantitative data collection (surveys) can be a strategy to establish rigor, and the curriculum is employed to provide an analytical lens into the assumptions of the LLP.

Analytical lens refers to a methodological assumption that a researcher examines in the data collection: 'All research approaches have underlying presuppositions about *the nature of knowledge* (i.e. epistemology). Qualitative approaches also carry with them implicit assumptions about *what it means to be human* (i.e. ontology)' (Caelli et al. 2003: 17). The knowledge delivered can show how the Lifelong Learning has been affected or influenced by social norms or a gender-based ontology, or the difference between 'what it means to be human' (in the eyes of policymakers) contrasted with the perspectives of young women's identity and aspiration in Emboscada.

1.7   Organizing the research

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[22] http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/ (accessed 07/01/2010).

This study offers a critique of a pedagogical approach from a gender perspective by exploring the workings of marginalization in the creation and re-creation of young learner's identity and aspiration. Following this introduction, the second chapter discusses the concept of marginalization and gender in LLP, showing two processes: gender assumptions behind institutional arrangements that obstruct female learner's access to education and decent work, and the definition of skills within the teaching programme design and its mode of delivery. The third chapter examines affects of both direct and indirect power during implementation and how these affect the identity and ability of learners' to reflect on their own aspirations. The case study in the fourth chapter takes the perspective of critical literacy to show both visible and invisible aspects of the marginalization of women's opportunities for decent life, and demonstrates the re-structuring process of power involved in recreating learner's identity, highlighting the re-emergence of colonial identities in a post-colonial context.

Chapter 2

Marginalization in the Lifelong Learning Programme of Emboscada: A framework of analysis

This chapter provides a framework for the analysis of marginalization, Lifelong Learning (LLL) and gender. It defines how these concepts relate to female learner's identity and aspiration, and elaborates on the normative concepts framed in the LLP to identify the learners as a 'target group of young women' at national policy level. I then trace two key problematic issues: 1) 'institutional arrangements' to promote participation and to offset power-relations, and 2) ethnic and class differentiation in the curriculum of the LLP. This chapter shows how the normative meaning of 'care' used in the project is too narrow and does not challenge the identity of the care provider. As such it can reproduce unequal structure within a post-colonial context.

2.1 Marginalization

Numerous scholars in development studies have long studied marginalization. Kuitenbrouwer (1973: 1) characterized 'marginalization' in Latin America as the genesis in a process of transformation: '…through which groups of the population are relegated to conditions which do not allow them to participate actively, equitably and productively in the societies of which they form part' (ibid). Understanding the roots of marginalization attacking poverty requires us to analyse the policy that structures social relationships, which characterize unequal power-relations and uneven distribution of social benefit (2-3). Thirty-five years later, Kuitenbrouwer's views on the condition of social inequality in Latin America prevail on many levels. For instance, the unequal distribution of social benefit among different classes and ethnicities today in Latin America has been observed that '…socio-economic differentiation exists within communities and that often the leadership and richer groups are the main beneficiaries of these programmes' (Bretón Solo de Zaldívar 2002 cited in Kay 2005: 324).

Marginalization in Latin America has been an outcome of colonial and post-colonial histories and their complex racial interactions. In Paraguay, during and after the Spanish colonial era, rebellion and liberation movement in various periods succeeded in taking power and transforming a society controlled by 'white' people to one of Mestizo (mixed races such as white and indigenous people) by law and regulations. Dr Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia (1814-1840) of Paraguay, known as 'El Supremo (the Supreme one)' dictated that white citizens could not marry other whites, but they could marry other races (blacks, mulattoes, Native American) (Williams 1971: 272 cited in Lipski 2008: 3). This law intended to create a mixed race society by way of forced mixed marriage between white men and native

American women to create a nation of Mestizos who would hold social and political power (Lipski 2008: 3). However, the transformed power structure (Mestizo society) has recreated the marginalization of Afro-Paraguayans who were not part of the White-Native mix. Today a majority of them face great difficulty in finding means of livelihood; lack access to social services, education and health insurance (Diaz 2010: 2).

No matter who holds power in the society, gender inequality has always existed on different levels throughout history. The recent action under the Second National Plan for Equal Opportunity for Men and Women, 2003-2007 (known as PIO II), expressed women's voices in social and political participation was based on 'securing equitable access' and 'equal participation for women and men in the power structure and decision-making processes' (CEDAW 2005: 5).

Women's life opportunities seem to depend on the multi differentiation. Inequality of distribution and social political economic participation among poor, middle and upper class exist in 'which poor community construct alternative forms of justice that fill the gap left by the state' (Dixon 2006: 255). For instance, many black women often work in middle class households as domestic workers (Wade 2006: 111), which may make it a significant domain to experience their multi differentiation (class, ethnicity and gender). The majority of black women in Latin America experience life at the bottom of the social and economic ladder, harmed by social violence and lack access to the core power (Dixon 2006: 255).

Hooker's study of Afro-Latinos (2005) shows how they have faced marginalization in terms of collective rights of an ethnic minority, which is different from other ethnic groups such as indigenous people. For instance, despite 12 Latin American countries including Paraguay ratifying Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO), Afro-Latinos are not included as 'Indigenous' or 'Tribal People' in many countries (286). Pedro noted that,

> To be black in Paraguay is to be almost invisible to the rest of society…despite their lack of numbers and the daily racism to which they are subjected, maintain a distinct identity characterized by a vibrant and continually evolving culture…Afro Paraguayan as a separate category are absent from any national legislation, as if it were assumed that black culture either has disappeared, or should do so (2000: 1).

Their marginalization based on ethnicity remains invisible because they are defined in terms of class status.

Furthermore, Afro-Paraguayan is the least recognized ethnic group even among scholarly studies because of their small population size (Lipski 2008: 2-3). For instance, analysis of ethnic-based marginalization in 11 countries provide an explanation of the gap in collective rights between indigenous people and blacks (Hooker 2005: 298), but Paraguay is excluded from this study. Afro-Paraguayan's invisibility is also reflected in international and national policies, which remain blind to their cultural and social economic

marginalization (for instance, CEDAW reported no aspects of Afro-Paraguayan in 2005).

Afro-Paraguayans experience a high degree of poverty caused by lack of access to basic social services such as education or health care within poor livelihoods. They face difficulty remaining in school, and often drop out of school to go to work (Diaz 2010: 1-2). Since they have not completed their compulsory education, it may be hard to get decent work. Even more, their wages are lower than others who have completed their Basic Education (Hooker 2005: 288). Of additional significance is that social normative discrimination against Blacks in general can marginalize Afro-Paraguayans and their choice of work. This can cause social marginalization as manifested in the lack of access to basic social services.

Today, Afro-Paraguayan women are among the main group of dropouts from the LLP, many of them do not have access to health insurance or decent work, which in principle could help ensure a pension. Economic marginalization of Afro-Paraguayan is built upon their cultural and social position as an ethnic group.

Cultural marginalization can be the invisible ethnic identity of Afro-Paraguayans in the process of social transformation where other indigenous groups collect their rights as an ethnic identity. This invisibility affected the national blindness regarding Afro-Paraguayan ethnic identity.

The black population in Emboscada, within their (post-slave) identity, structured in the colonial and post-colonial period, is marginalized socially, economically and culturally. Many of whom were actually enslaved despite the fact they had been sent there to be free (Lipski 2008: 6). Even today, the discriminated identity of post-slave population exists in Emboscada. For instance, it is difficult to determine the population size of the Afro-Paraguayans in Emboscada, because most of them prefer not to identify themselves as Afro-Paraguayan (5). This shows a circular linkage between their cultural and social marginalization, which makes their ethnic identity invisible to policymakers; this in turn affects the LLP of Emboscada, which now has many hidden layers of marginalization.

2.2 Lifelong Learning (LLL)

The pedagogical approach called Lifelong Learning (LLL) contains hidden aspects of marginalization beyond the issue of identity produced by history as discussed above. LLL is implicated in the research site, because it is the approach within the national effort to decrease the degree of poverty of the marginalized group of population and contains an important gender dimension written into the pilot project.

LLL contexts and goals depend on the country or group involved.[23] In developmental concept, UNESCO defines LLL as EFA goal number 3: an approach to promote the learning of skills for life's needs. LLL is also expected to influence progress towards a better quality of Education.[24] This UNESCO definition is used in this research. According to the MEC Educational Plan Department, 2001 yearbook, 69,690 people have been recorded as LLP (Continuing education and special education in Paraguayan national definition) participants (CEDAW 2005: 9), however the LLP dropout rate is missing. My paper will analyse the relational aspects behind this missing data within the conceptual frames of marginalizing learners in the LLP in Emboscada.

Mato (2000: 479) emphasized the meaning of education as being the fundamental communication to secure human life in all classes. Social Development approaches, though different, share something very important in that they focus on culture and power; both of them are motivated by certain 'power sensibility', or attentiveness toward the issues of power inherent to social experience, as well as to our own practices as intellectuals (ibid).

In respect of theory and practice, Freire suggests that the key to success in adult (and adolescent) education is to take an approach, which is dialogical within a relationship of equality. He tells of his '...experience as an educator with the people, using a dialogical and problem-posing education...' (Freire 1993 [1970]: 22 cited in Mato 2000: 492) while examining top-down education called 'banking of education' in his critical literacy. The vertical relationship between persons (A over B) only brings about historical cultural formation through dominant transformation. In contrast, the horizontal relationship (A with B) between persons would create the alternative formation through inquiry, creativity, reflection and action upon reality in the society (A. Freire et al. 1998: 77, 83-4).

> In sum: banking theory and practice, as immobilizing and fixating forces, fail to acknowledge men and women as historical beings; problem-posing theory and practice take the people's historicity as their starting point (77).

Taking the definition of LLL as education for adolescents and adults, Freire's view is a key perspective in the debate on the meaning and value of LLL questioning whether education is for reproducing another oppressor or one's problem posing through learner's empirical experience.

2.2.1 *Skills* conceptualized in the Lifelong Learning Programme

Lifelong Learning (LLL) has been promoted by what the Ministry of Education and Culture refer to as promoting learners' opportunity to gain skills in

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[23] Source, the report of UNESCO-JICA International Symposium on Non-formal Education to promote EFA and LLL.
[24] Ibid.

Paraguay. *Skills,* as used here, refer to people's abilities to consider their future, taking a long-term view; to make a decision, make a choice in terms of access to a better condition of life through their own literate and technical ability in respect of gaining employment.[25]

The LLP identifies learners as vulnerable groups of people who need to be trained in additional practical vocational skills for accessing employment for a better quality of life. The programme defines 'skill' of learners as the capacity for economic participation while focusing on 'women's vocational skill training' in order to promote women's participation in workforce within the national policy for eliminating gender bias in employment and poverty (CEDAW 2005: 13-14). The defined skill also requires literacy as well as vocational technical acquirement. Many of those targeted women in Emboscada (Afro-Paraguayan origin population) have dropped out of basic education (9 years basic education). Of them, 7.4 per cent of ***school age*** population of Afro-Paraguayan is illiterate (Diaz 2010: 2). The total illiteracy rate of Afro-Paraguayan has not been examined. Although the national monitoring report has provided the literacy rate for 17 other ethnic minority groups (CEDAW 2005: 10), it has not included Afro-Paraguayan in the list of minority groups.

The LLP learner's skill to be acquired is limited to those set in the frame designed by those having more power over decision-making on the meaning of LLP itself. In contrast, Freire's theory defines skill as the key acquirement to expand one's future in 'being fully human' without oppression by others (1970: 27), and degree of illiteracy shows one's lack of experience participating in historical process (1974: 37). The comparison between definitions of skills adopted in the normative frame of LLP and that adopted by Friere will be debated later in Chapter 4.

2.2.2 Employment as conceptualized in the Lifelong Learning Programme

The LLP is designed to help learner's acquire skills so that they can access employment, as employment is a direct factor in poverty alleviation projects. In the 2002 census, 72.5 per cent of the economically active in Paraguay population were men and 34.7 per cent women (CEDAW 2005: 15), and national effort is put toward encouraging women's employment under International monitoring. However, the most positive impact for poverty reduction requires employment to link with both the quantity and quality of work to sustain decent economic and social conditions for employees (Osmani 2003: 3). As result of economic crisis, the quality of women's employment has decreased proportionally within the degree of gender discrimination in Paraguay (CEDAW 2005: 14). Thus, there are even fewer opportunities for poor women in the Afro-Paraguayan rooted community, as

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[25] www.unesco.org/en/efa (accessed 10/12/2009).

they cannot access quality of job defined as 'decent work' and have to take mainly domestic work (Diaz 2010: 2).

However, LLP designs the curriculum of vocational education while specifying 'care-giving work' as a female learner's potential work. There is also one computer skill learning course in which many participants desire to participate, but registration requires a prerequisite academic course available in the LLP, thus, a limited number of people (approximately five per cent of total participants in 2008) can take it. Throughout the curriculum, the LLP offers female learners 'skills' mainly in 'care' work. Furthermore, the LLP defined 'employment' as 'employment that the targeted women can access in the society' such as 'self-employment,' and 'domestic work' as practical choices for these women in current social condition. In the data from CEDAW (2005: 15), these two categories of employment are the highest; self-employed worker is the highest at 30.6 per cent with domestic employee coming in second at 25.3 per cent in Paraguay, according to the 2002 census.

2.2.3 Adolescents, their identity and aspiration in the LLP

The LLP of Emboscada has targeted especially 'young women' for education as adolescents and adults are in a vulnerable group. The rate of LLP participants (2008) between 15 and 39 years old is approximately 89 per cent in total. Adolescent refers to a generation transformed between childhood and adulthood (Alanen 2001: 14). Wyn et al. write of the 'problematic nature of being a young person and the even more problematic nature of becoming adult' (1997: 8), and Adolescent is characterized a transition process to adulthood (ibid). Looking at adolescent studies from a psychological perspective, the significance of their development process is usually affected by the environmental influence on the individual development (Crow et al. 1965: 4). The development process within environment experience also relates to the mental ability of the adolescent (103), and they may imitate the behaviour of individuals they admire as an ideal (343).

Adolescent identity can be also influenced or affected by the passing social process within the normative inherited structures (Wyn et al. 1997: 9). This definition is a starting point for my examination of those features of adolescent *identity* and *aspiration* created through the passage to adulthood, by their social position, which is constructed within the social normative environment such as an educational institution－ the LLP.

Moving beyond this perspective, my study conceptualizes young LLP learners as a transformative generation and therefore their empirical experience, which influences or affects the construction of their own identity, and is a political issue related to their marginalization. Education thus is not a functional issue, but a process of gaining awareness of their structural position in society and how this creates *self-identity* and *aspirations,* which challenges or re-enforces this position.

2.3 Gender, care and social policy

Gender has various directional and dimensional aspects interconnected with social development (Wells 2009: 48); the gender link may be revealed by examining gender simultaneously as a set of social relations within a cultural system and a process of identity in which 'gender' is produced and reproduced, transforms itself or remains within the social structure.

Wade (2006: 111) introduces the three key statuses of conceptualizing gender in Afro-Latina's case: blackness, poverty and gendered disreputability, each of which is hidden behind a circular process of mutual constitution. Those gender related concepts also define how post-colonial contexts relate to each dimension, and it addresses my analysis of how social relations and cultural systems regard Afro-Paraguayan women's identity and aspirations.

2.3.1 Gender as social relations

Gender refers to a range of socially-constructed roles, behaviours and relations where it associates with power differentiation between men and women in a given society at a particular time in definition of social normative morals (Esplen 2009: 2). Gender in social relations is a multidimensional issue between men and women constructed by social norms where cultural system creates unequal gender roles such as uneven distribution of power, benefits and opportunities in social, moral or normative roles depend on the categorized sex group.

In case of Afro-Latino/a, ethnicity and class are significant issues in understanding gender in social relations, and each relations among those issues mediate the experience of gender both at the individual and societal levels (Dixon 2006: 253-5).

In a recent Latin American study, the relationship between indigenous and Afro-Latino centred on an ethnic analysis of social normative inequality (Hooker 2005, Wade 2006). The differences are in multi-interconnected aspects such as size of population or ethnic characters, and those aspects are structured within the post-colonial context (Hooker 2005).

 Producing gender phenomena in Latin American social relations often associates within a cultural system that implies ethnic and class differentiation in power relations not only between men and women but also within each gender. Wade (2006: 111) supports this point, 'For many black women a key domain for experiencing race is domestic service in its various forms, often involving work in middle class household'. The class differentiation has remained in the post-colonial structure (Dias 2010, Hooker 2005, Pedro 2005). Gender as inherited historical realities, expresses itself both in social relations and in cultural systems, and connects them to produce a 'gender identity' as a normative frame, which then can affect a person's aspiration and association with self-identity.

2.3.2 Gender in cultural systems: Gender and care in shaping Afro-Paraguayan women's identity

Defining gender in a cultural system, Wells reveals two currents in gender theory: socialization and social normative performance, and gender socialization is the result of patterns in parental inculcation of their gender roles (2009: 48). To analyse the social development, the care issue is significant to understand social normative gender roles in cultural systems.

Multiple dimensions integrate gender and care: care as moral duty, domain affected by women's identity, care arrangement in social provision, and care in social development policy in development countries.

Esplen emphasized the importance of care duty/moral in social justice as follows:

> Providing care can have a major impact on people's lives and on the strategic choices available to them, particularly in contexts of poverty. For example, many girls have to drop out of school to help with domestic activities or to care for younger siblings when their mothers are sick or out working (Esplen 2009: 1).

The moral is created within the social norms and inherited cultural norms, and affected by women's identity[26] through the social location of women in society. Gender in Latin American the cultural system remains a social provision of domestic-based women's work, care duty for extended family although more women take part in economic participation in society (Chant 2002: 551, Dixon 2006: 255).

Engster refers to Goodin's idea of positive care duty, 'These obligations include not only the negative duty to refrain from causing them harm but also the positive duty to meet their needs when we are in position to do so' (Goodin 1985: 110-11 cited in Engster 2005: 58). In other words, if the care duty derives from one's will and love, the care duty emerges positively (Engster 2005: 67-8). It appears that the poorest women spend more time and effort and other resources in care work, which is a violation of their right to health and maintenance of their own quality of life and well-being as Esplen expressed in his social justice (2009: 15). Further understanding of care in social development, Standing (cited in Pearson 2000: 233) proposes re-evaluating the position of care-givers in society in line with '...not just people's rights and access to care, but also the centrality of the social recognition of the value of care'.

In its post-colonial form, the notion of 'care' within the process of identity construction among Afro-Paraguayan's and its links with social relations remains a moral and care duty inherited from the cultural systems. Gender identity among Afro-Paraguayans remains thus far, invisible to policymakers, primarily due to the statistical invisibility of this group, in addition to the gender blindness on a national level despite international moni-

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[26] Women's identity is defined in 2.3.3.

toring discussed earlier. Wade (2006: 110) points out the significance of the interconnection between gender identity with class and with race. In the case of Afro-Paraguayan women, Johnsson emphasized the post-colonial researcher's view on how post-colonial context structured masculinity and reconstructed a domain of gender identity (2004: 31). Women's self-identity also protects 'masculine identity' as a breadwinner in Latin American culture within social norms, for instance, their primary self-identity exists in 'relations to the ideology of reproduction' while remaining firmly rooted in house-based work within the functioning of social normative performance such as mothering in woman's life (Chant 2002: 552-3). Afro-Paraguayan women's gender identity may be understood as being reconstructed through the experience of social provisioning and care providing.

Within these aspects of conceptualizing, Afro-Paraguayan women's identity shows how it is reconstructed in empirical experience, gender inequality of power-relations (at different levels of people intersecting gender within ethnicity and class) and social provision.

2.3.3 Care in social policy: Identifying women within the LLP

The LLP is targeting young women in conjunction with the national effort to eliminate gender discrimination. Through finding the 'care duty' of learners, a progressive strategy to achieve gender equality turns out to be counter-productive due to its de-contextualized understanding of 'care' in social policy. UNRISD research defines the main reason for aspects of care being matters of social development as follows:

> Care has important features of a public good whose contribution to economic growth, social development and social cohesion extends far beyond the individual care recipient. The costs of care must therefore be more evenly distributed among all members of society (2010: 5).

The LLP defines both male and female learners as vulnerable groups who need access to social benefits (gaining *skill* to access *employment*) for poverty alleviation through the programme. However, female learners were identified as the most prioritized vulnerable group in need of assistance, particularly single mothers[27] (or female heads of household) without social security, less access to resources (education, health and information) and empowerment (CEDAW 2005: 7).

The national policy that aims for poverty alleviation encourages the participatory approach in LLP operation and ownership of local actors involved in the programme. However, national policymakers are often thwarted by poor administration, policy implementation, and institutional

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[27] According to Chant's study (2002: 547), the percentage of female-head of household in Paraguay increased to its highest from 1987-1999 in fifteen Latin countries.

arrangements do not cover the rural sector or the majority of population thus only limited sectors of the population (the elites) have access to decent work with pensions (Molyneux 2007: 4).

The LLP pays careful attention to the participatory methodology－suggesting not only participation of administrative actors, but also participation of LLP learners to empower women in poverty alleviation strategies such as those emphasized in the objectives of the Master Plan[28] 2005-2008, 'Promotion of sustainable and equitable development in which both women and men participate.' Molyneux examined 'the deeply gendered conception of social need' in the community participatory programmes in Latin America:

> These generally accorded with idealized assumptions about the asymmetric social positions occupied by the sexes with male breadwinners and female... according to these normative social roles.... While women gained access to education and health and entered the workforce, by broad consensus their primary duties lay within the family (Molyneux 2007: 4-5).

Razavi (2007: 15) also questions whether public policy has been mixing 'love' and 'money' in respect to care giving with the emergence of obligatory and non-paid care-work in the economic analysis. As well as her point, the obligation of care (mixing private and public) has emerged within the LLP of Emboscada.

Poverty alleviation programmes under social policy often assume women's involvement in non-paid care work and their marginalization as a choice of work within the programme design.

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[28] www.aeced.vn/gueesaeci.en.html (accessed 29/08/2010).

Chapter 3
Institutional arrangement to support LLP in Emboscada: Gender perspective

This chapter discusses the gender-based *institutional arrangement within the Lifelong Learning Programme* as emerged from interviews/focus group discussions with people involved in the LLP. It first provides background information of the institutional arrangement supporting the LLP and moves on to illustrate how women's experience both as learner and actor, offer critical analysis of how the institutional arrangement re-creates power-relations at different levels—between and among both genders intersecting class and race.

3.1   Gender in the Lifelong Learning Programme in Emboscada

The focus on young women in minority groups over the last few years was a significant result of the Gender Policy at state level, combining a gender perspective with one on minority rights. The National Plan for Equal Opportunities in which various public sector institutions adopts the perspective of 'gender and equity' incorporating it in plans and programmes. The inter-institutional Equal Educational Opportunity and Achievement Programme for Women (PRIOME) is responsible for the field of education, the general objective being to ensure full access to education for men and women and a proportionate length of attendance in the educational system, and the promotion and incorporation of gender equality in teaching practices. 'Empowerment with a view to helping develop the autonomy and active participation of young and adolescent girls in the educational system' (CEDAW 2004: 7). Afro-Paraguayans are not recognized as a distinct ethnic group and therefore do not feature in the national census (Pedro, 2000: 1). Their invisibility to the government shows through the programming of LLP intended for ethnic minority groups.

In 2007, the Ministry of Education and Culture (of Paraguay) designated the LLP in Emboscada (supported by AECID) for a national pilot project. The national pilot scheme aims for poverty alleviation by strengthening the Programme's operation and quality of teaching methodology and by using narrow targeting combined with a participatory approach. Information collected during field interviews in 2007, shows why Emboscada was selected for a national pilot project of LLP (aimed in poverty reduction/alleviation):

1) Emboscada has faced a worse degree of poverty compared with neighbouring regions. The ministry was targeting young unemployed/dropout women living in poverty, and many women living in Emboscada fit this profile.

2) Although the LLP already in operation there received positive evalua-
   tion, (by the Ministry) equipment and teaching/learning materials were
   lacking.

The national targeting scheme has not mentioned the deprivation of
Afro-Paraguayans as a minority group facing discrimination. Countrywide,
national data shows that 34.7 per cent of women are economically active,[29]
selected studies reveal that most women in the Afro-Paraguayan community
are domestic employees or engaged in low-level jobs (Diaz 2010: 2).

Field visits[30] in 2007 to 40 households in a sub-central area called 'Bar-
rio Fatima' in Emboscada to observe young women's access to resource re-
corded the following results[31]. Only 10 per cent of the women are economi-
cally active in domestic work, and most of them are involved in informal
trade and other forms of self-employment such as making handcrafts. None
of them had work that fit the ILO normative definition of 'decent work'.[32]

Emboscada was selected for LLP national targeting of poverty allevia-
tion within donor's policy frame because of the deprivation that appears
through such a high degree of women's poverty. There are two main institu-
tional arrangements supporting the LLP:

1) Informal norms required women to volunteer within the LLP while re-
   covering the lack of budget allocation in name of 'participatory ap-
   proach' (and those women do not access to descent work).
2) Historically inherited social class discrimination (such as Afro-
   Paraguayan) has limited targeted women's access to decision-making
   (so that the one can control the other).

The first institutional arrangement has emerged within the policy frame
promoted by the national participatory approach. However, policymaking
has ignored the background of the Afro-Paraguayan's vulnerability.

Thus, the second institutional arrangement has occurred within the so-
cial and cultural norms where it had been invisible to Afro-Paraguayan
women's discrimination. The CREP[33] administrative team for instance in-

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[29] Age range, 17 to 39 years old.

[30] Primary data on regional poverty was obtained in conjunction with CREP per-
sonnel from July to October 2007 (permission obtained 22/09/2010).

[31] 72.5 per cent male and 34.7 per cent female in the economically-active popula-
tion of Paraguay, the women are further divided into 26.6 per cent agricultural sec-
tor, 17.8 per cent industrial sector and 52.1 per cent service sector (CEDAW 2005:
15).

[32] The notion of decent work has four elements: employment, social security,
workers' rights and social dialogue. Decent work also includes safety at work and
healthy working conditions, the social security component for protection against
risk of losing income (Ghai 2002: 7).

[33] Information collected in field interviews in 2008.

vestigated why many young women expected to receive learning opportunities because there are no employment opportunities for these women, but they have not commented on any investigational aspects causing these women to have reduced access to resources (education, employment and so on) in social/cultural structure.

Even though the poverty discourse pays some attention to gender, often only in respect to women's vulnerability, but not in examination of the cause of this vulnerability such as discrimination limiting power in decision-making and access to resources (Johnsson 2004: 24).

3.2 Emerging obligation of care within the institutional arrangement supporting the LLP operation

Engster (2005: 57) distinguishes between three meanings of 'care': 1) personal care for another, 2) ensuring others are cared for, and 3) caring for others collectively by instituting a programme of support. The third definition of care, a commitment to care for others through institutional arrangements, is within the *normative social morals.* Engster emphasizes the principle of normative social care duty noting that '…care theorists have generally rejected this understanding of caring on the grounds that it conflicts with intuitive understanding of what it means to be a caring and moral person'(61).

The LLP assistance to poor women learners, who have children, as a policy, falls in line with Engster's third definition of care. However, this commitment is not expressed in budgetary terms. Therefore, the implementation has faced financial problems, both in terms of administration of care arrangements as well as covering cost of nursing the children of learners. Nonetheless the non-paid workload of the volunteers (both teachers and participants) makes up for the inadequate budgets.[34] For instance, 80 per cent[35] of child carers within the project have been working in a volunteer position, and all of them are women.

During 2007-2009, out of a total teaching staff of 22, six were voluntary teachers, two in the basic education programme section and four in the nursing care section. Two of these six volunteer teachers were male. I interviewed them about the details of their volunteer workload. For both, their motivation for volunteer teaching was the expectation of gaining a paid teaching position later. They remained involved for a year expecting a paid position, but left the next year because neither of them received pay. The other four (the women) maintained their non-paid teaching under CREP. In the focus group discussion, it appeared that all six had been told they might become paid workers. Moreover, young learners in the Programme were also expected to offer volunteer service in areas of maintenance of the prem-

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[34] Information collected in field interviews in 2009.

[35] Four out of five childcare workers were non-paid in 2007-2009.

ises and fundraising activities like cooking, baking bread and cakes. The care-giving work has covered the core part of the volunteer administration such as child nursing care, pre-conditioning for fundraising and domestic work at CREP.

This shows that the LLP placed the burden of social provision of care on participants who are members of the community, rather than affirming its commitment in more structured ways. Since the social programme budget was limited, the questionable volunteer workload placed mainly on women emerges in the implementation of the LLP, and plenty of volunteer work exists in the context of efforts to alleviate the high unemployment rate among poor women (UNRISD 2010: 5). In other words, the LLP targeted young female learners as a vulnerable group who need to access employment even while providing non-paid work within normative moral duties.

Furthermore, my interviews[36] reveal a burden of care placed on participants obstructing their opportunities to participate in the LLP,

> I have followed the LLP at CREP for a year, but I'm not sure if I can continue to attend, because I face the difficulty of time allocation in my daily life. Not only attending class but I need to manage care giving work at home, honestly there is no more time allocating space for the voluntary work such as fundraising activities of CREP (Interviewee 7).

After obtaining the interview data, my analysis proceeded through five more women who have been involved as volunteers under the CREP. Four out of five women were of the opinion that the non-paid workload affected their LLP motivation. The main reason given was that 'time allocating is difficult while having house-keeping work'; the sub reason was difficulty in getting family members' understanding about attending the Programme, and desire to allocate time for paid work. One of five responded that she had enough understanding family members and the will to become involved in non-paid care work at CREP.

A burden of care work was not only a matter of the volunteer workers at CREP: the intra-household care work also affected them. There is a general assumption in Latin American society, basically by males, that benefits are unequally received in 'normative social roles' (Molyneux 2007: 4). Overall, given the multi dimensions of care-work as illustrated here, the institutional arrangement of the LLP in Emboscada puts additional burden of care work on female participants within social norms, and does not distinguish properly or effectively between formal and informal. It is not just a question of strengthening a better policy design but also the way society provides and organizes 'care positions' and whether this makes a step forward for gender equality and women's economic and social security (Razavi 2007: 33).

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[36] Interviews targeted ten female participants (ages 15-39) who had been absent more than two weeks in 2009.

3.3 Gender aspects of institutional arrangement in the LLP's operation and how these caused marginalization

Despite international policy that encouraged Paraguayan policy to eliminate gender inequality in multiple dimensions, the national institution definitely arranges a gender bias from global perspective such as the way it implements the participatory approach illustrated in earlier sections of this paper.

Gender aspects has emerged in the institutional arrangement of the LLP's operation in the participatory methodology within mainly two dimensions—social norms offering women non-paid care-giving work and social provision of care-giving work itself lacks national recognition. CEDAW (2005) reported the national effort to stop gender bias in Paraguay, but there are no data on the 'care issue' in the latest evaluation report.

However in fact, eighty-eight per cent[37] of participants in the LLP revealed the reality of the burden of volunteer work. In many Paraguayan communities, the care-giving work in both intra-household and in the community is considered 'women's duty' within social and cultural norms.[38]Furthermore, the institutional power relations arranging the care-giving work in the class differentiation among women has also been structured within postcolonial contexts. For instance, some key national officers in the LLP are women, which lend credence to the national policy putting effort toward women's social political and economic participation.

Nevertheless the gender-based arrangement within the dominant institution of power has recurred in the LLP in Emboscada. The global hegemonic values have caused the targeting of unemployed young women as recipients of vocational education with the expectation that the LLP use participatory approaches in set up and operation in which the volunteers are essential to the programme's success. The dominant power decides the priority of budget allocation and offering capacity building to the administrative team to make a mission/vision within the policy frame.[39] Not even one sentence of volunteer workload on women, or the voice of participants has appeared in either mission[40] or vision statements;[41] the targeted women are marginalized with no power or access to information or a platform to voice their concerns. Moreover, they have already assumed the burden of care duty for family members, who rarely encourage them to obtain an education. Then the social normative discrimination discourages these women from accessing decent employment.

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[37] Eighty-eight per cent based on the seven out of eight female participants in the LLP (2007-2008) interviewed September-October 2008.

[38] Based on interviews and focus groups discussions held during my research data collection.

[39] Information collected in field interviews in 2007.

[40] CREP Mission written in 2007 by local personnel.

[41] CREP Vision statement created in 2007 by local personnel.

The power relations on the institutional arrangements within the LLP exist in three overlapping groups: ethnic, class and gender differentiation (includes both genders) in institutionalized gender-based arrangement caused by the post-colonial contexts.

National-Local power relation is an illustration of ethnic differentiation within an inherited post-colonial context. Within this power relation, the programme design has been institutionalized from a global/national perspective— their participatory programme means that it includes the female participants who are expected to do volunteer work to show their solidarity with the LLP. Since the Paraguayan national team are educated in the capacity-building programme, structured from a global perspective, they have also agreed with global ideology. The social normative racism against Afro-Paraguayan also relates to power relations intersecting with class differentiation.

The power-relation in the class differentiation intersects with race and gender ('between men and women' and 'among both genders') within the LLP has marginalized Afro-Paraguayan women, both participants and local administrative members. There are two key aspects to their marginalization.

One is the power-relation between middle-upper class (such as power holder at local level) and other main Afro-Paraguayan origin members (such as local teachers including volunteers). Those female teachers who get a paid position very often are in the upper class, or have connection to power holders.

The other one is the social normative class differentiation, which intersects with post-colonial Afro-Paraguayan ethnic discrimination that the national policy has not recognized the marginalization of those women in social political and economic participation. Thus, even the national effort to increase the minimum quarter for women's participation to 50 per cent from 20 per cent (CEDAW 2005: 4), the effort has invisibly discriminated against Afro-Paraguayan women by failing to recognize the Afro-Paraguayan women's marginalization. However, women in Emboscada face the burden of care-work at home while they sometimes cover domestic work for middle class women, because of the marginalization, the domestic work is often only for money.

Therefore, Afro-Paraguayans have been marginalized against gaining skill and access to decent work by the class differentiation (among women) constructed in the post-colonial period. Behind this marginalization, richer women can access political decision-making power with higher education and a better influenced channel to political matters such as offering additional care-work to poor women. The institutional provision of women's care work in society has marginalized them by the globally gendered view that is blind to the sensibility of post-colonial discrimination against invisible minorities in Paraguay.

Last, the gender power relations between men and women have also affected the institutional arrangement within social norms, because volunteer care workers are mainly women. My interview data indicated that the burden of volunteer care workload on women has been caused by a gender-

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based institutional arrangement, which has been supporting the LLP implementation while identifying women in Emboscada within social norms. The social norms again have been structured in the post-colonial history within the discrimination against Afro-Paraguayan women. The historical context, where men have lost 'their former role as breadwinner' in colonial society, masculine intra-households have strengthened control over women to recover men's superior power as head of household, has often caused multiple types of violence against women (Johnsson 2004: 31).

Afro-Paraguayan women in Emboscada are marginalized as creators of their alternative future within the LLP, because all illustrated institutional arrangements marginalize them as learners and actors of change.

3.4   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the institutional arrangements of young women within the LLP operation from a gender perspective. The two main arguments presented were how the institutional arrangement has been promoted in the Participatory Approach by elites within a global view and, in what way the inherited historical social discrimination (in ethnicity, class and gender) has marginalized those women in the LLP. The programme has re-create the power relation at different group levels such as *ethnic discrimination*, *class differentiation intersecting gender such as among rich and poor women* and *gender inequality in both the household and society in Paraguay* structured in post-colonial history.

Concerning all illustrations in this chapter, poorer women in Emboscada have been marginalized more in their opportunities to gain skills and access decent work. Additionally, they are institutionally arranged to provide non-paid care-giving work within the LLP. Most women targeted are of Afro-Paraguayan ethnicity, a major population of Emboscada. Many of them had to leave the Programme owing to difficulty in allocating time due to their workload. Women in Emboscada have always undertaken a burden of care work in the household, and few had the family members' understanding about gaining education because of a gendered social norm. Although the Programme targeted poor women for the sake of their economic improvement, the institutional arrangement has further marginalized these women by 'creating an additional non-paid workload for them in the participatory approach' and 're-creating a gender bias of power-relations' in the social structure not only 'men and women' but also 'among women' through the historical post-colonial contexts.

Chapter 4
Young learner's knowledge acquirement in LLP: Gender perspective

This chapter introduces three significant aspects to analyse the young learners' acquirements in the LLP from gender perspective. The analysis examines feminist ontology within the epistemological frame of Freire's theory. Ontology refers to 'a systematic account of Existence,' for the knowledge-based system in a formalism, the set of objects that can be represented is called 'the universe of discourse' such as classes, relations, functions (Gruber 1993: 1-2). The ontology in my critical discourse examines 'young Afro-Paraguayan women's identity in Emboscada within the LLP' in the way of which the feminist consciousness raises with the model of consciousness that has explicit within the idea of change or of development (Stanley et.al 1993: 120), and the model debates positivism and naturalism in involving the theoretical concern (151).

Freire defined 'adult (and adolescent) education' as an introduction to the democratization of culture associated 'directly to the transitivity of their consciousness' and demonstrated his perspective of the education, while also he emphasized the meaning of one's 'illiteracy' refer to be a lack of participation in the historical process (1974: 37).

The first part of the analysis shows the relationship of learners' objectives promoted by curriculum with what they actually learn within the curriculum of the LLP from a gender perspective. It defines the differences in gender roles promoted through education, and the social norms created through the LLP curriculum. The second part analyzes the young learners' aspirations and reflections on their identity while focusing on one aspect: how they reconstructing self-identity within the LLP. The third part reflects on the finding from the perspective of Freire and opens space for further understanding how post-colonial contexts regard to marginalization. It also focuses on four issues in reviewing marginalization: self-identity, a lack of national and international recognition, division of labour, and social normative gender bias.

4.1 The curriculum and its relationship to adolescent learning objectives and acquirements: A gender critique

Freire's Theory of Pedagogy criticizes the dominant (top-down approach) education by the elites and emphasizes how it can minimize one's creative power (A. Freire et al. 1998: 69-70). The top-down approach to education affects not only a learner's creativity but also minimizes a space to adapt alternative knowledge or recognition for a group of educators, because the educators do not realize that they are oppressors. The blindness to being an oppressor can also cause limitations in liberating educators or for adapting alternative recognition. Curriculum design in the school system can be an-

other powerful influence to retain gender inequality and inherited tradition of men's and women's roles within a dominant source of gender bias (Esplen 2009: 37).

Analysis of the vocational training curricula in the LLP from a gender perspective shows how each learning curriculum relates to the gendered notions of economic participation in the society. The banking of education would identify men and women in false gender understanding, and place both men and women are in the passive learner's role as objects in acquiring knowledge in the mechanical learning system to transform learners into receiving objects formed by the oppressor (A. Freire et al. 1998: 69, 72).

For instance, men's curriculum based on technical learning 'construction work' such as electric and water supply construction work, leads directly to paid work. However, in Emboscada, men also face limited employment opportunities, so they usually looked for opportunities to migrate to the cross border countries (such as Argentina or Brazil) to work in construction, where they may re-experience oppression as a migrant worker. As Alvarado reveals that, 'Illegal immigrants join the labour market without benefiting from the labour laws of the country where they work and are generally forced to accept lower than average pay levels. To some extent, legal immigrants experience the same kind of exclusion as illegal ones' (2002: 104).

Curricula involving women, the contents are more likely domestic work based such as cooking and dressmaking where the programme encouraged female learners to be self-employed because of the lack of formal employment in Emboscada.[42] In fact, they can only access paid domestic work or self-employed work and sell those items at home individually. My research (survey of 15 self-employed women) found that between 10,000Gs-15,000Gs (approximately $2.5-3.5) are average earnings per day for self-employed women. Those women who had a shop in the centre of the city had more than 50,000Gs (approximately $12) in daily income, but they belong to the rich families who had historical ties with political and economical power holders in Emboscada. Besides vocational courses, women's learning options allowed them to expand their vocational skills to beautician, and many young women have attended this course. However, opening a beauty salon requires a certain amount of capital, and there are not many job opportunities for employment as a beautician in Emboscada, they would need influential connections for employment in the capital city (Asuncion) as a beautician.[43]

According to a focus group discussion,[44] the LLP has encouraged unemployed young women with children to participate in the community pro-

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[42] Information collected in field interviews in 2009.

[43] Information collected in field interviews in 2009.

[44] The focus group discussion among the LLP community project team, six female participants and two administrative members in 2007.

gramme, where they can learn traditional handicrafts to sell individually at home. However, the actual selling price[45] of a palm leaf handicraft hat was only between 2,000 to 3,000Gs (approximately $0.4-0.7) while taking more than one day to make one item.

Social provision of women's work has identified young Afro-Paraguayan women as learners of such vocational training leading to self-employment. However, the women's acquirement of vocational skills has limitations and may not alleviate women's poverty through self-employment.

My survey data[46] shows that those women[47] have been looking for decent work, and vocational training is a ticket to step into self-employment or domestic work within the social norm of Afro-Paraguayans. Oppressor's top-down approach fail to contradict the reality of poverty, education for the real social transformation may 'discover through existential experience that their present way of life is irreconcilable with their vocation to become fully human' (70).

The two significant aspects have obstructed young women's possibility of accessing decent work: the way the curriculum developed without their input and the ability of finding decent work in the society.[48] As long as care-giving work is at the bottom of society, with domestic work, the quality of women's employment cannot be changed.

In a case of 'Mobile Creches' in India, a better care provision has explored the potential availability in the alternative policy to respect care-giving design in promoting the economic participation of care activities (Esplen 2009: 52):

> …Mobile Creches has been working since 1969 to meet the childcare needs of informal women workers in the construction industry in India…. Mobile Creches also provide employment opportunity to young women with a basic education, as well as skills training and basic advice on care-giving. It has a more formal training programme for young women and men who would like a career in childcare. By creating opportunities for men to work in childcare—and in the caring professions more broadly—and by encouraging male employees to bring their children to work, initiatives to provide care services can prompt a shift in traditional patterns of responsibility for care-giving within the family (51-2).

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[45] The selling rate in October 2007.

[46] As result of survey of eighteen female vocational training participants (2007-2008) in the LLP.

[47] Fourteen out of eighteen women looking for decent work in the survey data collection (Appendix 1-Survey 4).

[48] The Afro-Paraguayan women are mostly domestic servants, which obligates them to work long hours at extremely low wages.

However for instance, even if the LLP of Emboscada offered vocational training for child nursing care, the caregiver's job availability would be limited within the society, and the availability for Afro-Paraguayan women would be even worse because they have fewer political connections in the job- market.[49]

The banking of education also lies in 'changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them' (Simone de Beauvoir 1963: 34 cited in A. Freire et al. 1998: 69), because the teaching method is intrinsic to policy framed by those who dominated (71). Within historical post-colonial contexts and remaining power-relations between two groups of men (oppressing men and oppressed men), the power-relation remains and deepens gender-bias between men (oppressing one) and women (oppressed one) as Johnsson demonstrates in earlier chapter (2004:31).

Concerning potential creativity of the alternative social norms within curriculum design, emerging feminist teachers would be vital in creating action instead of maintaining dominant power, but the banking of education has transformed and conditioned to empower both teachers and learners in the remaining institutional power inherited through historical context (McLaren et al. 1994: 147).

The national promoted curriculum was designed to be a help to learners' goal in accessing employment aimed at poverty alleviation without discrimination. The promotion pays attention to eliminating gender inequality in taking an important role in social development. However, what learners acquire from the LLP's curriculum is that both a gender bias and a degree of social inequality remain due to invisible ethnic and class differentiation associated within social norms inherited in the post-colonial context.

4.2 Adolescent aspirations and reflection of learner's identity

UN efforts such as Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) agreed to strengthen the notion of sharing care work and equal economic participation within a male-female partnership for better development supported by state service (Bedford 2010: 22).

However, the intra-household issue on care sharing is not simply strength because of multi-linkages such as cultural, social and historical contexts (Esplen 2009: 25). Thus, female learners have to attend school while maintaining heavy care workloads in the household within inherited social normative structures as illustrated in the earlier section.

According to the MEC report regarding CREP (2007-2008), the dropout rate was 13 per cent in total, with 53 per cent female and 47 per cent

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[49] Referred to in the collected information in PLA of young learner's aspiration (39).

male. However, the dropout rate in the advance courses such as the final year of basic education shows approximately 88 per cent female dropouts. Collecting primary data through interviewing several female participants allowed for deeper examination of gender contexts behind the high dropout rate of women at CREP.

One of the interviewees[50] stressed the difficulty of time allocation for LLP participation, because she already had enough work taking care of her children, cooking and cleaning, and additionally her father was ill, so she had no time to spare for attending LLP courses. Approximately 87 per cent of female participants have children,[51] and 70 per cent of female participants are single mothers' －some of them live with their partner's but are not formally registered as married, thereby providing less protection for her and her children's life. Even though they wish to acquire vocational skills for better employment while completing basic education within the LLP, the reality is that LLP cannot assist them within such obstructions as social norms. These normative aspects have inherited a gender bias within power-relations between men and women in society; structured by historical tradition and strengthened by post-colonial contexts.

The more males are oppressed in the dominant society the more they oppress women who have less power over 'self-chosen' and educated by the oppressor's educational design of a 'banking system education' (such as A over B). Throughout these two processes, women's social provision as structured in both society and the household strengthens gender intra-household power-relations. The significant point is that the social provision identifies women as 'potential learners' but not 'rights holders as learners' in completing/gaining education.

According to data from the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) research, my analysis obtained two key dimensions regarding the high dropout rates through teachers' voices. One is the social frame of 'voluntary learning position in Adult Education (the LLP) of Special Education Department' instead of 'obligatory such as the primary/secondary education of Basic Education Department'. The other one is the time allocation of female learners' with a heavy care giving workload in the household within social norms.

Another type of dropout for instance, three male participants have registered for the cooking course, but all of them dropped the course according to CREP report (2007-2008). Two female participants have enrolled in a course on water-supply vocational training with the expectation of accessing employment, but they dropped out when they recognized that it would be

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[50] An interviewee who had not been absent from the LLP for more than two weeks.

[51] The survey of thirty female participants of the LLP shows twenty-six out of thirty had children, and four (out of thirty) did not have any children; twenty-one of them live with a partner without registered marriage (Appendix 1-Survey 2).

difficult for females to access employment in water supply construction work.

This evidence also describes the social norms of gender provisions in employment: a gender bias identifies learners divided into sex groups in curriculum design. Although they might be able to share knowledge or acquire additional types of knowledge beyond the scope of the stereotype gender frame, their opportunities have been obstructed in the social normative frame within the dominant system of education.

In contrast, the pedagogy of Freire's 'Subject-Dialogue approach' allows learners to acquire 'true knowledge' by negotiating and adapting the learner's experience in practice through dialogue between educators and learners (A. Freire et al. 1998: 83). The opposed participants would undergo some basic process as 'subject-transformation' in the revolution (Freire 1970: 121). As long as the education has no subject-transformation through dialogue, the real meaning of social change cannot occur.

My further research analyses the young learners' aspiration in each sex group. The participatory activity (called 'drawing my future') found the significant aspect of the research in how they identify themselves. Two males and five females attended the activity. All of them aspire to have a family and own property such as house/car/cows/horses in Emboscada. The way to achieve property ownership was unique: 'going abroad to work,' 'get a job in the capital city' or 'get married to foreigners', and come back to the hometown to build a beautiful house and buy cars, cows and horses.

These vignettes show that young learners' aspire to a happy married life and support their own family (mother, father and among others) in their hometown after they had an opportunity away from their hometown. The reasons why they aspired to leave their hometown were 'no job in Emboscada,' 'Need "political influence" to get a decent job in Emboscada', and 'Foreigners have money'. The difference between the two males and five females was the type of aspiring professions. The female participants aspire to be nurse, teacher or domestic migrant workers respectively. On the other hand, the male participants aspire to be a teacher and a migrant construction worker. The sixty-seven per cent (four out of six) imagined their future work in the curriculum design. The remaining thirty-three per cent were looking for a teaching job or agricultural work.

Moreover, in comparison[52] to young women studying in regular high school (not the LLP), my analysis revealed how young learners' aspirations related to acquiring skills and objectives within the LLP. The regular high school students aspired to obtain professional work such as an expert agronomic producer, teacher or even studying abroad. Forty per cent (twice the LLP learners' rate of seeking further education) aspire to obtaining further education such as university or teacher training.

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[52] I interviewed five young women studying in the regular high school in Emboscada in October 2008.

The LLP learners dreamed of accessing urban employment or migrant work. Being human is a concrete physical and objective existence in the world within the daily sense of material and historical phrase (McLaren et al. 1994: 175). This illustration shows how those young female learners reconstruct gender identity within aspiration in social and cultural marginalization regarding one's decision-making. The way to aspire their future work is structured in economic marginalization thanks to limited access to economic participation. The self-chosen aspiration of those female learners is mostly shaped into social normative gender roles within their acquired knowledge through the curriculum design.

4.3 A reflection on the findings from the perspective of Freire's Pedagogy

The more oppressed people adapt to knowledge of world oppression in the dominant formation, the more dominantly can people in developing countries be ruled (A. Freire et al. 1998: 84). As long as the structure does not change, education does not transform society (Grollios 2009: 56).

Freire emphasized the importance of humanity belonging to people's vocation in the pedagogy theory.

> Concern for humanization leads at once to recognition of dehumanization, not only as an ontological possibility but as an historical reality… [b]ut while both humanization and dehumanization are real alternative, only the first is the people's vocation…[t]his vocation is constantly negated, yet it is affirmed by that very negation. It is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and struggle to recover their lost humanity (1970: 27).

There are four key issues of marginalizing female learners' humanity in the LLP.

The first is that the dominant social norms oppress both men and women but men have been educated to create those women's post-colonial identity lacking the sensibility of 'visibility of Afro-Paraguayan's ethnicity'. In this way, gender bias oppresses those women in both society and in the household within the social normative education.

According to Freire's study, to gain complete humanization, one tries to gain power and turns to another oppressor over others. In this understanding, Afro-Paraguayan men who had experienced lost power outside the household via ethnic and class discrimination in post-colonial process, gained power by oppressing Afro-Paraguayan women in the household. Even if those men may become humanized by being oppressors over their wives in the households, those women have been left out in the post-colonial power structure of 'de-humanization'.

The second point is that the dominant education enables the social norms to keep women powerlessness in poverty by designing the division of labour for Afro-Paraguayan women who are invisible to dominant frameworks of knowledge in terms of ethnic minority's discrimination.

'Skill', here takes the role of access to employment. Freire's pedagogy (1970: 28) points out 'dialogue' aiming at learner's problem posing exploration to acquire real skills and to realize what they have been missing in post-colonial contexts. One's illiteracy shows how the person has been absent in historical participation and intervention (P. Freire 1974: 37). Even today, the 7.6 per cent[53] of school age Afro-Paraguayan are illiterate (Diaz 2010: 2). In other words, they are reconstructing the same structure while absent from the historical process.

Acquiring skills directly transforms the learner's consciousness (P. Freire 1974: 37). On one hand, the learner passes through the banking of education, the skills they acquired would be limited to the oppressor's design. On the other hand, if the learner could acquire true skills from their experience and expand their knowledge to find alternative consciousness, then the learner may be able to construct alternative self-identity reflecting their aspiration. The curriculum is the important analytical resource to maintain the social norms and to re-create the division of labour in the social class differentiation (such as the illustration in comparative aspiration of young women in the regular high school).

The third point is that these women identify themselves in the way the curriculum promoted as my earlier analysis demonstrated. Even though they would have a chance to aspire beyond the framed choice in case of dialogue type education (A learning with B), the 'banking of education' (A teaching over B) has marginalized young female learners by limiting the choice (self-chosen) and power to adapt new knowledge. This is a learning process of acquired 'skill' for self-creativity in critical literacy. Freire (1974: 38) expressed how quality educational methods influence one's consciousness, 'As an active educational method helps a person to become consciously aware of his context and his condition as a human being as Subject, it will become an instrument of choice.'

Furthermore, the obstruction of free creativity can also be social norms belonging to the majority of population, 'their struggle for freedom threatens not only the oppressor, but also their won oppressed comrades who are fearful of still greater repression' (P. Freire 1970: 32). Not only the programme design but also social, moral or tradition in both household and society has been marginalizing female learners from choosing (to drop out or to remain learning) and create their identity.

Thus, two oppressing powers have been marginalizing women from reconstructing their identity and aspiration. One is the oppressing power through the LLP curriculum design, and the other is inherited social norms oppressing their creativity within the post-colonial power structure. Because of reconstructing their self-identity, those young women aspired to their future career in the capital city or abroad then returned home to help their

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[53] Approximately 1.4 times in comparison to national average 2005.

family. Their aspirations, marginalized in both self-identity and power intersect with ethnicity, class and gender.

The final point is that both national and international recognition has been blind to Afro-Paraguayan ethnicity and how those women face gender bias, which links to class differentiation. The power structure has been creating another oppressor in the post-colonial history of Paraguay. In the historical period of liberation, the white people's power transformed into the mixed raced population (white and Native American/indigenous people) while recreating another oppressor (Mestizo population) over other oppressed group (Afro-Paraguayan). Freire emphasized this type of power transformation often seen in post-colonial history as a phenomenon of dehumanization, 'Their idea is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity' (1970: 30).

Both national and international effort on the other hand, has designed the Lifelong Learning Programme aiming to encourage women's learning opportunities, gaining skills for access to employment, and empowering women to seek a better life while alleviating poverty. However, the programme design within global methodology has marginalized women's consciousness (such as through the participatory approach illustrated earlier). The oppressor very often does not realize that they are oppressing someone, the only way to realize it is described in Freire's theory, 'They may perceive through their relation with reality that reality is a process, undergoing constant transformation' (A. Freire et al. 1998: 70). Both international and national recognition cannot realize that they are oppressors because they also adapted knowledge in the banking of education. In this marginalized system, the ethnic identity of Afro-Paraguayans remain invisible to society and excluded from any collective right while these women face even more sensitive gender bias because of ethnic and class differentiation within social norms.

Overall, social normative gender issues in the above findings reconstruct the root of marginalizing Afro-Paraguayan population in the next generation. Young learner's self-identity and aspiration have marginalized *their potential creativity of a change* within the LLP for both the poverty alleviation and social transformation. To open up the dialogue structure, education needs two dialogue processes structuring the recognition of multi dimensional gender and female learner's adapting power for decision making. In Freire's literacy (1974:37), this adapting 'power' could be *skill in knowledge for creating alternative choic*e in both the household and the poverty alleviation projects. Thus, any unequal power structure oppressing women's decision-making is a key aspect to understand the marginalization of young women in Emboscada as LLP learners in the social and economic participation. Unequal power has structured within multi dimensions (as illustrated in the findings) while the invisible ethnic discrimination has been structured in post-colonial process.

4.4 Conclusion

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This chapter illustrated the way young learners are marginalized from creating their self-identity to reflect own aspirations. Three points of view were discussed from a gender perspective: curriculum design, hidden social normative issues beyond female learners' dropouts, and the reflection on marginalization of learner's identity from a perspective of Freire's pedagogy. Four significant aspects were explored in the process of marginalizing young female learners' identity and aspiration within the LLP of Emboscada: 1) those young women's self-identity restructured by social norms and how men identify women through a gender bias education, 2) the division of labour in the post-colonial social norms (affecting their aspiration as the Afro-Paraguayan identity), 3) women's self-identity recreated through curriculum design, and 4) a lack of visibility of the Afro-Paraguayan ethnic identity to both national and international recognition. Throughout those situational processes, the LLP of Emboscada failed to recreate a gender bias in dominant education system where it is supposed to be social transformation for those targeting women.

Reflecting the ontological aspects in which learners acquire skills within the LLP, they are framed in manner of curriculum design. They adapt not only learning material within texts but also social norms such as gender bias in the system of education. Through the critical literacy in the epistemology of Freire, the oppressed struggle to recover the humanity they lost in historical post-colonial contexts. In this sense, both female and male learners are oppressed within the post-colonial context. However, the difference is that Afro-Paraguayan men recovered the lost power by oppressing women, but Afro-Paraguayan women have never reached the stage of 'problem posing' in post-colonial structure while this marginalized structure is blind to both national and international recognition.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

This study explored the marginalization of young Afro-Paraguayan women both as learners and as creators of their alternative future. The marginalization was analysed in the epistemological frame (Freire's critical literacy) through a significant lens: curriculum design of the Lifelong Learning Programme in Emboscada.

Since the identity of Afro-Paraguayan has been invisible to social policy at both international and national levels, the national effort toward eliminating discrimination of minority groups never protected their identity. Within this social normative assumption, the LLP emphasized the functional link between education and employment without the sensibility of Afro-Paraguayan identity issue.

In the institutional arrangement of young women supporting the LLP operation, the participatory approach promoted by power-holders was discussed and it revealed that the inherited power structure has been affected by the invisible Afro-Paraguayan women's marginalization in social economic participation. Within the LLP, the power relation has been re-created at different levels: men and women, among women, among men within ethnic and class differentiation. The power relations have been structured in post-colonial history as a result of social power transformation from one (Whites) to another (Mestizo) group.

This power structure has caused the marginalization of the Afro-Paraguayan women's identity and aspiration both as learners and actors in two ways. The first is by suffering social normative institutional arrangements on them, and the second is the marginalized 'self-chosen' who reconstruct their own identity reflecting aspirations.

For deeper understanding of social development, both visible and invisible aspects need to be emphasized and adopted. Visible deprivation depicting women's poverty in Emboscada can be due to a lack of skill (including both vocation and literacy), a lack of employment and incomplete infrastructure in Emboscada. On the other hand, invisible marginalization of those women can be social norms obstructing access to education and employment for a better quality of life, and very often, those women are actors who marginalize themselves by reconstructing their post-colonial self-identity.

My first impression of Emboscada in 2007 was that it's a new urban city with all infrastructures constructed within a 10-year period. A consequential question was why the national road had not reached Emboscada until about five years ago, even though both sides of the national road had come up to a neighbouring city. Within a week, I had familiarized myself with the many community projects for women started by developmental organizations, many of which were abandoned or non-functioning.

The reasons why Emboscada was left out without the national road are steeped in the historical process. No matter how many developmental organizations went there with the goal of infrastructure, empowering women or community solidarity could not sustain the projects. Their high dropout rate and illiteracy remains. All of them are results of lack of their social and economic participation in the historical process of Paraguay. This lack of historical participation (of Afro-Paraguayan) is not simply a footprint from the past, but it has structured in post-colonial process and been structuring their post-colonial history.

The strange situation of infrastructure, of incomplete development and of women's high dropout rate in the LLP, each of them is visible to our sight. However, those visible situations are deeply interconnected to invisible aspects that marginalize the vulnerable group in poverty such as social norms and self-identity.

Although philosophical method or theory is essential for social development, 'philosophy' cannot be an independent actor to develop society constructively. Economic development for poverty reduction cannot work productively within social inequality and uneven distribution. Either visible or invisible aspect cannot work alone. Each of them needs to find space for combining better in a further practice: questioning for whom they put effort on the social development programme－for current oppressors, new emerging oppressors or Afro-Paraguayan women.

> Within the urban area of Emboscada, characterized by neatly manicured parks and carefully maintained churches and monuments, there are no visible reminders of the founders of the city, although occasional mixed-race phenotypes can be seen (Lipski 2008: 6).

If Lipski's visit were at the beginning of 1990's, he would not have seen any of 'manicured parks' in Emboscada, but would have found only those people living without any safe water, health care and reliable access to neighbouring cities. Even today, their ethnic identity is invisible and not respected in society. However, those 'visible development' may be a process of reaching their fully humanized identity. Exploring a way not to be peeled off the 'manicured work' but to be sustained in the parks might be a key for future concern.

Millions of visitors to Emboscada might not pay attention to the ethnicity of a tiny monument of 'a man extracting marble-stone of rock-mountain' at the entrance of Emboscada. However in fact, the monument is not in the shape of Afro-Paraguayan but of mixed race. In the future even if we reach the moment when those visitors would question the tiny monument not demonstrating the visible appearance of the Afro-Paraguayans as settlers of Emboscada, the identity of Afro-Paraguayans would not remain holding the 'ticket' into the low quality employment but keep the door open to the alternative future where they fully recover the 'humanity it has lost in post-colonial structure' in the critical literacy of Freire (1970: 27).

Appendix 1

1. Interview Information

    1) Targeted voluntary teachers:

    Total number 7   male 2   female 5

    Year: 2007

    2) Targeted female LLP participants who had been absent more than 2 weeks (2007-2008)

    Total number 10

    Year: 2008

    3) Targeted female LLP participants (2007-2008)

    Total number: 8

    Year: 2008

    4) Targeted female students in other regular high school

    Total number: 5

    Name of School: 1. Sol Vicente   2. San Agustín

    Year: 2008

    5) Informal interviews targeting teaching members

    Total number: 22 male 6 (paid teacher 4, non-paid 2) female 16 (paid 12, non-paid 4)

    Years: 2007-2009

2. Information on focus group discussion

    Title: The expectation of community project

    Number of participants: 8 (6 women who participated in community project and 2 administrative members at CREP)
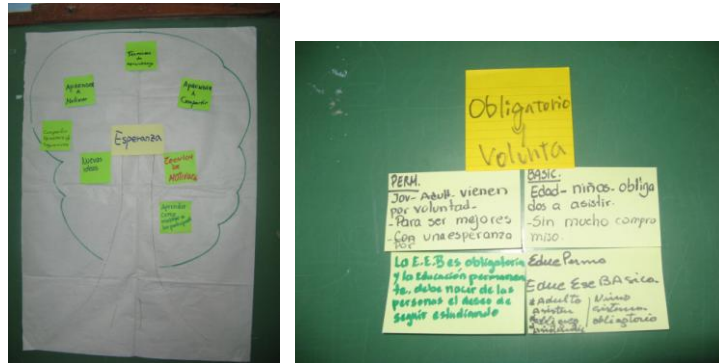
    Year: 2008

3. Information on Participatory Learning Activities

    Activity 1

    Title: A tree of 'hope'

    Objective: Reflect on high dropout rate to find alternative hope through CREP

Number of Participants: 6 teachers   male 1 female 5
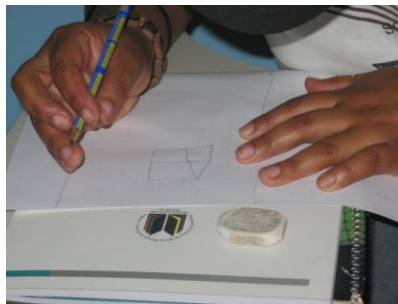
Year: 2008

Activity 2

Title: Drawing your future

Objective: Presenting our future plan of 10 years ahead by imagining oneself in 2018

Number of Participants: 7   male 2 female 5

Ages: 15-39

Year: 2008

4. Information survey (this survey was implemented by conversation-based interviewing on degree of illiteracy)

   1) Targeted 40 women ages 15-39 in Barrio Fatima (2007)

      <Questions>

      General data: age, number of family members, number of children, married (registered marriage) or single

      Educational background: whether she completed compulsory education or not

      Economic participation: whether she works or not

      Others: Expectation for a community project

      <Data collection>

      Ages15-19: 2

      Ages 20-29: 4

Ages 30-39: 34

# of family: 0-4: 2   5-8: 25   more than 10: 3
# of children: No children: 0, 1-3: 32, more than 4: 8

Married: 4
No answer: 4
Single (including not registered marriages): 32

Completed 9 years compulsory education: 2
No answer: 18
Not completed: 20

Decent Work: 4
Non-decent work: 34
Not employed (do not wish to work): 0
Unemployment (wish to work but not employed): 2

2) Targeted 30 female LLP participants (2007-2008)
   <Questions>
   General data: age, number of family members, number of chil-
   dren, married (registered marriage) or single
   Economic participation: Do you work? If so what kind of work,
   how many days do you work?

   <Data collection>
   Ages15-19: 4
   Ages 20-29: 10
   Ages 30-39: 16

   # of family: 0-4: 1   5-8: 23   more than 10: 6
   # of children: No children: 4 1-3: 25 more than 4: 1

   Married: 6
   No answer: 3
   Single (including not registered marriages): 21

3) Targeted 15 self-employed women in Emboscada (2007)
   <Questions>

General data: age, number of family members, number of chil-
dren, married (registered marriage) or single,
Economic Participation: Income average of previous 3 days

<Data collection>
Ages15-19: 0
Ages 20-29: 2
Ages 30-39: 13

# of family: 0-4: 2   5-8: 10   more than 10: 3
# of children: No children: 0 1-3: 8 more than 4: 7

Married: 3
Single (including not registered marriages): 10
Not answered: 2

Average daily income in previous 3 days:
less than $2.5 (10,000Gs):   1
$2.5-3.5 (10,000Gs-15000Gs):   11
more than $3.5 (15000Gs):   3

4)   Targeted 20 LLP vocational participants: male 2 female 18
(2007-2008)
<Question>
General data collection: age, sex group, number of family
members, number of children, married (registered marriage) or
single
Specified data collection (regarding economic participation):
Do you work (including self-employed)?
If so, what kind of work, how many days do you work?
Are you satisfied with your job? Why?
If not, what kind of job are you looking for?
Have you tried to find one? If so, what could be a reason why
you have not found a job?

<Data collection>
Ages 15-19: 4
Ages 20-29: 10
Ages 30-39: 6

Employed: 14 (2 male and 12 female)
Unemployed: 6 (female)

Type of employment: self-employed 8 (female), domestic 4 (female), non-domestic work 2 (male)

Satisfied with current employment: 4 (female)
Reason:
-because she can work while taking care of small children: 1
-not answered: 3
Not satisfied with current employment: 10 (2 male, 8 female)
Reason:
- access to pension, health insurance, and/or a higher income: 9
-not answered: 1

Type of employment they hope: decent work: 16
Number who tried to find a job: 2
Assumed reason why not accessing job:
-no access to information: 1
-not answered: 1

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