

Women's Empowerment and Education in
Quechua communities in Villa Charcas,
Chuquisaca, Bolivia

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Abstract

Education and empowerment are two concepts that are interwoven in the rhetoric of development. The main argument is that education leads to empowerment, enabling people to take control over their own lives. This research study explores people's perception of education in Villa Charcas a Municipality located in Chuquisaca, Bolivia. Moreover it seeks to find out if the gender equity transverse of the Bolivian Education Reform (ERL) of 1994 has had impact on women's empowerment in Villa Charcas, and if the community sees as good or bad the influence of education on women's empowerment. The ERL has been an attempt to change the prevailing educational model of the past by focusing its strategies on increased awareness and respect of the different cultures that inhabit the country, respect for the diverse languages and awareness of equal opportunities for women and men. The ERL was the first law that arranged concrete strategies and resources to implement these aspects and to put them into practice.

The research for this study has been carried out in Villa Charcas, a Municipality of recent creation located in the south east of the province of Chuquisaca. It has an area of 687,598 km² and 12.374 inhabitants from which 4.174 belong to the ten communities of this research. There are five primary schools and one secondary school within the area of study.

One of the conclusions of this research is that education plays an essential role for Villa Charcas' people. The parents interviewed, men as well as women equally recognize the importance of education for boys and girls at least until they complete the primary education. Many parents prioritize school duties at home over daily tasks so that their children get a good primary education. The women of Villa Charcas' do not feel deprived of their right to education as they would have felt a few decades before. They all know that education is free and available and that reading and writing will offer them better work conditions if they attend school.

In respect to the gender equity transverse of the ERL of 1994 it was revealed that there have been favourable impacts, but not to the extent of changing radically the community's mentality. Even though parents and teachers in Villa Charcas confirm there have been positive changes in education, the opinions are that there is still a long way to go. The study revealed that teachers did not fully comprehend gender mainstreaming in order to apply the gender transverse more effectively in the classrooms. Similarly the educational system failed including parents as key stakeholders to promote their active participation and reinforce gender contents and practices to influence changes at household level. In addition education has not been capable of deepening students' critical understanding in the sense that they recognize gender equity or defy prevailing structures.

Despite this situation, the research indicates there has been an evident change of attitudes and perceptions of Villa Charcas women's lives among the adult generation (age 25 to 56) and the young generation (age 12 to 24). While the older generation has not experienced a formal education which they perceived as empowering during their childhood the young generation has received gender equity education and has expanded their range of opportunities. Thus, young women have increased their aspirations with regard to education; some of these women complete secondary education aiming at superior education and professionalization to access qualified work away from the field of agriculture, where most women previously have worked. The research has also revealed that education is not the only means by which women from Villa Charcas can overcome situations of deprivation or oppression For instance migration has also proved to play a fundamental role in their lives and provides important opportunities for women in terms of work and social and economic influence.

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List of Abbreviations

CFS	Chile Friendly School
CMT	Conditioned Money Transfer
CPM	Coordinadora para la Mujer
DFID	Department for International Development
EC	Education Code
ECLAC	Economic Comission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ERL	Educational Reform Law
FWWC	Fourth World Women Conference
GAD approach	Gender and Development Approach
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IADB	Inter - American Development Bank
IDH	Impuesto Directo a los Hidrocarburos (Direct Hydrocarbons Tax)
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Institite of Statistics)
MC	Medical Chief
MDG	Millenum Development Goals
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPD	National Plan of Development
OEI	Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos
OTB	Organización Territorial de Base (Base Territorial Organization)
SAGIC	Sociedad Agrícola, Ganadera e Industrial de Cinti (Agricultural, Cattle Dealer and Industrial Society of Cinti)
SD	Supreme Decree
SSPAM	Seguro de Salud para el Adultor Mayor (Health Insurance for the elderly)
SUMI	Seguro Universal Materno Infantil (Mother Child Universal Insurance)
UDP	Unidad Democrática y Popular (Popular Democratic Unity)
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	Unite Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States
USD	United States Dollar
WID approach	Women in Development Approach
WSRWD	World Survey on the Role of Women in Development

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

Education and empowerment are two concepts that have interweaved in the rhetoric of development. The main argument is that education leads to empowerment, enabling people to take control over their own lives and situation. However, the interconnection between “gender, education and development discourses are of more recent origin” Heward (1999:20) in line with a growing discourse on female empowerment and women as development agents. The importance and impacts of educating women is widely agreed upon. It is argued that female education reduces long term costs in education since an educated mother will have educated children, in other words children will get important educational input from their own families. In many developing countries women’s education is focused on access (securing women access to education), gender gaps (reducing the gap between men and women in education) and fertility issues (teaching about reproductive health and family planning) (Heward 1999: 1-11). This is the case of women’s education in Bolivia where policies on education are concentrated especially on access and gender gap (IADB, 2007). Research from the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB, 2007) illustrates that although the gender gap in education seems to be decreasing closing the gap is more difficult in countries like Bolivia due to the large ethnic diversity of the population. Hence, there is clearly still work to be done in this field, and a need for further understanding of why women continue to have less access to education in Bolivia.

This master’s thesis explores the people of Villa Charcas perception of education for women. Moreover it seeks to compare the notion of education as empowering (as presented in the Bolivian educational reform) to what is perceived to be the situation in ten communities around Villa Charcas town. As such, this thesis feeds into the discourse on female education and empowerment through generating knowledge on how the situation is actually perceived in the field. Thus it is in line with Heward 1999:10) who calls for a debate that goes beyond issues of access, enrolments and levels of attainment to an analysis of the micro-processes of schooling, curricular content, meanings and the way in which girls and women construct their understanding of education (Heward 1999:10) Moreover, this research maps the education situation of ten communities from Villa Charcas, Chuquisaca, and help identify what is perceived to be challenges within the current educational system, and interprets these findings against a local context where different social actors and structures of power are at play.

Personally I was always interested in gender issues. Through my life I have witnessed and experienced gender discrimination. My experiences were somehow slightly different compared to the ones I witnessed while studying at the University in Bolivia and working as a lawyer. While I was working I was in charge of family matters and where I saw how women usually are the victims of physical and psychological violence. I was particularly disturbed by how some of my clients scarce economical resources made them more prone to violation of their rights. Coincidentally they were uneducated women who did not go to school or did not finish it.

1.2 A brief contextual overview – female education in Bolivia

One of the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) is to achieve gender equality (MDGs Indicators 2008). Among the indicators used to measure whether this is achieved we find ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education, the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector and proportion of seats held by women in national parliament. The importance of the last MDG lies in the fact that the achievement of it would imply reducing costs and increasing the likelihood of achieving the other MDGs (MDGs Indicators 2008).

With respect to the first target, 2/3 of illiterate people in the world are women (Millennium Development Goal, 2008). Research from the Inter-American Development Bank (IABD, 2007) about the gender gap in education in Latin America and the Caribbean countries reveals that progress has been accomplished. Moreover, nowadays girls have even more years of schooling than boys in some countries. However, it is also shown that in countries with large ethnic diversity such as Bolivia, Peru and Guatemala there are more difficulties closing the gender gap in education.

Bolivia is a multiethnic, pluricultural and multilingual country with a large indigenous population. There are more than 34 ethnic groups in the country and the three largest groups are the Quechuas (30 %), the Aymaras (25 %) and the mestizos (38 %). Mestizo is a person with combined European (Spanish) and Amerindian ancestry. The rest of the population consists of small groups, most of them belonging to the Amazonian region. These groups have their own dialects and distinct culture. It is said that Bolivia is rather a country of many minorities than a country with major unifying culture (García Linera, 2005). Despite such multicultural context, the State has for centuries mainly been ruled by mestizo groups. The latter meant marginalization of indigenous people for long time. However, the country faces a process of change to address the interests of other groups.

However, changes take time, which is also the case in Bolivia. UNESCO (2004, 12) points out the relationship of rurality and illiteracy in Bolivia. 39, 5 % of the indigenous population in Bolivia is illiterate, where 11, 8 % are men and 27, 7 % women. The functional illiteracy is even higher; a total of about 55 %, where 70 % corresponds to the rural area and 30 % to the urban area. From the total, 68 % are women. In other words – the illiteracy among Bolivian women is substantial.

In Bolivia women are one of the most vulnerable groups. The society still privileges men in many aspects e.g. education, job opportunities, salaries, access to resources. The situation is even more difficult for indigenous women. In 1995, The United Nations at the Fourth World Women Conference (FWWC) pointed out that indigenous women are doubly affected by discrimination based on gender and ethnic origin/belonging. Discrimination towards indigenous women is present in politics and social and economic structures, (FWWC, 1995); but also in everyday life. An example of an area where women still struggle for their rights is access to land. For a long time indigenous access to land was determined by male primogeniture. Currently, access is still difficult for different reasons such as poverty, illiteracy, patriarchal structures, or other rules (laws) that do not allow the division of the “*minifundio*” (Minifundio is a Spanish term referring to an extension of land too small to profit by itself).

Within the field of development studies, it is commonly argued that education is a key to improved economic and social opportunities both for women and men (Stromquist 2002:5). However, when it comes to participation in the educational system in Bolivia, there are many barriers for children in general – and for women and girls in particular. One important barrier is the insufficient infrastructure; there are not enough schools in rural areas and since they usually are located in the biggest town in the area, children from the surrounding communities have to walk long distances to go to school. Children in rural areas are usually in charge of herding animals and help in sowing and harvesting time. Girls help also with the house chores. In the urban areas, state schools are crowded. In capital cities of Bolivia, for example, at the beginning of the school year, one can see parents sleeping in long lines in order to get one their children enrolled in school. Another barrier is the poor quality of education; this is shown for example in the results of the examination to enter in a State University. Only few students from public schools and lesser from rural areas pass those examinations. Those reasons make it difficult the decision for the parents to send the children to school in rural areas.

The State has tried to improve education policies over the years, for instance by including the premises of multiculturalism, multilingualism, democracy, education for environment and gender equity to the Law of Educational Reform of 1994. However the reform is still criticized for not considering or misinterpreting important issues such as bilingual education for everyone. Contrasting this multicultural and multilingual scenario with current practices this has not been achieved, there is still a “monocultural and monolingual state” (García Linera, 2005). For Céspedes (2008: 67) Bolivia all along its republican history (since 1825) failed to construct a culturally “mestizo” society whose consequences affected negatively the synergy of the state, society and economy of the country reaching a structural brake in the 90’s.

Bolivia’s political transition process to democratic state and government began in the 80’s when due to socioeconomic difficulties the authoritarianism and military government system fractured (Hofmeister and Thesing, 1995:437). In 1993, the third democratically elected government, of President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, introduced important changes to institutionalize the political change of the previous years. For Hofmeister (1995:107) three were the cornerstones of this government to attain structural change: capitalization of State enterprises, redefinition of forms of participation and the educational reform. To concretize these policies there were promulgated the law of capitalization, the law of administrative decentralization, the law of popular participation and the law educational reform (Hofmeister, 1995:110). However, the changes intended were not accomplished because “state operators- Executive and Legislative- kept democracy in the restricted stage of electors’ democracy which was insufficient to alleviate poverty, unemployment, marginality and exclusion” (Céspedes 2008: 79). In 2005, with the election of Evo Morales, the first indigenous President in the history of the country, the process of construction of Bolivia as a Republic concluded without succeeding its objectives but allowing the emergence of a post nation of indigenous focus (Céspedes 2008:66). This process of change was supported by the promulgation of a New Political Constitution of the arising Plurinational State of Bolivia aspiring indigenous people integration.

Villa Charcas, where the research took place, is located in the department of Chuquisaca. Chuquisaca has 650.570 inhabitants and is one of the poorest regions of the country with 1.9 USD GDP per capita (Ministry of Health and Social Security, 2000 based on data from 1997 census) of the country with high levels of poverty of 70, 1 % (National Institute of Statistics

Bolivia INE, 2005). Chuquisaca is a mainly a Quechua region. Quechuas in Chuquisaca represent 60 % of the population. The illiteracy rate in Chuquisaca is 26,97 %; from which 9,97 % corresponds to urban area and 41,13 % to rural area (INE, National Institute of Statistics for its abbreviation in Spanish, 2001). There are 10 provinces in the department of Chuquisaca and 28 Municipalities. Villa Charcas has a population of 12.374 inhabitants along 37 communities.

1.3. Research objectives

As stated above, women are supposed to have been “empowered” through education. Empowerment is process for which a person is able to act and make choices based on critical understanding of one’s reality, feeling of self-esteem, being aware of power inequalities and the ability to organize and mobilize and having capacity to generate independent income (Stromquist 2002:23). The MDGs have a strong focus on education as a way to achieve gender equity and female empowerment. Bolivian reforms aim to increase the participation of its indigenous people in the educational system both men and women. But have the Bolivian educational reforms achieved increased participation among women and girls? This has been the focus of my research project.

The overall objective of this research is thus to find out if the gender equity mainstreaming of the Educational Reform of 1994 has had impact on women’s empowerment in Villa Charcas, and if the community perceives the influence of education on women’s empowerment.

The research objective is explored through focusing on the following:

- The perceptions of the Quechua Community regarding to the role of woman.
- The curricula of Bolivian Education Reform in relation to gender education
- Women role’s changes at home and community through formal education.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions are:

- 2.** From the community perception, what is the role of women at home?
2. From the community perception, what is the role of women in the community?
3. What are the changes intended by the Education Reform Law?
4. How has the curricula, of the Education Reform Law in relation to gender equity, been implemented in the communities of Villa Charcas?
5. In which way has the educational changes had an impact on the role and participation of women at home?
6. In which way has the educational changes had an impact on the role and participation of women in the community?

Table 1: Relation between specific objectives and Research questions

Specific Objectives	Research questions
- To explore the perception of the Villa Charcas Community regarding to the role of women.	1. From the community perception, what is the role of women at home? 2. From the community perception, what is the role of women in the community?
-To analyze the curricula of Bolivian Education Reform in relation to gender education	3. What are the changes intended by the Education Reform Law? 4. How has the curricula, of the Education Reform Law in relation to gender equity, been implemented in the communities of Villa Charcas?
- To visualize women role's changes at home and community through formal education.	5. In which way the education changes have had impact in the role and participation of women at home 6. In which way the education changes have had impact in the role and participation of women in the community?

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured in six chapters. Chapter One shed light on the problem and the setting of the research study. It also presents the research objectives and research questions. Chapter Two introduces the Theoretical Approach organized around three main ideas education, empowerment and gender equity in regulations in Bolivia. The third chapter portrays the area where the research study took place; it introduces basic data on Bolivia and field data on population and education in Villa Charcas and its communities. Chapter Four on the methodological Approach gives insight on the research strategy, research design, and sample and data collection. This chapter put emphasis on the qualitative character of my research. The fifth chapter is divided in two parts; whilst the first one exposes the main findings after the collection of data; the second parts discusses the findings from an analytical perspective contrasting them with concepts and premises presented in the second chapter. Finally Chapter Six summarizes main aspects from the findings and discussion.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Approach

2.1 Education

Education is usually structured based on the construction of knowledge, where this last one is produced in concrete social and historic conditions. Knowledge has a social nature and depends on the changes of the human activity; it is determined by social needs. The human being is the subject of cognition, he is not only owner of his natural human characteristics but also he is creator of his social nature. He does not only know the objects and processes surrounding his objective reality but he also modifies these objects according to his needs. Thus knowledge is contextualized to reality, it responds to the interaction between the human being and his environment based on his nature, his culture, practices and other previous knowledge (Abastoflor 2008).

Hence education emerges with the human being, it socializes practices, knowledge, customs, actions and norms from one generation to another. The majority of these elements are transmitted in an unconscious way affecting and changing continuously the way how people think, feel, act and take decisions. Therefore education is a permanent life process where it only stops when people eventually pass away (Abastoflor, 2008).

In this way, societies structure their education systems in order to continue the transmission of knowledge, practices and customs of their people. Education is an important human right and also a way to increase the productivity and economic growth. The educational system in Primary education is the first stage of education compulsory in many countries. The International Standard Classification of Education (EarthTrends, 2003:2) defines primary education as the “beginning of systematic apprenticeship of reading, writing and mathematics”. Secondary education follows primary education. It is “characterized as being subject-oriented with specialized fields of learning; programs may be vocational or technical in nature, and students achieve a full implementation of basic skills” (EarthTrends 2003). Higher education follows the completion of a school providing a secondary education and is also called tertiary, third stage, or post secondary education. It is characterized for being optional and non-compulsory and it normally includes undergraduate and postgraduate education, as well as vocational education and training (EarthTrends 2003).

There are also two other forms of education. Alternative education is the non-traditional type of education and it is focused on all age groups and levels of education not just people with special needs. It does not use the traditional practices of schooling and many countries offer some forms of alternative educational options for all (Education 2011). Indigenous education is a new term and it refers to the importance given to the indigenous knowledge as well as methods, values and beliefs in order to be included within formal education. Indigenous education involves local knowledge which is “*knowledge unique to a given culture or society. Indigenous knowledge contrasts with the international knowledge system generated by universities, research institutions and private firms. It is the basis for local-level decision making in agriculture, health care, food preparation, education, natural-resource management, and a host of other activities in rural communities*” (Warren 1991 cited by World Bank 2010).

The Role of Education in Development

The concept of development lacks a universal accepted definition, yet it is commonly used in a holistic and multidisciplinary context of human development. It normally refers to quality of life, which means access to education and health care, employment opportunities, availability of clean air and safe drinking water and reduction of crime, among others. In other words, it encompasses all the aspects of an individual's well being, from his education status to his economical freedom.

In this context, education plays an important role in development since it is a fundamental human right essential for the exercise of all other human rights. It promotes individual freedom and empowerment and yields important development benefits. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics UIS (2005) the right to education was established in 1990 by the United Nations with the status of international law. It declares that governments have the responsibility of making primary education compulsory and available free to all. Similarly parents are given the right to choose the type of education that shall be given to their children as stated in the United Nations Human Rights Declaration. Yet millions of children and adults remain deprived of educational opportunities, many as a result of poverty.

National governments and international organizations state that education is an effective tool to fight poverty and reach development. Education is a significant factor in improving human well-being since it helps people develop attitudes and capabilities and acquire knowledge that allow them to take fundamental decisions in own and others benefit, now and in the future and finally education helps to put in practice those decisions (UNESCO 2010).

It is equally important to consider education as an indicator of human development as well as of human poverty. Educational deprivation, sometimes referred to as 'poverty of education', is an integral part of human poverty (Akar, 2009:264). People who did not have access to education during their young years are more likely to have fewer opportunities of getting a qualified job within the labour market and/ or access to higher salaries.

Akar (2009:264) points out that family education has a positive impact on children education and therefore in the fight against poverty. Maternal education shows to be helpful to develop children's reading and mathematics skills but also with reference to behaviour problems; paternal education influences children's learning more than economic deprivation (Abadzi 2008, cited by Akar 2009:264). Akar (2009: 264) also points out that less educated parents have a lower probability to educate their children because they "may value education less, may have low scholastic aptitude which they pass on to their children, or may be less able to provide complementary inputs to learning (e.g., helping children with homework)" and mothers power over family educational decisions may be reduced if parental preferences about education are different (Brown and Park 2002:523)".

Education, economic growth and development

It is frequently assumed that education has an important positive effect on economic growth, but evidence for this assumption to date has been weak. Nevertheless a study conducted by the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (2008) shows that education has consistently positive and statistically significant effects on a country's economic development. Some of the conclusions of this research are:

- Human capital formation –understood as population's education and health status- plays a fundamental role in a country's economic development. Better education is a

- necessary (although not always sufficient) precondition for long-term economic growth.
- Universal primary education alone is important but insufficient. Investment in secondary education promotes a comprehensive boost to economic development. Therefore, United Nations Millennium Development Goals on universal primary education could achieve better results focusing not only on primary education.
 - Only broad based secondary education and universal primary education is likely to give poor countries the human capital boost necessary to bring large segments of the population out of poverty.
 - More and better education should become the top priority for international policymakers, as it empowers the people to help themselves and thus helps to improve governance and to reduce corruption. A determined effort for much more primary and secondary education combining national and international forces is the most likely promising direction out of poverty and toward sustainable development.

Thus, education is considered crucial for achieving long-term economic growth for nations. For girls and boys, education is the foundation stone on which future employment prospects and opportunities are built. Failure to educate one country's human capital has a significant economic impact. More important: failure to educate girls generates a huge economic cost and is considered as a missed opportunity for all. A new report based on the World Bank (2008) research and economic data and UNESCO (2007) education statistics cited by Plan International (2008) affirms that failing to educate girls "estimates the economic cost to 65 low and middle income and transitional countries of failing to educate girls to the same standard as boys as a staggering US\$92 billion each year. This is just less than the \$103bn annual overseas development aid budget of the developed world. The message is clear: investment in girls' education will deliver real returns, not just for individuals but for the whole of society" (Plan International, 2008).

According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2005) there is a remarkable correlation between under-5 mortality rates and educational attainment of mothers and also girls whose mothers are educated are more likely to be healthy and go to school themselves (Plan International, 2008). In fact girls who are educated have more chances to be independent, which means they are less likely to be exploited, and victims of traffic or be infected by HIV-AIDS. The World Bank (2008) cited in Plan International (2008) affirms that women who are educated are more likely to have healthy children of their own. Another research conducted for the World Bank examined the effect of girls' education in 100 countries. It found: "An exogenous increase in girls' access to education creates a better environment for economic growth... the result is particularly strong for middle income countries. Thus, societies that prefer not to invest in girls pay a high price for it in terms of slower growth and reduced income" (Dollar & Gatti 1999, cited in Plan International 2008: 24).

The next table has been extracted from the Plan International's journal *Children in Focus* analysis and provides an important indicator of the likely economic loss of failing to educate girls to the same standard as boys in 65 countries. The full analysis was made based on Dollar and Gatti's findings, the latest UNESCO figures showing the gap between boys' and girls' secondary schooling and the latest World Bank estimates of economic output. The analysis includes only 65 low and middle income and transition countries, where it is possible to find Bolivia and Peru. Even though Bolivia has 6 % more of girls enrolled in upper secondary education than Peru, Bolivia shows a higher education gender gap (4 percentage points). Another observation is that the estimated lost growth of Bolivia is 1.19% of its Total Gross National Income whereas the estimated lost growth of growth of Peru is 0.60%.

Table 2: Cost of Failing to Educating Girls in Latin America and The Caribbean

Country	% Girls enrolled in upper secondary education	Education gender gap (percentage points)	Total Gross National Income (\$million)	Estimated lost growth (\$million)
Bolivia	77	4	10,293	123
Cayman Islands	88	1	N/A	N/A
Peru	71	2	82,739	496
Turks and Caicos Islands	82	7	N/A	N/A
Latin America and the Caribbean				619

Source: Plan International 2008, Children in Focus

Overcoming this situation for any country is a central part of economic growth and thus of the exercise of development.

School enrolment and literacy rates

School enrolment and literacy rates are indicators of the situation of a country's well being and education level.

School enrolment can be considered in each one of the education levels: primary, secondary and tertiary school enrolment. Some definitions given by Earthtrends (2003) explain that net primary and secondary enrolment rates are defined as the enrolment of the official age- group for a primary or secondary levels of education expressed as a percentage of the population from the same age group. Values below 100% do not imply that the remaining school population is not enrolled as they could be enrolled in school at other grades levels. Whereas the gross high school enrolment ratio is defined as the total enrolment regardless of age and expressed as a percentage of the total school- age population for high school education. Values can be over 100 % due to enrolment of over-aged and under-aged students.

Literacy rates are crucial indicators used to analyse and structure literacy programs at an international or national level to eradicate illiteracy and to measure gender parity. Adult literacy rate is "*....as the population of women or men aged 15 years and over who cannot both read and write with understanding a short, simple statement on their everyday life*" Earthtrends (2003:6). This indicator is usually used to measure gender parity in education, the accomplishment of literacy programs and the effectiveness of primary education.

On the other hand youth literacy rate is "*.... the percentage of the population aged 15 to 24 years old who can both read and write with understanding a short, simple statement on their everyday life*" Earthtrends (2003:6). This indicator is used to estimate the impact of primary education.

The United Nations Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight goals proposed by the United Nations (UN), adopted by 189 states and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000 (United Nations 2010). The goals should be achieved by 2015 and respond to the world's main development challenges.

The MDGs break down into 21 quantifiable targets that are measured by 60 indicators. The 2nd Goal which pursues achieving universal primary education has as its main target to ensure

that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

In order to achieve this target, school enrolment and literacy ratios have been the starting point from which it has been possible to define strategies and to delimit clear tasks of action. The three main indicators for this target according to the Millennium Development Goals Indicators (2008) are established as follows:

1. Net enrolment ratio in primary education
2. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach last grade of primary
3. Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds, women and men

The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) is the official source of data used to monitor education and literacy targets associated with the MDGs. For example in 2009, 793 million adults – 64% of whom are women – still lack basic reading and writing skills and the global adult literacy rate was 83.7%, compared to 89.3% for youth (UIS, 2011).

Table 3: Global literacy rates and population numbers for adults and youth, 2009

Adult literacy rate, total	83.7%
Adult literacy rate, male	88.3%
Adult literacy rate, female	79.2%
Adult illiterate population, total	793.1 million
Adult illiterate population, female share	64.1%
Youth literacy rate, total	89.3%
Youth literacy rate, male	91.9%
Youth literacy rate, female	86.8%
Youth illiterate population, total	127.3 million
Youth illiterate population, female share	60.7%

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, September 2011

Regarding net enrolment ratio in primary education, figures reported in The Millennium Development Goals Report 2010 show that from years 1998 / 1999 the increase of children enrolling school in developing regions increased in 7% to 2007/2008 meaning that in 1999 it was 82% and in 2008 it was 89%. However the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean does not show the same progress since the increase of children enrolling school is 1% (from 94% to 95%) in 1999 to 2008 (MDGs Report 2010: 16).

“Getting children into school is a vital first step. But to receive the full benefits of education, they must continue to attend classes” (MDGs Report 2010: 17). In this context the number of out-of-school children is one of the most frequently cited education statistics, since it is one of the major obstacles to meeting the 2nd goal. The definition of out-of-school children has been structured by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics in 2005, grouping the indicator of out-of-school children into those who have not yet entered school and those who have dropped out. Similarly, some out-of-school children will enter school late; others will never benefit (UIS 2005: 26).

Thus, the MDG Report 2010 reports remarkable results related with out-of-school children for the latest years:

“Household data from 42 countries show that rural children are twice as likely to be out of school as children living in urban areas. The data also show that the rural-urban gap is slightly wider for girls than for boys. But the biggest obstacle to education is poverty. Girls in the poorest 20 per cent of households have the least chance of getting an education: they are 3.5 times more likely to be out of school than girls in the richest households and four times more likely to be out of school as boys in the richest households. Boys from the richest households are the least likely to be out of school (10 per cent), compared to all other groups. Children remain out of school for a variety of reasons, including cost. Social and cultural barriers to education are also common. In many countries, educating girls is widely perceived as being of less value than educating boys. And children with disabilities across the world face far more limited opportunities than their nondisabled peers” (MDGs Report 2010: 15).

Consequently, it is crucial to ensure that the most marginalized and vulnerable children are enrolled and remain in school. For that it will be essential to structure targeted programmes and interventions aimed at poor households seeking to eliminate gender disparities (UN Report 2008: 13).

The 3rd MDG seeks the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. Its main target is to “eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015” (MDGs Indicators 2008). The United Nations pursues to achieve this goal by working on the progress of three key indicators that are as follows:

1. Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education
2. Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector
3. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament

The global situation shows that women in 2008 were mostly relegated to under paid and vulnerable forms of employment. In comparison to men they are more represented in informal employment with its lack of benefits and social security. By that time women were slowly increasing their participation in the political field, but this was mainly due to quotas and other special measures (MDGs Report 2008: 23-24).

2.2 Gender and development: concepts and definitions

Sustainable development can only be achieved with the active participation of man and women. Providing equal rights and access to resources and opportunities not only to men but most importantly to women is a central part of reducing poverty, illiteracy and disease rates.

However, *“early approaches to women in development recognized that development had ignored the important role played by women in their communities and, as a result, largely excluded them from the design and implementation of development programs”* (AUSAID 1997: 9). In order to reach more efficient and effective development, the Women In Development approach (WID) seeks to turn around women’s exclusion from development process and thus it focuses mainly upon women. The approach recognizes that sustainable development requires an understanding of women and men’s roles and responsibilities within their communities and their relationship to each other.

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach is slightly different in the sense that it considers that improving the status of women is a common task, and should no longer be

considered as a women issue but as goal that men and women should actively pursue. Through gender analysis, the GAD approach tries to understand the roles, responsibilities, resources and priorities of both women and men in particular contexts, examining the social, economic and environmental factors which influence their roles and decision-making capacity.

The following list of terms and definitions was prepared by the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Sussex (2000) in United Kingdom (UK) for the Department for International Development (DFID). These will be fundamental to understand this research study.

Table 4: Gender Concepts and definitions

Concept	Definition
Gender Analysis	The systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify understand and redress inequities based on gender.
Gender Discrimination	The systematic, unfavourable treatment of individuals on the basis of their gender, which denies them rights, opportunities or resources.
Gender Division of Labour	The socially determined ideas and practices which define what roles and activities are deemed appropriate for women and men.
Gender Equality and Equity	Gender equality denotes women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere. Gender equity denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognizing their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources.
Gender Mainstreaming	An organizational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all aspects of an institution's policy and activities, through building gender capacity and accountability
Gender Planning	The technical and political processes and procedures necessary to implement gender-sensitive policy.
Gender Relations	Hierarchical relations of power between women and men that tend to disadvantage women.
Patriarchy	Systemic societal structures that institutionalize male physical, social and economic power over women.
Women's Human Rights	The recognition that women's rights are human rights and that women experience injustices solely because of their gender

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. UK (2000)

Gender and development: facts and numbers

In 1995 the situation of women was not favorable (UNDP Human Development Report of 1995 cited in AUSAID 1997). Of 1.3 billion people living in poverty, 70 per cent were women. Among the world's 900 million illiterate people, women outnumbered men two to one that year. Adult women would suffer more than men from malnutrition meaning that of adults suffering iron deficiency 458 million were women and 238 million were men; of those stunted by protein energy malnutrition, 450 million were women and 400 million were men. Each year at least half a million women would die from complications due to pregnancy. In most poor countries pregnancy complications were the largest single cause of death among women in their reproductive years. Although women would represent 41 per cent of all workers in developing countries, their wages were 30-40 per cent less than those of men for comparable work. Women would constitute less than one seventh of administrators and managers in developing countries. And finally, women would hold only 10 per cent of the seats in the world's parliaments and 6 per cent in national cabinets.

Given these facts in 1995 the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing placed particular emphasis on 12 critical areas of concern. These areas are for instance poverty, access to quality education and training, health, violence against women and gender equality dimension into policy and planning among others (AUSAID 1997). The aim of the Fourth World Conference on Women is to set the priorities and the strategic objectives for women's advancement towards the next millennium.

Complementing this initiative and closely related, the 3rd Goal of the United Nations MDGs seeks the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Its main target is to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015. Similarly and directly associated MDGs 4th and 5th the also are related with women empowerment and education since it is possible to imply that decisions and actions of educated women will be crucial when reducing child mortality and improving maternal health respectively.

The MDG Report 2010 (UNDP 2010) shows interesting results of the progress in achieving these goals. In Latin America, the gender parity index for gross enrolment ratio shows that 97 girls were enrolled in primary schools for every 100 boys in 1999 and also the same number in 2009. In secondary and tertiary schools the index shows that 108 and 126 girls were enrolled for every 100 boys in 2009 respectively, which demonstrates that the Gender parity index target has been exceeded. Another relevant result is the share of women in non-agricultural paid employment since in 2009 it has increased from 36 per cent in 1990 to 43 per cent in 2009 (UNDP 2010).

With respect to the gender gap in school, the Inter American Bank of Development IABD (2007) points out Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru among the countries that are still in the process of achieving gender parity in school in Latin America "Interestingly these are countries with important ethnic diversity". Particularly, Bolivia faces a process of changing in terms of genderization of the society. However it is still a conservative and patriarchal society where women's role is declared as important yet not equal as men's. UNESCO (2004)

Access to economic and financial resources is another subject that should not be underestimated.

"Women's equal access to and control over economic and financial resources is critical for the achievement of gender equality and empowerment of women and for equitable and sustainable economic growth and development" (World Survey on the Role of Women in Development 2009).

Even though there are important improvements on women's economic empowerment through increases in educational attainment and share of paid work, according to the World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (WSRWD) carried on in 2009 there are persistent inequalities as a result of discriminatory norms and practices in every country. These inequalities have placed women in a relative disadvantage to men in relation to their capability to participate in, contribute to and benefit from broader processes of development.

For example at a macroeconomic level, policies distribute key economic and financial resources between different sections of a country's population and in this way they have an impact on gender equality. Nevertheless, gender equality perspectives have been ignored at the moment of formulating macroeconomic policies. Another key element is that access to full employment and decent work persist limited to women, for there is still gender division of

labour and precarious and poorly paid work which particularly affect women. Regarding access to land, housing and other productive resources, women face discrimination and have limited access to technologies and services that could alleviate their work burdens. *“Unequal access to resources limits women’s capacity to ensure agricultural productivity, security of livelihoods and food security and is increasingly linked to poverty, migration, urbanization and increased risk of violence”* (WSRWD 2009).

In addition Stromquist (2002: 26) affirms that “women tend to spend more of their income on the family than men do”. As an example she says that due to reduced income women are “forced to produce more goods at home with reduced resources” so they buy non-processed food and choose carefully cheaper food. Since many of these tasks are women’s labour within the family, it is likely daughters’ participation in schooling gets affected. (Stromquist 2002:26) However “income is unevenly distributed within households”. Men limit resources for the family subsistence while keeping “substantial amounts resources” exclusively for them. (Stromquist 2002:26).

Even though there are important strides in relation to access of women to financial services such as savings, insurance, remittance transfers and credit, there are still legal, institutional and socio-cultural barriers. Some of the main reasons why women have obstacles of equal financial opportunities are for example women’s unpaid work, limits on mobility, lack of collateral and limited financial skills (Bachelet, 2011)

“Long-standing inequalities in the gender distribution of resources have placed women at a disadvantage relative to men in their capability to participate in and benefit from broader processes of development. This has often left them dependent on male provision to meet some or all of the needs of their households” (WSRWD 2009). In contrast to the progress on women’s fight for equality, policies and other aspects of women’s empowerment (access to education, job opportunities, fair returns to labour, reduced burdens of unpaid work within the home, access to land, access to credits, fight against violence, etc.) have failed to accompany that process at a significant level to achieve that goal (WSRWD 2009:6).

2.3 Empowerment

Empowerment Concepts and Definitions

Empowerment is a term difficult to define. This “undefinition” is considered its best quality because it gives openness to a wide range of options to achieve it. Paulo Freire is usually cited as a precursor of empowerment due to his ideas of education as a tool to boost development (Parpart, 2002: 5).

Two ideas are central to the definition of empowerment. Those two ideas are power and choice. Empowerment implies to give people “power”. Kabeer (1999) does not find that everyone can be empowered. For her power is the ability to make choices. Therefore to empower is a process by which somebody who previously was unable to choose now has the ability to change. People “who exercise a great deal of power choice” in their lives are “powerful” and therefore they cannot be empowered Kabeer (1999:2).

However assuming that the people empowered previously have had no power can be misleading. Women are not powerless, but they have very specific strategies of manoeuvring so that they can be heard or exercise their influence. Often, women are not out of the decision

making process, rather their participation is subtle and underestimated. Research on formal and informal decision- making in Kenya shows that women use manipulation and avoid confrontation in order to get what they really want (Kabeer, 1999: 19).

Other authors refer to the important distinctions referring to “power over”, “power within” and/or “power with”. The “power over” refers mainly to the control over institutions, resources and people. This control would be the ability to do something, to change something for better (Parpart et al. 2002: 5). However this idea of “power over” as controlling resources and people was found “disempowering” in nature since it was usually used to over control and repress people’s actions and thoughts (Parpart et al. 2002:6). “Power over” was overcome through the idea of the “power within” that takes into account the individual consciousness/understanding over own actions and thoughts. The “power within” concept is related to Kabeer’s concept mentioned above. “Power with” would be the result of collective action and together with power within construct the power to. The notion of “power to” is able to really change for better and it is empathetic with gender in the sense that this kind of power allows women to “challenge gender hierarchies” (Parpart et al. 2002:8) and change them to achieve gender equity.

In general, inequality in power creates relationships of domination and subordination. This inequality has its origin in smaller structures of society (family and community) and they reproduce at macro levels. The objective of empowering women it is not only to change gender hierarchical relations but all hierarchical relations in society since it is said that “domination relations and subordination at micro and local levels of society allow global systems of inequality in power” (Dianne Otto 1996, cited by Gabriel 2002: 35).

Moreover Stromquist (2002:23) considers that empowerment has “four dimensions each of equally important, none- sufficient by itself to enable women to act on their own behalf. These are the cognitive dimension (critical understanding of one’s reality), the psychological dimension (feeling of self-esteem), the political dimension (awareness of power inequalities and the ability to organize and mobilize) and the economic dimension (capacity to generate independent income)”.

Given the diverse notions on empowerment in the literature, the present research builds its arguments and discussions on the concepts and definitions exposed by Naila Kabeer. As it has been described above Kabeer conceives the concept of empowerment as the ability to make choices (1999: 2). There must be two conditions to be fulfilled so as to be a real choice. The first condition is that there must be alternatives in order to make a meaningful decision differently. The second condition is that these alternatives must be visible to people. This means that alternatives could exist but if they are not taken as possible then there is denial of choice and this is not considered empowering.

In accordance with Kabeer (2005, 13-17), the ability to make a choice or, in other words, to define one’s goals and act upon them is one of the three dimensions of empowerment called: *agency*. There are passive and active forms of agency where the former one implies action taken when there is little choice and the latter one assumes purposeful behaviors. The second dimension cited by Kabeer is related to the *resources* or pre-conditions which enable someone to exercise choice. These not only encompass material or economic resource but also the social relationships within the family, the market, state and community. The third dimension is related to the *achievements* or the outcomes of people’s efforts to live the lives they want.

Development organizations have used the notions of empowerment in their practices (Parpart et al. 2002: 10). Development and power (over) had common ground when talking about resources as empowering and hence useful for development. Practices of empowerment in Northern countries were taken to developing ones. This top-down process failed in many cases. Southern countries criticized that the approach did not bear in mind the local context and knowledge (Parpart et al. 2002: 10). New approaches of empowerment were addressed in contrast to the former. These new approaches recognized the importance of “local” and of local participation to ensure the success of the development projects. These new approaches coincide with the notions of power within and power with explained before.

There is a tendency to think of empowerment as the magical solution that will end with poverty and inequality. However Gabriel et al (2002:43) points out that it is only possible to think of empowerment that way if it is applied in big scale. On other hand empowerment can only constitute a tool that can “bring fundamental changes” whose objective is in the first instance to gain awareness about the different possibilities for which a person can decide regarding his/her own life.

Education and empowerment

Education is considered as potentially empowering (Stromquist, 2002: 23). Education is supposed an element of inclusion and participation within the social/economical environment. Education should be means for consciousness, analysis, reflection and action.

Access to formal education is assumed as synonym of empowerment (Stromquist, 2002: 24). This is arguable from different points of view. Undoubtedly education has the potential to empower people but not all education is indeed empowering. Indicators of the MDG of universal education focus in quantity rather than the quality of education. López (2000: 18) points out that in Bolivia one of the preoccupations of the educational reform of 1994 was to overcome the functional illiteracy due to the “predominance of the oral traditions” within indigenous/peasant communities and the absence of written material to enable them practicing their reading skills.

Stromquist (2002:24) points out that in “traditional societies” formal education is used to reproduce gender roles. Education may also be used means to transmit dominant ideologies under the premise of empowerment. Paradoxically the quality of the education/knowledge is not even questioned by the feminist movement (Stromquist, 2000:81).

Empowering education should be able to create consciousness of oneself in the society and how it works if changes are to be done; but also education should be able to build self esteem in the students. Education to empower girls may be even more challenging since it requires eliminating every gender label possible. In practice that would mean to reduce masculine norms working not only with girls increasing self- esteem but also with boys decreasing their desire to be superior to girls (Stromquist, 2002: 25)

However, sexism is still present within the educational systems in Latin America. From textbooks to teacher behaviours that contribute to the perpetuation of differenced social roles based on sex. Sexism in education does not begin in school but in families. Research from Argentine shows that the role of women taking care of the house chores is a social product, whether they realize or choose it or not. The latter means that nevertheless many women are not satisfied with that role, they “accept the premise of domesticity which means women are

confined both with respect to ideology and practice to their own homes and to the moral authority which entails”; that acceptance then means subordination, dependence and exclusion from the spheres of decision-making. (Stromquist 1992: 29)

With regard to the value of education given by women and men, Brown and Park (2000:538) arrived to the conclusion that the likelihood of desertion of students is lower when their mothers have a greater say in enrolment decisions and the probability falls even more for boy students. This means that women value education more than men even given more importance to their sons than their daughters, relative to men. Another finding is the fact that the empowerment of less-educated women has a large negative influence on the likelihood of children being held back to school than the empowerment of better educated women.

Finally, Stromquist (1992: 29) also points out “*the elimination of illiteracy among women will call for more than a redistribution of income and other resources. It will call also for a different social ordering, one in which poor women have overcome ideologies and social representations of men as powerful and assertive and women as their abnegating self-effacing companions*”.

2.4 Educational Policies in Bolivia

Background

In this section it will be outlined education policies under the form of laws that were implemented in Bolivia before the Educational Reform Law of 1994. This is important to expose in order to compare how the Education Reform represented and advance in education policies in the country.

The Spanish colonial regime destroyed the educational system of indigenous people. The colonial regime restricted education based on criteria of race, social position and religion (Fontúrbel, 2004:1) Bolivia’s Education System was created after the National Revolution of 1952, whose vindications were mainly three: Universal Vote, Agrarian Reform and Universal education. Before that, education was limited to political and military oligarchy (Fontúrbel 2004:1). Indigenous people and women had no access or right to education. They were not considered citizens and had no right to vote (Mizala et al. 1999:4) In 1955 the Education Code (EC) was promulgated with the basic aims to eliminate illiteracy, to enlarge education’s availability to indigenous people, to promote cultural and national integration of the country’s different indigenous groups, to promote science and technology, and finally, to improve the productive capability of the country (Fontúrbel, 2004:5).

Following the principles of the EC, the state efforts focused on building schools and training teachers in large scale to try to homogenize education, forcing indigenous children to learn Spanish and thus contradicting/ignoring the ethnical and cultural diversity of the country. The educational system structure was centralized but had an unarticulated subsystem: that of the urban and rural schools. Urban schools had an association while rural schools had another. Moreover, the responsibility of urban education was that of the Ministry of Education while the Ministry of Agriculture and Peasants Affairs was in charge of rural education

The EC established that State policy education is free, compulsory, democratic and unique. It is at reach of all inhabitants and non discriminatory. However, it is criticised that these principles were not accomplished because of the lack of strategies to achieve them. The EC of

1955 dedicated a chapter to female technical education (articles 73-79) whose objective was improving women's economical and social situation. Yet, its focus was directly and indirectly on knowledge and activities within the domestic sphere, complemented with social, cultural, sporting, journalistic, musical and informative activities (CPM, 1994: 24). Thus, the result is that it maintained the notion of educating women to become housewives.

After the EC there were other attempts to change the Bolivian education model, to mention some: the educational reform of 1968-1969, the conclusions of the national pedagogic congress (1970), the reforms of the government of Banzer (1971-1978), the proposals of the second national pedagogic congress 1979, the amends of the government of Garcia Meza (1980- 1982), the modifications of the government democratic of UDP (Democratic and Popular Unity)(1982- 1985), the projects of education policy of the National Revolutionary Movement party (MNR) (1985- 1988). However, none of these attempts tried to change the structure of the education model of the code of 1985 (product of the policies that enclose 1952 national revolution) despite its profound crisis (CPM, 1994: 24). Moreover, due to lack of lack of funds and political instability very few of these policies were carried out.

The Education Reform Law (ERL) of 1994

The National Social Strategy proposed in 1991 (the foundation for the Education Reform Law of 1994) called for primary education to be a universal right, the enlargement of rural education and education of women as a way to fight poverty and eradicate illiteracy by relating education to economic, political, social and cultural processes. Apparently, this was the first gender favourable framework (CPM 1994:32).

The Bolivia's Strategy for Education (Ministry of Education, 2003: 18) points out that the complex social context of poverty, the ethnical diversity and the geographical, the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country are the main issues for why it is not possible to apply strategies like in other countries with minor indigenous populations. The analysis of the educational situation in the country pointed out that isolated and circumstantial measures were not sufficient to overcome the country's problems, rather a change in structures was required. As part of the process of Education Reform an agreement among the government and key political leaders of opposition was signed to constitute the Education Reform as a State Policy. This is the first social policy that remained through four government terms (Ministry of Education, 2003: 18).

The ERL was an attempt to promote integral transformation of the national educational system in the administrative and pedagogic levels integrating interculturality and a bilingualism. Its long-terms objectives were to improve access to education, improve quality of education, achieve gender parity and develop scientific and superior education and attain efficiency in the use of human, material and financial resources (Ministry of Education, 2003: 48). This law was a step further than the EC because it endeavoured to recognize interculturality because as pointed out before Bolivia had a "mestizo" monocultural State based whose objective was to shape a culturally mestizo society (Céspedes 2008: 79) rather than accepting and understanding the multicultural and plurinational nature of the country. As a consequence, more libraries were created as well as text books in Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní. However, for many, it did not change the Spanish mono cultural paradigm and the supposedly transformation was unidirectional. For example, the bilingual scheme was to be applied in rural areas and was not mandatory in the cities. The ERL pretended to change the

structure of the educational system aiming ending up with race, gender, social, economic or religious exclusion. It intended to change the behaviourism focus for a constructivist focus (Fortúrbel, 2004:4) as a step further because the first trend in education inferred stimulus-response (positive and negative reinforce), practice and repetition for achieving operational objectives and evaluation of results while the second trend intends to develop students skills, to create significant learning, and evaluate the process taking into account precurent experiences of students.

By using legal mechanisms, the ERL tries to overcome social and gender barriers. For example, the ERL compels every school to be mixed in terms of gender, although there were some catholic schools that were reluctant to change this. It also contextualized education by introducing the local language, varying according to region, into the school system (Fortúrbel, 2004: 4). Because primary education is the base of secondary and superior education and conscious of the limited human and financial resources and the lack of institutional efficiency, the Technical Support Team focused the execution of the ERL on primary level in order to attack four main problems that kept producing illiteracy: lack of schools, desertion, poor quality of education and deficient management capability of the educational system Ministry of Education (2003:18). To achieve its goals, the ERL conceived the transformation of education in a linked process in two levels: the curricular- pedagogic and the institutional-administrative. It was necessary to change contents and programs, equip schools train teachers as much as to create efficient systems of administration of education.

In context the ERL belongs to the time of policies of economic readjustment from the IMF and the World Bank in Latin America in the 90's. At that moment, there were established in Bolivia policies of readjustment (capitalization of national enterprises), education and popular participation under the same government. Policies of popular participation allowed inclusion of other stakeholders in scopes they didn't before. In education the SD 25273 (1999) created school committees (of parents) and school boards (of community, neighbour or zone members). School boards have gained importance in communities' schools in Villa Charcas. Theses boards are comprised of members of school committee of parents and two representatives of the territorial organization and they are in charge of supervising the performance of the school service and controlling school' resources' administration.

Summing up, the ERL for gender meant an improvement; previous laws like the agrarian revolution grouped together gender in a universal category of education. While the EC differenced gender from a sexist point of view, the ERL recognized the need for gender education and developed concrete strategies for its application in the classroom as the next subtitle will expose.

The transverses of the ERL

Although unseen and unknown, the transverse of the educational reform are important because they entail "a new way to see, conceive and understand reality and live social relations from a holistic point of view" (CPM 1994: 33) They contribute to overcome the fragmentation of the areas of knowledge to the construction of attitudes, expression of feelings, and understanding the world and social relations in a specific context.

"The educational reform poses alternatives to articulate the transverses to the improvement of competences, contents, cultural knowledge, process of construction of knowledge, context framework that guide the achievement of social development" (CPM 1994:33).

The transverses are four:

- a) Education for democracy implies teaching ideas and principles based in values such as freedom, equality, fraternity, respect, tolerance, design, agreement, consensus (assent), and sovereignty. It is implicit in citizen attitudes when they take interest in community or nation matters, directly by working on them or indirectly by delegating representation. Within the educational reform it is related with participation and education organization at local, communal, district, departmental and national level respecting cultural diversity.
- b) Education for health and sexuality looks at the integration of local, cultural and traditional knowledge with the occidental knowledge, recovering the health conception of indigenous as the way to keep balance, reciprocity, and harmony between them and nature. The educational process about human sexuality understood as the psychological, cultural and social expression of people embraces interrelated aspects of sexual identity construction without discrimination or prejudice, self image and self-esteem, knowledge about the body and functions, human reproduction.
- c) Education for environment, besides environment protections and conservations, aims the construction of a new socio-economic development model that allows the individual and collective development through responsible management of natural resources and the understanding of the human-nature relation and the consequences of poor resources management influencing negatively on people's present and future.
- d) Education for gender equality refers to the right to equality of opportunities between girls and boys. Its objective is the construction of relations between women and men based on values of respect, solidarity, equity bearing in mind cultural diversity. Gender focus on education helps understanding how women participate and contribute to society (CPM, 1994: 37-40)

The four transverses described above are the cornerstones of the ERL of 1994. From the first attempt of changing the educational history of Bolivia in 1952, this is the first time that a reform introduces four values which intend to have an impact on the social and economical construction of the country. Likewise this is the first time that a concept such as gender equity is introduced to the curricula in education, meaning that before the contents of curricula would have a predominant sexist focus. This is the main reason why the four transverses of the ERL are important.

Yet more significant are the implementation strategies of the transverses. The table below shows the tasks, difficulties and achievements on the process of implementation for the mainstreaming of gender equity. It illustrates the endeavour of taking the ERL in theory to practice so that apprenticeship in every taught subject within the curricula is effective for the student. It was foreseen that without a pedagogic focus for the implementation any effort made would have been ineffective.

Table 5: Strategies, Difficulties and Achievements of Gender Transverse

Strategies for mainstreaming gender in formal education	Difficulties to the implementation	Achievements
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The introduction of the gender transverse in the curriculum of the different levels especially primary and teachers' education to warrant the inclusion of the transverse in competences of knowledge areas, thematic nets in primary and in achievement indicators. - The introduction of the transverse in learning modules to warrant the use of non discriminatory language, illustrations about equity and opportunities equality, examples of gender issues such as chores division. - Training to introduce the gender transverse in the work of education professionals. It implies training about the theoretical part of gender equality, the methodological approach and the reflections about gender stereotypes and prejudices present in society. - Making methodological guides and support material about the transverse in the education context (in classroom, classroom projects and out of the classroom). - Diagnostics and investigations to get data on the access, attendance and school abandonment. And those related to the different visions on education. - Introduction of the transverses focus and the other transverses in the base curriculum of teachers' education. - Making workshop about the cultural visions of the transverses. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is a long term process since it is referred to the change of attitudes, ways of thinking, values and the elimination of stereotypes and prejudices. - It is difficult to formulate more specific strategies because of the insufficient information about the distinct cultural visions about the construction of gender relations - There are no clear strategies to get to teachers, parents, mothers and communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is a proposal for this transverse to be incorporated explicitly in the competences of the areas of knowledge in primary school. - Achievement indicator including this transverse have been created - Pedagogic advisers have been trained - Support documents (material) about the transverses have been made for pedagogic advisers

Source: CPM (2004)

In order to achieve education for gender equality in education, one strategy refers to gender socialization, a process that allows new learning of roles, values, opinions, behaviour within society. Socialization is made through different institutions such as family, school, church, workplace, and media. UNESCO (2004) shows that some of the reasons for why education do not reach girls, are patriarchal attitudes, girls' contribution to the family economy in terms of unpaid work, distance and physical infrastructure, the school environment, the content and process of education, poverty and the rising cost of schooling.

Nowadays, gender socialization still allows the persistence of asymmetrical, hierarchic, and discriminatory relations against women, the female role assimilation, the obligation to fulfil gender mandates and methods of control as social retribution (punishment) (Herrera, 1999: 74). The Ministry of Human Development (1997: 21) points out that there are different ways of gender domination: sexual domination as to family and sexuality control; economic domination related to unrecognising house chores as productive work and social domination, which consider that social hierarchies perceive men as household chiefs.

The Ministry of Human Development (1997) in a research about gender equality in education in Bolivia, shows, as an example, that high school students still recognize different attributes for girls and boys that contribute to women's subordination.

Table 6: High School Students Perception of Gender

Female	Male
Sensitive	Rational
Studious	Intelligent
Passive	Active
Dependant	Autonomous
Quiet	Restless
Obedient	Rebel
Insecure	Secure

Source: Ministry of Human Development (1997)

Avelino Siñani (and Elizardo Pérez) Educational Law (ASEL)

In December 2010 a new law of education was promulgated. This is one of the most important laws referred to education promulgated since the approval of the New Constitution of Bolivia in 2009 (under the government of Evo Morales) that re-founded the country as Plurinational State of Bolivia.

The law was named after Avelino Siñani and Elizardo Pérez; an indigenous leader and a teacher who implemented the "Ayllu School" or community school in Warisata, a community located in the area of the high plateau in Bolivia. The focus of this school was learning within the community. It didn't intend just teaching indigenous people how to read and write, its purpose was to provide indigenous people knowledge for their daily life in the community like agriculture, construction and respecting traditions. It was innovative particularly with reference to curricula, as it was designed and agreed upon among members of the community.

The Ayllu school was founded under the principle that education was a right of all inhabitants and the system of production had to have social utility for the community and for the families of the community; thus the cooperation from the community with the families was imperative

to achieve their particular objectives (e.g. construction of a house for one of the families) and collective work for community objectives (e.g. construction of a community school, construction of a roads)

The ASEL recovers this community-productive model and it is believed it will help the new Plurinational State, through the holistic formation of men and women with critical thinking and socio-community values (ASEL, 2010)

There is, among the Bolivian teacher's union and opposition leaders, a resistance to accept the ASEL. Gonzalo Soruco (2011), leader of the union of teachers of El Alto city, said in an interview that ASEL is just a copy of the ERL of 1995 with an indigenist make up (El Abogado del Diablo, 2011.tv.UNITEL.31.01.2011 2200hrs). For him, only terms and not concepts have been changed (e.g. the ERL adds the term popular participation while ASEL talks about popular community participation). Maria Cristina Viscarra (2011), opposition deputy, points out that there haven't been research to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages neither of ERL nor ASEL. This fact doesn't allow perceiving how far the law is from what it is being put in practice in schools. Therefore, for her, ASEL doesn't justify the need to change the ERL of 1995.

Supreme Decree SD N° 28899: Subsidy Juancito Pinto

The SD N° 28899 was promulgated the 26 of October of 2006. This decree establishes the subsidy "Juancito Pinto" as incentive to registration, permanence and conclusion of children in the first 5 school years of primary in public schools. The subsidy was named after Juancito Pinto, a young soldier drummer who died in the Pacific war between Bolivia and Chile, for which Bolivia lost the access to the Pacific Ocean

The subsidy gives an amount of 200 Bolivianos (approx. 29 USD) distributed in two parts. The first payment of 100 Bolivianos should be delivered at the beginning of the year and the second at the end of the year. However, from the promulgation of the SD, it has been delivered once a year at the end of the school year. According to the SD, the subsidy can also be paid in products. The right to collect the subsidy has a negative prescription of three months from the beginning of the payment.

According to the National Plan of Development (NPD¹) it was necessary the implementation of social policies to eradicate extreme poverty and exclusion of people, families and communities. The SD N° 2899 is part of the policies impelled by the NPD as a project that intended to strengthen, protect and develop human capabilities favouring children of the country. School attendance and desertion rates in Bolivia have in the last years decreased sufficiently to the extent that it affects the achievement of the MDGs. For this reason the National Government has focused its efforts towards specific actions to motivate enrolment and permanence in school to reinforce education in benefit of Bolivian children. With this aim, the government decided to use economic resources from the Nationalization of Companies that before capitalization in the 90's were property of the State. These resources according to the government must be used to improve the life conditions of the population, especially among the younger groups of the population.

Table 7: Subsidy Juancito Pinto

¹ "Bolivia worthy, sovereign, productive and democratic to live well"

Subsidy Juancito Pinto CMT	Characteristics	Population target	Conditioning
Direct monetary transfer to parents (or legal responsible) of the child(ren) beneficiary	- Fixed amount of 200 Bolivianos per year per child - For children in public schools only	- Children from 6 to 13 years old from 200 to 2010 enrolled in school.	Attendance to school

Source: own elaboration based on the Supreme Decree N° 28899

The SD N° 2899 was implemented under the premise that giving amounts of money in cash to specific population and conditioned to fulfilment of certain requirements established in social programs, is believed to increase long-term investment in human capital. According to the UN Economical Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) cited by Medinacely and Mokrani (2010:226), programs to conditioned monetary transfers (CMT) consider that intergenerational circle of poverty is related to meagre investment in social capital. For that reason the conditioning system to transfer would be an effective motivation to the accomplishments of the objectives in homes structurally poor or close to the poverty line.

However, the implementation of this subsidy must be understood as complementary to a wider system of policies to change the socio-economical structures. It can't replace on its own the requirements of a complete protection system.

Child Friendly Schools (CFS) Program in Villa Charcas

Child Friendly School is a program fostered by UNICEF. The objective of a child friendly program is to increase the standards of quality of schools and school systems. The quality standards should enhance access to school; help children to pass the course, finish the cycle on time. At the same time it should offer educational experience to give students means to progress, develop and achieve all their potential UNICEF (2009: 2). Trough CFS, UNICEF contributes to reduce inequality in education and develop inclusive curricula that take into account local language, culture and customs (UNICEF, 2010: 16).

To achieve the objective, CFS Program try to take advantage of stakeholders involved in education to warrant the right to education of quality. Stakeholders include parents, community, teachers, principals, education planners, society groups, local, and national governments UNICEF (2009: 2). Stakeholders' participation allows schools and school systems to offer conditions and resources to apply the quality standards that the program searches.

CFS is defined as participative and innovative. The model promotes and supports education projects where the educational community partakes. The program works around five components: inclusion, efficiency and quality, health, security and protection, commitment with gender and culture, and participation (UNICEF, 2010: 17).

UNICEF (2010: 17) points out that in Bolivia, this program has contributed to the increase of 2 points of the registration rate in preschool reaching 34%. In primary education, the rate increased in 16 points till the 51%. 45 of every 100 children finished the 6th grade and 35 of

every 100 completed the 8th grade at the appropriate age. 4287 children without any schooling were registered thanks to the implementation of 327 new intakes in rural schools. 19,000 students were benefited with school transport system. At the time 73% of the budget of CFS Programs is invested by national authorities (UNICEF, 2010:17).

Transport system

One may wonder what transport has got to do with education and empowerment. In my field research I saw this relationship clearly and thus present it as a separate issue in this chapter. Transportation increases the cost of education and may lead to exclusion of poorer students who can't afford to it (UNICEF, 2009: 71). In rural areas transportation is a problem of lacking more than the cost and distance is a key problem for children to desert school and for parents to decide not to send children to school.

UNICEF Child friendly manual suggests schools should be at short distance from students. Distance is also an important factor in girl's attendance. In a research in Egypt it was shown that girls registration was reached 30% when schools were 3 or more kilometres from households and more than 70% when they were 1 kilometre from home UNICEF (2009:71).

Walking home from school may represent risks for children. In that sense child friendly schools try to find safe ways to go from home to school. When distance to school is too long, the CFS manual suggests looking for safe school transport like an organized school transport service or the use of public buses which routes pass by the location of schools. In remote places where children live too far from school or places where children are at serious risk, like when crossing rivers or exposed to physical aggression CFS manual propose coordinated work among the community to form student groups to mobilize because groups offer higher security or grown-up's groups to escort children.

In Bolivia the CFS program also emphasizes the work of vulnerable groups specially indigenous girls from distant rural areas. The major counterparts of the program are the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Justice, more than 50 municipalities from 7 departments of the country, NGO's and some universities.

Chapter Three: The Study Area

3.1. Country facts Bolivia (CIA, 2012)	
Country size	1,098,581 sq km
Population	10,290,003 (July 2012 est.)
Population growth	1.664% (2012 est.)
GDP per capita PPP	\$ 4,800 (2011 est.)
Unemployment rate	5.7 % data are for urban areas; widespread underemployment (2011 est.)
Population below poverty line	51.3% based on percent of population living on less than the international standard of \$2/day (2009 est.)
Languages	Spanish (official) 60.7%, Quechua (official) 21.2%, Aymara (official) 14.6%, foreign languages 2.4%, other 1.2% (2001 census)
Literacy	total population: 86.7%; male: 93.1%; female: 80.7% (2001 census)
Education expenditures	6.3% of GDP (2006)

Bolivia is politically divided in 9 departments and further into provinces, cantons and districts. There are smaller areas within the cantons: towns and communities. Administratively, the country has Department's Governments and Municipalities.

Chuquisaca Department, Province Nor Cinti

Villa Charcas, which is the focus of this research, is located in Chuquisaca, one of the nine Departments of Bolivia. The department of Chuquisaca has a population of 660.813 inhabitants; it is the equivalent to 6, % of the total population of the country. The capital city of this department is Sucre, the Constitutional Capital of Bolivia. The Table below shows the main demographic indicators of this department.

Table 8: Chuquisaca Demographic Indicators (Estimations 2011)

DESCRIPTION	CHUQUISACA	BOLIVIA
Area (Km ²)	51.524	1.098.581
Total Population	660.813	10.624.495
Inhabitants Density (Inhabitants per Km ²)	12,83	9,67
Percentage of masculine population	49,65	49,90
Percentage of feminine population	50,35	50,10
Médium Annual Grow Rate (Percentage)	1,56	1,85
Birth rate (Per Thousand)	27,43	25,59
Death Rate (Per Thousand)	7,82	7,15
Global Fertility Rate (Children per women)	3,64	3,17
Fertility Middle age (Years)	29,31	28,39
Infant Death Rate (Per Thousand born alive)	42,38	39,49
Life Expectation at Birth (Years)	65,84	66,82
Life Expectation at birth in men (Years)	63,71	64,71
Life Expectation at birth in women (Years)	68,08	69,03

Source: National Institute of Statistics

Chuquisaca is one of the poorest regions of Bolivia with 1.9 USD GDP per capita (Ministry of Health and Social Security, 2000 based on data from 1997 census) of the country with high levels of poverty of 70, 1 % (National Institute of Statistics Bolivia INE, 2005) as well as high deficiency of basic services. Chuquisaca is a mainly a Quechua region. Quechuas in

Chuquisaca represent 60 % of the population. There are 10 provinces in the department of Chuquisaca and 28 Municipalities.

The research took place in the Province of Nor Cinti, within the communities of the district Villa Charcas (one of the five districts of the Villa Charcas Municipality); in Incahuasi canton (South west Chuquisaca). Nor Cinti is located 400 Km. from Sucre. According to statistics from the National Institute of Statistics (INE 2001)), the number of people living in extreme poverty in Nor Cinti is 16.745 inhabitants. The Nor Cinti province has warm productive valleys and cold arid mountains.

3.2. Villa Charcas

Villa Charcas is a town located in the centre of the ex feudo² of the enterprise SAGIC (Agricultural, Cattle Dealer and Industrial Society of Cinti). Villa Charcas was previously called Sacari and the feudo extended into the current town of Sacarí Incahuasi, Culpina, Salviani, Caraparí, Totorá, San Pedro, Mojuelo and El Rancho.

Until the Revolution of 1952, indigenous people in Bolivia did not have property rights to land. They were under a regime of “pongueaje” by which indigenous people were forced to serve the landlord for 15 days in exchange for the permission to sow a fraction of land. In addition they had to pay a tithe, one tenth of their income or produce paid as a tax for using the landlords land.

In 1944 the “pongueaje” was legally avoided. Indigenous people still had to work for 15 days but they could rest for the next 30 days. After some years, the president at the time, Gualberto Villarroel, who impelled this change died. As a consequence of his death landlords tried to impose the “pongueaje” regime again. The people from Sacarí (Villa Charcas) reacted by assassinating the landlord Fernando Mercy in 1948. The army then captured some suspects, among them the well known indigenous leader Marcelino Mamani. He was later decapitated later in Sucre.

The 2nd of August of 1953, in the former town of Sacarí the town was renamed Marcelino Mamani after this leader and his heroic participation in the uprising against landlords. Later the town was again renamed, now into “La central” (the centre) since it was installed an agrarian centre in the town. The current name was given by a presbyter/priest René Ortuste in honour to the ancient Charcas (now Sucre) (Hipólito Flores, personal communication, 2012).

Villa Charcas belonged administratively to the Municipality of Incahuasi until 2009. It was created as a new Municipality and section (the 4th section) of the Province of Nor Cinti after a long conflict about the seat of the Municipality. The reason for the conflict, according to people from the community, occurred because the Municipality of Incahuasi didn't responded to Villa Charcas needs for a long time. So in 2004 authorities from ten districts organized an extraordinaire congress and decided to take the Municipality seat to Villa Charcas (El Cinteño, 2010). Incahuasi authorities took legal actions to recover the Municipality seat and got a favourable verdict after three years (2007). On May of 2007 in the city of Sucre (Department of Chuquisaca) president Evo Morales gathered along with ministers and commissioners from Villa Charcas and Incahuasi to find a solution which was the creation of a fourth section and the Municipality of Villa Charcas. The process of creation of the

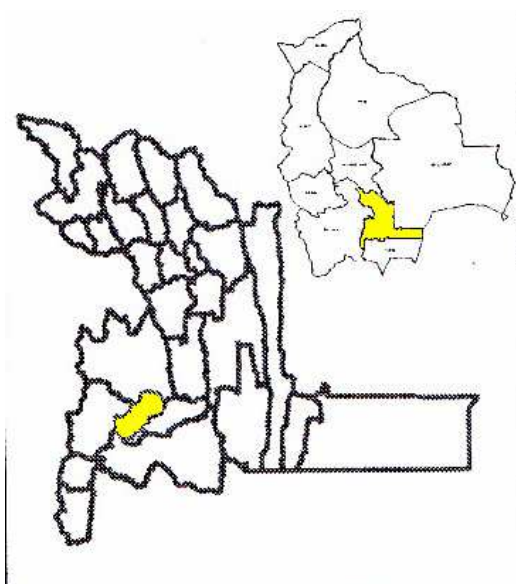
² A piece of land formerly granted by a feudal lord to somebody in return for service.

Municipality concluded the 4 of December of 2009. The creation of the Municipality implied the assignation of own budget to be better distributed within the Municipality for implementation of projects and the improvement of infrastructure.

Since the process of consolidation of Villa Charcas took further, and the last census of the country is from 2001, there is lack of accurate data of Villa Charcas. For the documentation and information collected from key informants, it was revealed the process of separation is not yet completed. For example the law N° 4127 states the creation with 39 communities. The “Defensoría de la niñez” (local government office of protection and defence of children’ rights) provided population data of the Municipality with 37 communities and the map provided by the topographer from the Municipality indicates there are 47 communities. Key informants pointed out there are at least two communities that are being claimed by Camargo (the capital of the Province Nor Cinti). All this issues affected data collection for this study research.

3.3. Location and Geography

Figure 1: Location of Villa Charcas



Villa Charcas is located in the south east of Chuquisaca. In terms of access roads it has improved from the time it was part of Incahuasi, still all roads to communities are still dirt roads. It takes about 12 hour’s bus trip to get there from the city of Sucre, 4 hours from the city of Tarija and 6 hours from the city of Potosí. Directs trips to Villa Charcas are only twice a week.

Villa Charcas has an area of 687,598 km². The weather is dry and cold. The annual average temperature is 19,3 °C. There is diversity of plant life. The water in the area is low on salt, therefore suitable for human consume and agriculture.

While the valleys of Nor Cinti are rich in production of a variety of fruits specially grapes and have developed wine industry, the cold weather in the upper sub-Andean region

affects agricultural production. However, the cold weather of this region is favourable to produce potato and chuño (dehydrated potato). Agriculture is thus an important income source in the area. Villa Charcas (district) is a sub- Andean region.

3.4. Population

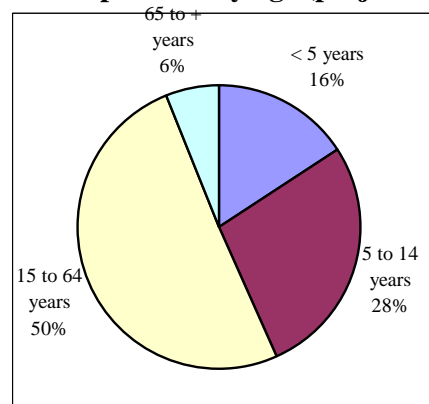
The Municipality of Villa Charcas has 5 districts: Villa Charcas, Pucara de Chunchuli, Supas, Caiza K and Santa Elena. The Municipality of Villa Charcas has a total population of 12.374 inhabitants from which 4.174 belong to the district of Villa Charcas. Figure N° 2 shows Villa Charcas is a young region, with 50% of the population between 15 and 64 years and 44 % of people under 14 years. The average size of the family in Villa Charcas is 7.

Picture 1: Family with six children



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2009)

Figure 2: Population by age (projected data)



Source: Health Centre Santa María Madre de Dios de Villa Charcas

The research took place in the district of Villa Charcas within its 10 communities: Arpaja Alta, Arpaja Baja, Ayomita, Centro Centro, Centro Villa Charcas, Chaquimayo, Huancarani Bajo, Sultaca Alta, Sultaca Centro and Villa Charcas. According to the law N° 4127 of creation of Villa Charcas Municipality, there are a total of 39 communities. As stated above, no official population data exist since it is municipality of recent creation and there has not been a census in the region. Data provided by the Health Centre is a projected data set by National Government Health authority. And data on population number was granted by the Defensoría de la Niñez.

3.5. Main Economic Activities

The major economic activity in Villa Charcas is agriculture. Most inhabitants of the region are involved to some extent in agriculture and in alternative income generating activities when the income of agriculture is not enough to meet basic needs for the family. The main products of the region are: potato, lima bean, peas, oca, papalisa (other tuber), peanuts, garlic,

chilli, apple and orange for selling. There are other products that are only for family consumption like: wheat, barley, kidney beans.

Potato is the most important and largest product for trading in the region. The principal markets for the local production are Camargo (capital of the province of Nor Cinti), Potosí and Tarija (capital cities of departments). In order to have better options to negotiate prices and seek markets, producers in Villa Charcas have created associations of potato producers, milk producers and others related to the products of the region.

The labour market in Villa Charcas is based in agriculture activities. Almost every informant from the ten communities declared that agriculture was their main occupation; this was even the case for people who don't own land. People who do not own their own land rent from neighbours and relatives. Women's participation in agriculture is traditionally addressed to weeding and seeding; while men do the ploughing (weeding is an activity for boys as well). Women are more involved in trading than men. In the market of Villa Charcas town there are more women sellers of foodstuff, and farm products and meals are prepared by them. Traditionally, but not restricted, potato is a product that men put up for sale.

Picture 2: A woman shepherd



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2009)

Other important economic activity is wholesale and retail commerce. Villa Charcas has become a merchant's centre for the surrounding communities and even the communities of the neighbouring municipality (Incahuasi). Another minor activity is breeding cattle. It has also a varied production of knitwear. The table below shows the distances, access and products of the communities of Villa Charcas district. In Villa Charcas town, which is growing more and more into an urban centre, there is a market to sell local products, foodstuff stores for imported products. There are also a few restaurants and clothing stores. Stores are run by both men and women since they are family

businesses. Women may also be entrusted of provisioning activities for wholesale as they travel to bigger urban centres like Potosí, La Paz and Tarija. Wholesale commerce refers to trade of potato, apple and corn in mass to industries or bigger markets from other cities. Associations of producers of these products are involved in this category of commerce.

A minor activity but stated as productive work among some respondents is construction. Nevertheless it is not very common for people from communities in Villa Charcas because traditionally if a family needs to build relatives and neighbours help due to communities' traditions of reciprocity called minka and ayni explained below. This means construction work is mainly an occupation for migrants in other cities from Bolivia or Argentina.

Table 9: Economic activity, distance and access of the of Villa Charcas' Communities.

Community	Distance (km)	Main Economic Activity	access		
			G	R	B
Villa Charcas	0	Potato, Lima Bean	X		
Centro Villa Charcas	3	Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Centro Centro	4	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Huancarani Bajo	5	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Papachacra	15	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Arpaja Baja	5	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Chaquimayu	8	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Arpaja Alta	16	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Sultaca Alta	10	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		
Sultaca Centro	8	Corn, Potato, Lima Bean, Peas	X		

G= Good; R= Regular; B= Bad

Source: Consejo Rural Andino (2011)

3.6. Social Organization

Villa Charcas has a large Quechua population. According to the table N° there is more than 80 % of self-identified Quechua population in the region. 65.60 % of population has Quechua as their mother tongue. The Quechuas has preserved many features of their ancient social structure even after the colonial period and the introduction of the social structures of the mestizos. Their Quechua social structures have influenced ways to be and think.

Table 10: Languages and Self-identification in Villa Charcas

Main Language you learnt to speak	Number	%
Quechua	13,026	65.60
Español	6,667	33.57
Aymara	38	0.19
Guaraní	4	0.02
Main Indigenous Population of self-identification	Number	%
Native Quechua	9,792	81.65
None	2,057	17.15
Native , other native	107	0.89
Native Aymara	31	0.26
Main Languages Spoken	Number	%
Quechua-Spanish	9,175	39.30
Quechua	7,576	32.45
Spanish	4,593	19.67
Quechua-Aymara-Spanish	24	0.10

Source: INE 2001 (projected data from the Municipality of Incahuasi)

The social structure of Quechuas and Aymaras is based on “*Ayllu*” whose translation means family or community, a group of people or families with a common trunk and sharing territory. The *ayllu* influenced the Andean way of thinking. *Ayllu* implied that people did not belong to themselves but to the *ayllu*. Without it they weren't able to survive. Villa Charcas preserves features of Quechuas social structure. According to Delgado and Gómez (2002: 234) rural indigenous communities in Bolivia currently have a mixed concept of *Ayllu* and colony traditions. One of the main characteristics of the *Ayllu* was the communalism. García Linera (2005: 9-10) explains that the tendency towards communalism in Bolivia is founded in the economic traditionalism more than in religion. The traditional ways of production and old-fashioned technology (e.g. the plough) of nearly 90% of small enterprises of the country originates from communalism and syndicalism, as the only way to fulfil their needs. This is in contrast with the remaining 10% of capitalist enterprises that generate 65% of the GDP.

Communities have participated in political life since the agrarian reform. Communities are the bases for other types of organizations such as peasant syndicates or territorial based organizations (OTB) that are to participate in public life.

Rural communities have multiples functions such as to manage communal resources, solving differences between families or to form the base for spiritual expressions (Delgado and Gómez 2002: 234). According to Palomino (2011) “reciprocity is the foundation for the collective and communitarian character of indigenous societies”. Social organization is based in reciprocity or mutual help systems that reveal the subjacent indigenous culture. It is expressed in agriculture and other aspects of life (Delgado and Gómez, 2002: 234).

There are many systems of reciprocity like the *ayni*, *minka* and *faenas*. Palomino (2011) says the reciprocity system “*ayni*” is present at “every transcendental act for a family like building a house, branding livestock, sowing, harvesting, marriage, death”. It is a retribution system for work. In Villa Charcas for example it is common to call neighbours and/or relatives to help in construction or sowing or harvesting. In times when the man is absent women also use this system. During the day(s) of work the family who made the call provides their helpers with food and drinks. There is an implicit compromise to help to those who helped the same way sometime in the future.

Minka is the reciprocity system of collective work for the community. For Palomino (2011) the subjacent thinking of this system is that the goods for the community will benefit community members individually and collectively. A good example of this system in Villa Charcas is the participation of most families from Villa Charcas to construct the cobbled paving from the outskirts of the town to Incahuasi.

3.7. The role of women in Quechua culture

Discrimination towards women, stronger if in addition she is indigenous, is evident but still not a topic people talk about in Villa Charcas. Both the mestizo and the indigenous cultures have a strong patriarchy influence. However, it is not clear whether the Andean indigenous cultures were patriarchal or whether this was inherited from the Spanish culture aymara culture, complementarity is one of the principles of Aymara culture dualist cosmovision and hence puts men and women roles as equal. However also in dualism there are hierarchical relationships (Carafa, 1994). Women are about half of the population and they participate in society. Data show that disparity among boys’ and girls’ attendance in primary school in Villa Charcas has been overcome, but barriers for girls’ education are not limited to economics; they are also cultural. The role of women in agriculture is a important in Quechua households; even more when men migrate to the cities or abroad. As I will show in my chapter on the empirical findings, women have increased responsibilities not only in the households but also in the communities. The role of women is not limited to the household; they participate actively from labour market trading products at the local or markets further away with husbands or alone if indispensable. However there is still limited space for women in decision-making, their work in agriculture is undervalued for being secondary compared to men’s and their work intra housed is considered unproductive. According to (Stromquist, 1992: 25) “the disadvantage of rural women is most likely due to the sexual division of labour that places upon them burdens for domestic work, subsistence production and various family responsibilities”.

3.8. Health in Villa Charcas

Picture 3: A medical emergency



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

Health in Villa Charcas has improved after the separation from Incahuasi, according to the Chief Doctor of the Municipality. Since to 2009 it have been implemented health posts in communities with higher demand. There are at present 6 health posts and 2 health centres. Posts count with an auxiliary nurse while centres have doctors, nurses and beds.

According to information from the main Health Centre of Villa Charcas, there are three groups of people using health services mostly in the region: children under 5 years, women in fertile age and

elderly. Consultations of these groups increased after implementation of health insurances executed by departmental and national governments; the SUMI (Mother- Child Universal Insurance) for children under 5 years; the Subsidy Juana Azurduy for pregnant women (50 Bolivianos for monthly controls for a maximum of 200 Bolivianos) and the SSPAM (Health Insurance for the elderly for its abbreviation in Spanish) for people over 60 years. Although these policies are not specific to Villa Charcas but they are national policies I refer to them because it was brought up in some interviews with medical officers and women respondents.

SUMI was implemented in 1996 (DS N° 24303) to provide free health services in the National Health System and the short term Social Security System to women (from the beginning of their pregnancy and after 6 six months from the delivery) and children (from their birth until 5 years). The Subsidy Juana Azurduy was implemented in 2008 (DS N° 0269) to encourage pre-natal control and new born control until 2 years by granting monetary incentives of 200 Bs for 4 prenatal controls (50 Bs each time); 120 Bs for the delivery in authorized health centres and 1500 Bs for 12 controls (125 per control) of the child before he is 2 years. These programs comply with government policies to fight mother-child death rates. SSPAM (law N° 3323) is a health insurance addressed to population over 60 years. This insurance is financed with resources from the hydrocarbons direct tax (IDH for its abbreviation in Spanish) whose profits from trading are distributed to the 9 departments in different proportion in accordance to production)

Health Centres prepare campaigns, workshops and informative talks for improving health and preventing common illnesses in the region. These activities are not particularly addressed to men or women but women participate more of them. Common preventive workshops are related to under nourishment, family planning and tuberculosis. Nowadays are being implemented practices of communitarian intercultural family health as a government policy. (E.g. if women prefer not to use a delivery bed because it is not part of their traditions)

3.9. Education in Villa Charcas

Education in Villa Charcas has been stated as a right and a duty. The community, through the Municipality has determined that school attendance is mandatory for children of the Municipality. If children do not attend to school, the whole community shall be affected to obtain of resources engaged to the implementation of projects for the community. The Mayoral Decree N° 08/2007 literally provides and instructs that Territorial based organizations, agrarian syndicates, scholar assemblies; public, religious, educational authorities and communities participate in literacy programmes under the command that communities declared illiteracy free will have prioritized attention. From year 2008, projects won't be carried out for the communities that do not participate of these programmes.

In Villa Charcas Municipality there are 34 primary schools and one secondary. In the district of Villa Charcas, where the research took place, there are 5 primary schools. The secondary school is located in this district and works as a boarding school to receive students (girls and boys) from the most distant communities.

Table 11: Number of schools for Districts in Villa Charcas

District	N° of Schools	N° of High Schools
Villa Charcas	5	1
Supas	8	
Cayza "K"	7	
Pucara Chunchuli	6	
Santa Elena	8	
Total	34	1

Source: District Office of Education of the Municipality of Villa Charcas

According to data provided by District Educational Office of Villa Charcas, there were a total of 3.902 students enrolled in Initial, Primary and Secondary (from ages 4 to 20) in 2011; from which there were promoted 3.693 and a total of 181 drop outs. In terms of gender data revealed there were more women enrolled and promoted in schools. There were 1938 boys enrolled and 1841 were promoted; in contrast there were 1964 girls enrolled and 1852 were promoted.

Picture 4: Primary School students



Data also revealed that, even with the command of the community for school enrolment and attendance, there is important school desertion in Villa Charcas. There are considerable differences between the numbers of children enrolled in Primary (504) and adolescents promoted from High School (33) in 2011 (see append N° Tables of schooling). Data show there is significant drop out in the second year of secondary meaning, the

year that corresponded to the eight years of compulsory primary school.

Chapter Four: Methodological approach

In this chapter the discussion is centred on the research strategy and design chosen for this research. In addition the process of conducting the fieldwork in the communities and the different data collection methods used in the research will be discussed.

4.1 Research Strategy

A research strategy is a plan of action to conduct research systematically. Research can be conducted through various approaches; through the use of quantitative and qualitative methods – or combined (Bryman, 2002, 20-21).

Quantitative research tends to “simplification”, that is the “reduction of phenomena to specific obvious aspects, this is evident in its fragmentation in isolated elements, eluding its complexity and ignoring the hidden and underlying processes” (Davini cited by Bustamante, 2005:32). While qualitative research concerns about “context and people are seen as a totality and not reduced to simple measurable variables (Taylor and Bogdan cited by Bustamante 2005:32).

Qualitative research is often applied in studies focusing at understanding what meanings people assign to their activities and to their life situations. A qualitative approach can better grasp the diversity of people’s perceptions and choices than a more quantitative approach. Therefore the approach used in this research is qualitative. Qualitative research is a methodical investigation with three elements: *inductive view*, *interpretative* of what the participants say and *constructive* since it takes into account people as important part in phenomena and not just as observers or receptors of them (Bryman, 2002: 266). Inductive because “the concepts, intellections, and comprehensions develop beginning from the outline of data and no from collecting data to evaluate models, hypothesis or preconceived theories” (Bustamante 2005: 33). Interpretative because it tries to “understand people in its own framework, that is to understand reality as the others experience it: their battles, successes, failures, conflicts, etc.”(Taylor and Bogdan cited by Bustamante 2005:33).

This research addresses a specific culture that it is not accustomed to give the lineal answers that it is usually required for the quantitative approach. About this, Yapu (2006:160 affirms that it is possible to collect information by asking to the individual or group different questions they can relate to (e.g. symbolic representations of animals for Andean cultures) meaning that it is important to bear in mind the context and previous knowledge/experiences. Yapu points out it is better to make concrete rather than abstract questions and indirect rather than direct questions (e.g. what kind of snakes are there? Rather than what does a snake means?) Yapu (2006:159). This was the approach taken into consideration when doing the interviews in Villa Charcas. People from the community do not easily understand concepts like “empowerment” or “gender equity”. The questions as conceived in the interview guides were reformulated for people from the community according to their background and sometimes even language (Quechua).

Rossmann and Rallis, cited by Marshall and Rossmann (2006: 3), present five characteristics of qualitative research: is naturalistic, draws on multiple methods, focuses on context, is emergent and evolving and is fundamentally interpretative. Moller (2010:49) says that it is naturalistic since the “researcher does not try to manipulate the context” and because the

“research takes place in real-world settings and people are interviewed with open-ended questions in places and conditions that are comfortable and familiar to them” (Patton cited by Moller, 2010:49).

Critiques to qualitative research share four assumptions:

- Research fundamentally involves issues of power
- The research report is not transparent but rather authored by a raced gendered, classed, and politically oriented individual
- Race, class and gender (among other social identities) are crucial for understanding experience
- Historically, traditional research has silenced members of oppressed and marginalized groups. (Rossman and Rallis cited by Marshall and Rossman, 2006: 5)

For those reasons the authors suggest to social researchers to “examine how they represent the participants in their works”, to consider the relationships between their personal and social features, how they interact with the participants and what they write, to bear in mind the interaction of ethics and politics (Rossman and Rallis cited by Marshall and Rossman, 2006:5). In this research study I tried to be aware of the critiques above as I did not wanted to either make the respondents feel judged by asking them about personal issues and at the same time I did not want to represent a subjective idea of how people from Villa Charcas are and behave although I have a personal interest in the issue of gender empowerment because of my work as a lawyer showed me women are still a vulnerable and at times marginalized group.

4.2. Research design

A research design is the “framework for the collection and analysis of data” (Bryman 2002:27).

Social researchers ask two fundamental types of research questions; what is going on and why (De Vaus, D. A. 2001:1). My research questions the empowerment of women through education in Villa Charcas and how education for women is in practice in Villa Charcas. Thus it is both descriptive and explanatory in its nature.

A descriptive research characterizes a certain situation or phenomenon by giving details to provide an enriched picture of it. For De Vaus, D. A. (2001:2) a good description is fundamental to the research enterprise and adds immeasurably to our knowledge of the shape and nature of society”. “Descriptive research design is a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behaviour of a subject without influencing it in any way”. Shuttleworth (2008: 24).

A descriptive research is key to show the existence of social problems and place in doubt “accepted assumptions” about them to bring about questions of a explanatory research (De Vaus, D. A. 2001:3). In my research, people from communities were asked about their perceptions on education for gender to find out links between education and empowerment of women in that particular region. In a descriptive research there is certain knowledge of the theme in question but “there aren’t precise researches about the place, social group or activity” (De Vaus, D. A. 2001:3). This research enquires about the perceptions and experiences of education for specific group in one of the poorest regions of Bolivia. The reflections exposed may result useful for social researchers and students in other parts of the World (Gabriel, Zapata, 2002: 14). Furthermore, mapping the phenomenon of education as a

tool for empowerment was significant because there is little knowledge about this in the particular region of Chuquisaca. The region also has its own particularities compared to other regions of the country.

According to Robson cited by Abastoflor (2010: 35) “the case study has the ability to generate answers to the questions “why?”, “what?” and “how?”, so it is the most commonly used in researches that aim gaining a deep understanding of context and processes of a particular phenomenon. Likewise, Tellis cited by Abastoflor (2010: 36) indicates “case study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in depth investigation is needed” because it “encourages the analysis of different perspectives of major actors but also the opinions and thoughts of individuals and groups closely involved with the problem” . Moreover, case study “opens the possibility to gather and analyse in depth information from different sources and to collect opinions, experiences and thoughts of all the individuals involved (Abastoflor, 2010: 36).

In my research study it was important to have perspective of different actors from the community although the phenomenon researched concerns only a part of the population of the community: women’s empowerment. I focus on presenting detailed and intensive analysis of some aspects of the education in the particular region and this was an appropriate strategy to answer the main questions proposed as well as to attain the research goals. I also used exemplifying cases (Bryman, 2002: 51) of interviews relevant to the study.

4.3. Research methods

Qualitative research has ways to collect data that are consistent to its characteristics and objectives. For this research I chose to use document analysis, qualitative interviews and participant observation.

4.3.1. Documents Analysis

This method refers to the critical examination of a variety of documents (Bryman, 2002: 381). It is especially useful to establish comparisons and to study in depth variety of material such as: registers, interviews, declarations, policies, strategies, etc.” (Silvente, Villarroel and Valdivieso 2006: 67).

This method “is used especially in sociology, psychology, political sciences and literature and includes normally the assessment of the frequency of certain categories defined beforehand like ideas, expressions, word, or expressive elements of diverse nature. These categories express the variables or indicators that form part of the research problem” (Silvente et al., 2006:67). The qualitative nature of the research makes it difficult to infer indicators or strict measurable variables but the documents analyzed made possible “making systematic appreciations about ideology and political thinking” (Silvente et al., 2006: 67) contained in them. “The main advantage of the document analysis is that it has a clear empirical base perfectly accessible that make it possible to analyze a document with less subjectivity than with other means” (Silvente et al. 2006:67).

The document analysis was a process of interpretation of the documents looking for the information relevant to this study. The document analysis in this research began looking to official documents such as laws, regulations, newspapers, educational reports on education policies in Bolivia and Villa Charcas.

4.3.2. Qualitative interviews, strengths and weaknesses

Interviewing consists of a dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee(s) in order to get information from the last. It is an ancient technique that has been used for long time in psychology, sociology and education. In this fields, it allows to get information that otherwise would be difficult to get (Silvente et al. 2006: 64)

Qualitative interviewing is different from quantitative interviewing. The differences derive from the approach (quantitative or qualitative) selected (Bryman 2002: 319) according to the objectives of the research.

Quantitative approach is more structured for the answers to the questions to prove or dismiss the thesis. Qualitative approach is less structured for the questions to allow “greater generality in the formulation of initial research ideas and on interviewees own perspectives”. Therefore, the interest is focused in the interviewee in qualitative interviewing while in quantitative interviewing are reflected the concerns of the researcher.

There are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured or informal (Yapu 2006:154) interviews. Through the conduction of semi-structured interviews I gained knowledge about the perceptions, opinion and experiences of people from Villa Charcas communities. Semi-structured interview refers to an interview in which topics are specified beforehand but questions give the interviewee room for extensive, deeper answers (Bryman 2002: 321). For this study I have chosen in-depth interviews because what I want is not only to ask questions but indeed get deeper in the interviewees minds and feelings. The focal point of the research is to inquire the reasons and manners in which the people from Villa Charcas feel and perceive education. Nevertheless their analysis is more complex they grant a wider range of freedom for the interviewee to answer (Bryman 2002). Yet I have prepared interview guides with focus on the information that were relevant to the study.

Flexibility is one of the characteristics and advantages of qualitative and semi-structured interviewing. Questions may not follow the exact order and there is the possibility of including other questions convenient to the main topics (Bryman 2002: 321) as it was explained above. Because of the language, vocabulary and different (understanding) logic used in some of the questions I had to change and reformulate or elaborate a bit on them to make sure they were being understood by the interviewees. That was not always easy because their native language is Quechua and the study guide was prepared thinking in English and translated to Spanish (conscious that it was a guide liable to change). Although all of them speak Spanish to some extent their knowledge of it is founded on everyday life basis and used mainly to communicate with Spanish speaker so it is not used or developed at home (it is different for their children).

Informal interviews were also used for this research study. They were useful to bring insight on important aspects of the context, the community dynamics and issues that came out during the research process.

Append 1 and Append 2 show the relation between research objectives, research questions and interview guides as well a description on how interview guides were conceived for this research study.

Interviews took place in suitable places for the respondents not to feel stressed in any way, preferably in their own environment so I visited communities, households, school and the main health centre. The interviews were recorded in cassette recorders. I was assisted by a translator for some of the interviews since my knowledge of Quechua is very limited.

4.3.3. Participant Observation

Observation for Scribano (2005: 55) is a method “to get systematic information of social world” based in two features of the researcher: “his virtual participation in what he tries to understand and his capacity to communicate with the subjects involve in the phenomena studied”.

There are different types of observation as a method to collect data. For Silvente et al. (2006: 62-63) there is *direct* observation, when the researcher gets in touch personally with the event or phenomenon and *indirect* observation when the event or phenomenon is known through observations made previously by others (e.g. when we make use of books, reports, magazines, photos). Observation can also be *unstructured*, simple or free that it is done without technical support or *structured* done with suitable technical support such as table, charts, and cards. There is also *field* and *laboratory* observation and individual or team observation.

Similarly, there is *non participant* and *participant* observation. In non participant observation, information is collected from outside, without intervening in the social group, event or phenomenon studied. In participant observation method the researcher experiences himself social activities (doing more less what the rest do) related to the research and at the same time he is supposed to take notes of what it is said and done. (Yapu 2006:153). Bryman (2002:292) claims it is difficult to differentiate participant observation and ethnography because they “both draw attention to the fact that the participant observer/ethnographer immerses himself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions”.

Yapu (2006:153) states that researcher’s participation is inevitable in small groups or communities since his presence can’t pass unnoticed. Although my aim was to interview people from communities, I settled in Villa Charcas town and not in the communities that are spread around that town. So my presence there was not noticeable. However Yapu (2006:153) points out that participant observation even when it is not “assumed formally” is also helpful to get a general (qualitative) picture of “people, their social positions, and patterns of their social activities”. Living in town allowed me to see the dynamics between communities and town. For example fair (market) days and Sundays gather people from communities that go to buy and sell products but also to have a moment of leisure with their families. Sundays people from town and communities do sports (soccer and racquet) or have a special meal.

I attended meetings of the communities, for example the “club de madres” monthly meetings. These meetings get together women (mothers) in their communities and I had the opportunity to visit two community houses where they met. Likewise, I attended to school fairs.

To register these activities I made use of photography (some of which I display in this document) and I also took notes according to an observation guide I prepared previously. Photography as a method of collecting data is useful because an image may say more than

words do but also gives the impression of being there (Bustamante, 2005: 40). People were eager to get photos and they asked for copies of them that I sent some time later.

4.4. Sample and data collection

The sample consisted of 83 people of communities of the district of Villa Charcas. The selection of individuals for the interviews obeyed to criteria of representation but also availability. Thus, the sampling method used is the snowball sampling for which “the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others” (Bryman 2002: 100).

Table 12: Sample

Sample	Age Range	Number
Women	22 to 46	28
Men	30 to 48	27
Teachers (women)	25 to 45	6
Teachers (men)	27 to 38	4
Students (girls)	14 to 17	9
Students (boys)	14 to 18	9
Total		83

In order to know the impact of education on women’s empowerment, the sample included women and men from the ten communities of the district of Villa Charcas; as well as teachers and students. Women and men were interviewed so as to know perceptions and opinions on their roles within the household/community and education. On the other side teachers were interviewed to get their insights about gender transverse of the ERL and its impact on students. Lastly, the purpose of interview with students was to gather information concerning their knowledge and perceptions about gender equity at school and home.

The sample intended to collect different points of view of people from the communities of Villa Charcas C to have a more complete portrait of the situation of women’s empowerment in that region. In this research study women and men were taken into consideration because according to gender approaches construction of gender equity and empowerment should include both women and men.

According to Bryman (2002: 300) key informants are people who provide “perceptive information about the social setting, important events, and individuals”. Part of my strategy was to get in touch with key 5 informants: the (1) Medical Chief of the Municipality, (2) principals of the school and the high school, (1) women leaders and the (1) responsible of the district office of education in Villa Charcas.

4.5. On the process of doing fieldwork

Fieldwork is the empirical part of the research. It is “practical draw near to the object of the study” (Yapu, 2006: 145). Fieldwork is a process because it requires a series of actions to obtain information for the research. It doesn’t matter how good a research design is, it is unlikely that the day after to the arrival the researcher will begin to collect the information for the final report (Yapu, 2006: 146). The focus of my research was the ten communities from Villa Charcas, Chuquisaca, Bolivia. The selection of communities for this research obeyed to criteria of poverty and because I had some familiarity with communities from the area that I had visited previously. My first contact was the Health Centre where my father worked for many years.

In order to collect field data it was necessary to visit communities twice because the first time information collected was insufficient for the purposes of this research study. The first visit gathered points of view of women only and answers were somewhat vague. Therefore the second visit aimed to complete information required for the research to have a enriched perspective from the communities.

4.6. Limitations and Challenges

One of the main limitations for this research study was the lack of contextual data available of Villa Charcas because of the recent administrative division from Incahuasi Municipality to become a new one. Educational, demographic and health statistics were not only difficult to access in the field but also they were inaccurate from one source to others. In addition, information available on internet or documents is based on dated national statistics from the last census of 2001. Despite these obstacles, I managed to gather relevant information of education, health and demography of Villa Charcas.

Other constraint I had was the time factor in relation to access to information because as I mentioned in the study area, Villa Charcas is about 12 hours from Sucre the capital city of Bolivia and about one or two days from the city of La Paz where I reside and work. It was time consuming to get data on the field and contrasting it with other sources in Sucre where the Departmental offices of health and education are.

Other challenge was to get access to informants and gaining people’s trust so that they are willing to share information with me was a challenge. Men and women in rural communities especially in the region are reluctant to give information to outsiders. On the other hand, considering I don’t speak fluent Quechua and many informants were Quechua speakers the communication process was even more demanding. In addition questions were not easy to translate or answer because of the language and the complexity of the terms and concepts of the topic. This meant that I had to develop further and further enquiries to obtain answers to the research questions turning this process arduous.

An interpreter helped me for some of the interviews. The interpreter who helped me was a health worker from the local hospital. This was an advantage because all informants were familiar with her. Nevertheless, the interpreter found difficult to translate the question into Quechua since some words don’t have the same connotations they do neither in Spanish nor in English.

For the interviews the interpreter was not able to help me with, I firstly tried to talk to informants in Quechua but as soon as they perceived it is not my mother language they switched to Spanish. Consequently I probably missed out important information since they did not express themselves in Spanish as good as they would in their own language.

During my first visit, there were political conflicts between Villa Charcas and Incahuasi due to the division of the two populations. For that reason, as a formality, I presented myself to the mayor to inform him about my intention of doing the research. Not doing so, would have created susceptibility from people and authorities from Villa Charcas.

Yapu (2006:91) recommends choosing the recording methodology according to the objective of study. I used tapes to register the interviews, fortunately none of the interviewed women disagreed to it. “Ideally, one should be conscious of the shades of communication in the event of talking since the moment of taping it” (Yapu 2006:91). The interpreter helped with the tape recorder while I had a notebook to register the nonverbal communication. A factor that released some of the tension was the fact that the interviews took place in their own environment, at their homes or farms and at the monthly women meetings.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion

This chapter contains empirical findings from the information collected in the fieldwork that took place in Villa Charcas. The information was collected through interviews to women, men, teachers, students and other key informants in 10 communities that form part of Villa Charcas district.

Field notes taken during non-formal observation and notes taken along deep interviews with women and men, teachers, students and key informants from the communities were used. Women and town people will not be referred to by name due to aspects from the confidentiality agreement. In some cases I used the informants own words as much as possible, although some of the text and words are rephrased to make it more understandable.

This chapter is structured in two parts. The first part referred to the findings; respond to the instruments I applied to the interviewees in Villa Charcas, which also aim to answer the 6 research questions formulated in the thesis. Findings reflect the information the respondents answered and also facts I collected while observing the situation in Villa Charcas. The second part is referred to discussions contrasting the findings with theories from the theoretical approach. In this part I will develop deeper analysis confirming or rejecting what the theory establishes as well as arriving to my own conclusions.

Part one: Findings

5.1. Community perceptions of women's responsibility in the household

5.1.1. Provision for sustenance of the family

The responses show that there exist three categories of financial contribution to the family. The first one referred to is income coming from agriculture. Agriculture is an important source of livelihood in Villa Charcas and both men and women answers affirm that is the man who provides for the family through his income from agriculture and from other income generating sources, such as migratory work. I will come back to this later.

Picture 5: Villa Charcas' woman harvesting



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2009)

Talking about women participation in agriculture, I realize that, even if they do not have the protagonist role, women participate actively in agriculture work with tasks that apparently are secondary but indispensable for the process of production. Women drop seeds, weed, collect water and herd sheep. And in the times when men are absent women sow and harvest on their own (with their children, family and/or community help)

Interviewee N° 28 (woman) age 30 for example, when asked who brought money to eat to her family, she answered immediately that her husband was the one who brought money to eat from Argentine. But when she was asked what was her occupation she answered she was also a farmer.

To the question of who provides for the family, many women answers along the same lines as the woman referred to above. For example, Mrs. 32, age 35 answered that her husband spent long periods out of town working in Argentina. Hence she had to harvest potato (twice a year), green beans, lima beans, wheat, oat, with her children's help. Another woman, Mrs. 36 (age 38), farmer, pointed out she was the one who mainly provided for her family. However, to my direct question about the role of his husband she said he too provides money for the household. Thus, men play an important part in the income generating activities, but in their absence women assume greater responsibility and are in charge of agriculture. As a result, they are also in charge of the income from this production. Only Mrs. 37 (age 45) claimed to be alone with the responsibility of economically providing for her family. The reason was that she was a single provider, her husband left her and she had to support her 5 children on her own.



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

The second category of income generating activities to the family economy is related to men who work out of the farm. Villa Charcas is mainly an agricultural area. However it is also the centre of commerce of the surrounding communities from the Municipality and even Incahuasi Municipality. My informants' husbands were employed as construction workers, farm hands and drivers. As much of the agriculture in the area is subsistence farming where the products are not sold, the monetary contribution is considered to come entirely from the man working outside of the farm. Yet one must keep in mind that a woman's cores in the house, such as cooking, cleaning, looking after children, knitting or making clothes is done without any financial compensation, it is unpaid and is as such difficult to compare to that of the men who receive a payment for their work. The women themselves focus on this aspect for example, Mrs. 40 (age 30) pointed out that her husband is the only one who provides money for the family because he has a job. On the other hand she said she does not have a job, or a house or anything, meaning that as the wife she seems not to consider the conjugal goods as hers.

The third category of income generating activities is associated with the commerce. In this case commerce is referred to the activity in small scale and of goods that do not require tax payments to the state. Its scale and the fact that it is not formally registered with the state implies that this is informal commerce, where women participate in the sales of food in supply stores (meat, vegetables, corn, chilli, rice, pastries, canned and packed products), at the market in Villa Charcas (products from farms or prepared meals) and in improvised stands on Sundays nearby the main square in Villa Charcas (products from farms or prepared meals). Women also participate in the sales of clothing in supply stores in Villa Charcas town and in

improvised stands on Sundays nearby the main square in Villa Charcas. Clothing in stores are bought from bigger cities (Potosí, Oruro, La Paz) and those sold in stands in general are sewed/knitted by women from communities. When it comes to commerce, both women and men recognize widely how women bring an income to the family. In this case, like the previous one, but they are also entrusted of house chores and care of children. As stated in the above, the cores of the house are not valued as work since they do not represent an income for the family in terms of money.

5.1.2. Decision making within the family

Money spending

The decisions about how to spend the resources of the family are, in the opinion of men and women, in general assumed by both spouses. When they were asked about the expenses they usually jointly decided on, answers were vague. Some would say that the decisions were joint “in everything” whilst others “in little things”. It may be that the informants found it uncomfortable to share this sort of information with me. Most men interviewed claimed that financial decisions are made by both. Only one man answered decision concerning children are made by his wife, that included decisions with a financial aspect.

From information given in the course of the interviews it was revealed what are the major and minor expenses within the families. Major expenses are the ones referred to as strategic for the family and includes costly goods and services for the family like having or buying a car, a truck, buying a piece of land or to have an installation of basic services (water, electricity). In these cases, although women have a saying, the final decision is, according to my informants, up to men. In contrast, women make decisions about minor expenses like food, clothing for children, school material, household purchases, and in some cases livestock for raising. Merchant women make decisions about merchandise (when, where and what to buy). Therefore, women decisions on money spending in general are related to household consumption and child care. Nevertheless there were some women and men who answered that decision about food, school material and clothing for children are made by both spouses.

Picture 7: Typical Family from Villa Charcas



By Rocío Azurduv Aguirre (2011)

Interestingly, savings of migration serve to make major investments as pointed out before. These decisions are made by men even when this money was the product of the work of the whole family (children included). And since in only few cases couples are legally married, (free unions are common) property of the goods bought would belong to men at least in documents as pointed out for Mrs. 32 (age 31).

Non-agricultural income generating activities – the importance of migration”

The information collected shows that the inhabitants of Villa Charcas are mainly farmers, but in the periods in which they are not busy with these work, they dedicate their time to other activities like construction work, transportation and informal commerce. People from Villa Charcas choose these activities because income of agriculture is limited and families and needs are large as pointed out in out in Chapter 3.

When activities in the community such as the above mentioned ones do not generate enough income or families do not develop the activities cited before, another alternative income source is that of migration. Migration was not really a topic which I was to touch upon in this thesis. However, it surged from my interviews that migration is an extremely important source of income in the communities – moreover it clearly affects women’s empowerment in the community. I will come back to this later in my discussion, but first I will outline a bit more the characteristics of migration. It is common for people in the community of Villa Charcas to migrate to Argentina or Santa Cruz de la Sierra (one of the biggest city capitals of Bolivia) or Tarija (the capital city of department) to find work. The first ones to migrate are men (fathers, sons). The usual jobs in Argentine for Bolivian migrants are related to crop activities as farm hand and clothing of clothes. In Santa Cruz, they go to work in construction and informal commerce.

Whilst many Bolivian women migrate internationally to find work, migration of adult women (40 and up) is less common in Villa Charcas. Few older women with many children have left the Municipality. Mrs. 5 (age 34) told me how she never left the area of Villa Charcas. In contrast, her husband used to go Argentine to work for periods and as time passed, these periods were longer and longer. My informant pointed out how she had too much work at the farm and with taking care of her children to think about leaving to Argentina. However, there seems to be a generational difference in my material. My informants claim that younger women are more predisposed to migrate, than the earlier generations not only because different from adult women do not have parental responsibilities so they are willing to take further risk; besides it is common that there is precedent of migration for young women (parents or relatives who already live there) so that they have a backing, when they go to Argentina. They go to capital cities of Bolivia and Argentine to work or to study. When they go to work they find works as maids, cooking, cleaning, babysitting. Others involve in the making of clothes.

The interview with the chief doctor revealed there is a tendency for pregnant women to migrate to Argentina so they deliver their babies in Argentina. The reason for this migration is that these babies will get an Argentinean nationality for being born in Argentina, and as well as a Bolivian nationality for having Bolivian parents. This makes migration easier for parents as well as the child afterwards. This is a strategy which is not unique to the people of Villa Charcas.

The interviews revealed how older people’s migration, that is, the age group between 30 and 46, is rather temporary and most often consistent with agriculture periods (sowing, harvesting). On the other hand, younger people tend to migrate for longer periods of time and some even settle on a more permanent basis. For young people migration is motivated by their necessity to generate capital as fast as possible. Because in Villa Charcas people consolidate marriage at a young age, it is important for young people to have an occupation and some capital when they are young, that is in their 20’s. In this sense, migration gives them opportunity to earn more money than they would in their communities, often carrying out the

same activities that do not require professional training/education, such as housework. These are activities they are used to because they normally engage in them in their communities or households.

However there might be some who, after sometime of having migrated, return to the community and go back to school. This was the case of Mrs. 4 (age 42) who told me her son (age 18) migrated early, before he finished high school (two years before) and after one year he came back to the community and to school. For this teenager, the reason to go back to school was to have better income after finishing secondary school because he was informed in Argentina that his salary would be higher if he at least held a bachelor's degree equivalent to finished Secondary School in Bolivia - 12 years of schooling). However, none of the women referred to female migrants getting involved in any kind of educational activities after returning.

For both men and women, coming back from another country with capital also represents a rise in their social status within the community.

5.1.3. Educational Decisions at home

The decisions concerning children education according to the interviews in general are shared for both father and mother. There is also some level of decision consented to the children as pointed out for interviewees. They assure even when they enrol children to school, if after sometime they don't want to continue attending parents do not obligate them to do it. Here are some examples of women who don't compel children to attend school when they drop out:

- a) Mrs. 6 (age 46) enrolled her 2 daughters. The oldest finished 7th year, the other only the 5th year. When she was asked why did not they continue she said: "...I don't know; she (the younger one) did not like it. She did not want to study. The other (the one who is in 7th year) will continue. I want them to keep studying. The bad thing is they don't want. Then she was inquired if she could not compel them to attend and she answered: "...I do, but if they don't like school".
- b) When Mrs. 13 (age 33) was asked if her daughter in primary school (at present) will finish school, she said: *Yes, until 8th (year), if she doesn't want to continue afterwards she won't; I can't obligate her. If she doesn't want, what can I do? Only if she wants. I want her to continue, how would not I help her if she does!*
- c) When Mrs. 18 (age 27) was asked for how long would she like her children to remain in school she indicated: "...I'd like them to continue until they finish although I can't obligate them".
- d) Mrs 20's (age 42) daughter went to school until 6th year and did not want to continue because she failed some subjects and she was reprimanded several times for arriving late so she preferred staying home and sheep. When she was asked if she would like her daughter to go back to school she said: "... I begged her but she doesn't want to, if she doesn't want she doesn't want. What else can I do?"

The interviewees declared that men and woman decide if the children will go or not to the school and for how long they will be enrolled. According to some of the female informants (age 30 and up) it was their fathers decision whether or not they were to go to school. Some others pointed out the decision to abandon school or migrate belonged to themselves when they were in school, that is at the age of 6 to 10. Compared to what is the situation today, they

find that this has changed because children enrolment is mandatory and not a discretionary decision of parents as it was for their cases.

For parents, the responsibility for their children's education is expressed in the act of enrolling them in school. The academic follow up is very limited, not only for the situation of illiteracy of the parents but also because they do not assume completely this task as their own, as expressed for the Principal of "Father Landini" Primary School from Villa Charcas town. The permanence of children in school depends more on the children's own effort and desire to stay in school.

Most of the adult women respondents went to school until 3rd or 5th grade. This does not mean in all cases these women abandoned school but at their time school had only 3 and later 5 years as they pointed out. The system before was divided in three levels: primary (5 years), intermediate (3 years) and medium or high school (4 years). In rural areas in general and in Villa Charcas there were only few primary schools.

As difficulties to go to school, adult women interviewed mentioned:

- Parents didn't want them to go for economic issues
- Parents didn't want them to go because they were women and they were not supposed to study
- Schools were too far away
- teachers were strict and hit them

The women recognized that some of these issues for the new generations have changed in positive ways. National and local governments have implemented projects to improve infrastructure and access to school. Nowadays most children in the region are enrolled. This does not mean always there is continuity in their attendance through out the school year.

Poverty is still an issue; children as part of the family have to participate in the process of production helping their parents and/or help at home with house chores after a school day and weekends as it was expressed for most of the respondents when they were asked what sort of tasks children are compelled to in the household. Sometimes, especially in times of sowing and harvesting parents do not send children to school so they can help as I was told from the respondents about other neighbours or community members

In order to increase and encourage children enrolling and attendance, national and local governments have been making efforts. For example, the government gives the subsidy Juancito Pinto. This bonus is given to children from 1st to 8th year that are enrolled in public schools. The amount of money of the subsidy is 200 Bs. (Approx. 29 USD) per children enrolled.

Local governments, also in order to encourage children's attendance, provide "the school breakfast" to primary public school students. In Villa Charcas the school breakfast is cooked by mothers from the students by turns.

There are family and community motivations to send children to school. As some informants mentioned they wanted their children (girls and boys) attend to school, finish secondary school and even to have a career at the university. These informants expressed greater motivation about their children (sons and daughters) attending school because they wanted them to have a "better" or "easier" life. Rural life can be hard, filled with uncertainties and

does not always generate enough income for subsistence. Alternatively, some of the respondents (mothers) mentioned education of children would enclose benefits for the family too. Apparently, it is expected that children who finish school and get a higher level of education would be in better position to help and/or support the family and parents when they are elder. For example, Mrs. 2 (age 30) said: "... *The benefit (of education) is for her and also the family. It's a pride that they (her 2 daughters) go to school. And also when they begin to work, they might be also some benefit for the family*". She implies the benefits of educating her children are also for the family. That her children get education is not only a pride for her, but she assumes they will help her financially afterwards. This is not unique to the residents of Villa Charcas, but is a common feature in most developing countries. However, this expectation of parents might be present even if children do not go to school because farming activities are emphasized to daily subsistence and differently from a salaried-work doesn't generate pension for when they can't work anymore. Thus, they rely on their children to support them when they age.

There was only Mrs. 14 (age 34) who was afraid her only daughter would leave her if she continued studying consequently she did not really want her daughter to continue attending to school. When she was inquired whether she thinks education is advantageous for her daughter, she said: "... *It is an obligation but I'm afraid she goes afterwards*". Then she was inquired what would happen if her daughter wants to get married later, she would have to go anyway, she answered "... *No, some (girls) can stay alone (single). She will stay home to help me*". For Mrs. 14 education is means to learn how to read and write but it is not as important for the future neither her daughter nor her sons who, according to her, did not finish secondary either and are working in Argentina.

As expressed in Chapter Three, communities in Villa Charcas exert a great deal of influence on their inhabitants, through the school committee and a regulation from the Municipality people from the community feel compelled to enrol children. For example when Mrs. 11 (age 45) was asked why it is mandatory to enrol their children she said: "... *because otherwise school committee authorities come to collect the penalties*". Likewise, Mrs. 12 (age 35) pointed out "... *the whole community sends children to school, how won't I allow mine to go and learn to read?!*"

About school support, the informants said it is given by the both mother and father. However, women support to a larger extent because they are in charge of childrearing in general. The support, understood as help to do their school work, is related to the parent's educational possibilities. Even when parents went to school, some of them can't read, write or make complex mathematical calculations. For example, Mrs. 32 (age 31) interviewed pointed out both (she and her husband) help their children with homework but sometimes they can't help them because they do not know or understand homework's topics.

5.1.4. Health Decisions at home

Health decisions at home are conditioned to the distance from health centres, the cost and additional time of the service. Decisions taken in this regard seem to be taken by both parents, the interviewees assume this situation as such. However, inquiring deeper it was found out that women are closer to health because they are the ones in charge of their children's health, their own and the husband's as well. In this sense, although both decide to take children to the either the hospital or the "*curandero*" (folk healer) also called countryside doctor, it is the woman who actually take them.

Among the middle aged women interviewed (ages 30 to 56) it was perceived they had large number of children, between 4 and 11 in some cases. Some of these women in their 40's were mothers of new born babies. When the topic of sexual and reproductive health was brought up, I noticed that women felt shy and didn't easily talk about it. According to the Medical chief (MC) at Villa Charcas, it is the man who decides about on family planning meaning he decides whether to use contraceptives or not and what methods to use, especially in the elder generation. The latter, is suffering gradual changes among younger generations. I also noticed culture influences sexuality decisions because some women at the hospital (were I was volunteer years before the research study) told for example they would not use contraceptives because other women from the community commented contraceptives were not effective or made them feel sick. In this instance, it was noticed different levels of subordination in women's decision making over their sexuality, and those who take a direct and/or hidden decision in this matter are few. However once women are pregnant they decide by themselves whether to go to pregnancy controls and when as explained by the MC. In this matter governments persuade women to use health services in their pregnancy by subsidizing these controls, as it was stated in the area study chapter.

Picture 8: Health control of children



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

Health training for the community is organized by the Hospital Staff. The MC mentioned as common topics for health workshops and talks: family planning, sexual and reproductive health, child nourishment to prevent malnutrition, family health, intercultural community health and tuberculosis. Although, these activities are addressed for both men and women from the community without discrimination, according to the MC, the people who demonstrated more interest and attend to more sessions are the community women.

Finally, women use medical services thanks to the policies of the Mother-Child Universal Insurance (SUMI), which is addressed mainly to pregnant mothers and children under 5 years old. In the word of the MC, the great response to this program is attributable to its free cost as he pointed out: “...before the SUMI, neither mothers nor children went to the hospital, they used to deliver children in their households”.

Currently, women have another benefit promoting attendance to pre-natal services. The subsidy Juana Azurduy de Padilla gives 50 Bolivianos (approx. 7 USD) per control to a total of 200 Bolivianos (approx. 29 USD). In that case, women's attendance to health centres is conditioned to gratuitousness and government subsidies favourable to them and not necessarily by personal motivation. The subsidies referred were fully exposed in chapter 3 of The Study Area

5.1.5. Decisions at home about nourishment

The interviewees confirm that everything related to nutrition is in charge of women. That means that they are the ones who decide what food to eat, buy the items they need and cook the meals they are used to preparing. This situation integrates home activities the woman is used to performing at home.

Being in charge of the food and the cooking implies the administration of existing resources in the way that can be enough for all the family members' subsistence. This means to choose the best prices of the products as well as the best products to be taken to the family. Both men and women perceive this activity to a part of women's overall responsibility in the family and not as work.

5.2. Community perceptions on the role of women in the community decision making

There are different types of meetings that the informants mentioned in their interviews. The mentioned meetings are briefly described below and they have been classified in the following way:

(1) Community meetings: The meetings that are performed once a month or when the community considers them necessary, and where the purpose is related to politics, the relationship between the agriculture and changing natural phenomena that affect the production, basic services supply, health and school issues. The meetings can be district or municipal meetings. Community leaders are always present if reports from meetings are to be made or if they are election meetings.

Family members to be part of community meetings, that is the attendance of either the man or the woman is required. Since many men migrate for work, this requires the presence of women in meetings. I observed that the women attendance to the meetings is very important and sometimes, because of their availability of time, they are better informed than their husbands. The answer of Mr. 29 (age 24) illustrates the case: *"From couples where the husbands are working in Argentina, women are the ones who attend the meetings. In the case of couples where both of them are living in Villa Charcas, husbands the ones who attend. Generally there are more women than men in Villa Charcas, because all of them travel to other cities to work."*

Another respondent also pointed out (Mr.21, age 33): *"... nowadays women attend the communal meetings but five years ago they would not attend. Yet men are still the ones who make decisions, women believe that men's opinions are more relevant than theirs"*. As it is possible to observe men are the ones who make decisions. This may be due to the traditional role of men that says that the man is the one who has all the responsibility to take decisions. In some interviews, however, I noted that women expected a future change, especially when they expressed that the decisions are "still" being taken by men.

(2) Meetings of the School Committee: these meetings supervise the correct performance of the school service. This supervision includes the control and evaluation of the school teachers and a follow up to the good use of school supplies and infrastructure, as well as some other things. As mentioned in the Theoretical framework,; the School committee must be integrated by parents representing each class and two representatives of the Basic territorial organization. Currently, the Villa Charcas School committee is formed by men more than by women. As it happens in the community meetings, the community men are

the ones who take responsibility for the decisions taken. Sometimes, male participants who do not have children at school are invited too.

(3) Health meetings: According to the MC at Villa Charcas, there are also meetings that are related to health, a good example is the called the Committee of health information analysis. (CAI), which is a space of analysis, discussion of opinions, exchange of problems related to health problems of a community or specific place with the purpose of analyzing epidemiological as well as managerial indicators, performance of follow up of patients, evaluation, periodical control of health services and the community. On a community level, doctors, nurses, as well as health technicians, health promoters, community representatives and neighborhood leaders get together with the purpose of presenting indicators, analyze possible causes and determining factors, identify alternatives of solution, propose specific actions and elaborate meetings reports.

According to the main doctor in Villa Charcas, there is a greater number of Health promoters, community representatives as well as neighborhood leaders that are men and who attend the CAI's, having, thus, more influence in these spaces. Women participation is more visible when it comes to their children's care, their family health and not, precisely on an analysis and discussion level.

Picture 9: Analyses Committee of Health information



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

Picture 10: Meetings of Mothers' Club



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

(4) The school meetings: these meetings are run by teachers and are addressed to parents and the purpose is to inform them about their children's performance and difficulties at school, the different group activities of socialization, educational fairs and collaboration to other institutions such as Villa Charcas Hospital. They also report about activities that deal with management support, such as school breakfast preparation. Family mothers are the ones who usually have an active participation and attendance for

some reasons such as, fathers may find these topics not relevant for them or because they are not at home due to their work activities. Anyway, both parents are invited to attend the meetings.

(5) Meetings of Mothers' Club. There is a totally female organization: Mothers' Club. This Club gathers mothers of the community or region. Meetings were firstly arranged by the Adventist Development and Relief Agency ADRA (A Project financed by USAID), but when the project ended, the responsibility was gradually transferred to the women of the same community, and currently, they work together with the health services. According to the MC of Villa Charcas, the principal activity of the Mothers' Club is to organize themselves with the purpose of having different trainings, especially in the health area. When ADRA operated in the region, the responsible people organized trainings in the area of nutrition to use efficiently the available food in the area to prevent malnourishment. Likewise, these meetings are, for women, places where they socialize, share their experiences and/or problems outside a family environment and therefore a way to feel relieved from daily house chores.

(6) The community meetings of the Women Organization, Bartolinas Sisa: This is a nationwide organization which purpose is to claim the rights of indigenous women. The organization has economic resources that come from national government to implement projects to empower women in rural areas. Moreover, it seeks to supports regional production. The Bartolina Sisa organization has 17 participants in Villa Charcas district, but it is not much active yet due to their Legal Personality is still in process. This will allow them to be an institution and therefore, receive economic resources to prepare and execute projects. The women leader of this organization in Villa Charcas affirmed that the "Bartolinas" are not yet active and women representatives were elected after some time in order to represent to the whole district. According to the Bartolinas representative, they are selected and elected by community member in communities meetings. Interestingly not only women participate from this election.

Regarding women in political positions, the main example is the Community Mayoral Council of Villa Charcas where we there are two women and one men. It is evident that in this case, there is a higher female presence. However, when the interviewees are asked if they know women leaders in the community, most of them state that there are more men leaders than women leaders.

On the other hand, the interviewees also stated that the position women leaders have in the community positions, in terms of hierarchy, are much lower than the ones occupied by men. In spite of that, an expectation of change is noticed in women because some interviewed women confirmed that in some moment in the future these positions will also be accessible for women.

5.3. Projected changes in the Education Reform Law

Before the Educational Reform Law was implemented in 1994, there was no clear connection between the educational programs and the needs of society, especially of people from rural areas. The design of the Education Code of 1955 was framed within a centralized and dominant administration in all aspects of the system such as planning, management and the evaluation process. Its main objective was to extend the access of education to the whole population teaching them to read and write in Spanish, a diverse language to the one they used to speak. Additionally, the contents of educative materials were not placed in familiar

contexts for the people supposed to use it. Learning was based on transmission of knowledge selected by governments ruled by mestizos who either were not aware of the rural area reality or chose to ignore that particular context and the multicultural population of rural Bolivia. Consequently the focus of education was disconnected from the real problems and needs of rural people; the offer of quality in education would not meet requirements and what was more disturbing the gap was increasing and getting deeper as time would pass.

On the other hand, the Education Reform Law of 1994 aimed, as said in previous chapters, at changing the old educative structures so as to fit with the new political, economic and even ideological requirements of the time in the region. Political and economic organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank suggested implementing changes in the prevailing educative systems mainly in Latin America in order to align the countries' state policies with the economic development ideology of the region

As will be recalled from Chapter Two, the main changes of the Education Reform Law could be expressed as follows:

- A change from a Behaviorist pedagogical approach to a Constructivist Approach where the student constructs its knowledge from the starting point of the practice and interaction with his/her surrounding, teachers and classmates.
- Intercultural and bilingual teaching where new educational material was introduced in the three most important native languages: aymara, quechua and guaraní.
- Introduction of the four transverse as part of the Law that must be developed in an implicit way in all subjects of the educational curricula. The mentioned transverse are: (1) education for democracy, (2) education for health and sexuality, (3) education for the environment and (4) education for gender equity.

In this last proposed change, it is clearly observed the intention to include the gender equity in the new curricula. This transverse intends to build men and women relationships that are based on opportunities equity, mutual respect, solidarity and the understanding that women play an important role in the development of society.

According to a school teacher at Padre Landini School (female age 38), a transverse is a set of topics that intend to achieve social change in the formation of a citizen. The transverse can be taught in several ways:

1. Throughout a subject or concrete content that can be developed in an explicit way; for example: the content of Gender Equity, its definition, objectives, importance.
2. Throughout practical activities in the classroom by developing a different topic or content. For example, in Biology, men and women work together without prioritizing gender and without discriminating.
3. As an interdisciplinary transverse in a period of time. For instance: during three months in all subjects of a determined level under the approach of each subject.

However, according to my teacher informant although the Education Reform intends to deepen the subject of gender equity within formal education, it has not developed concrete and practical activities for teachers so that they can transmit this perspective to students. Much has been said about gender equity and one has even developed educational materials in which content and messages reinforce the theme of gender equality. However, in practice very little has been instructed to teachers and those trainings have not been continuous. So the issue, in some cases, it is not clear even to the teachers themselves.

5.4. Implementation of the gender transverse of the ERL in communities of Villa Charcas

5.4.1. Gender equity mainstreaming in practice

As a practical way of teaching gender in the classroom teachers express that they have an analysis of the topic with their students. For instance secondary teacher N° 5 (male, age 35) answered: *“We reflect on the topic during my classes, at least I try to discuss about gender equity with my young students emphasizing that women are able to perform any job as good as men or even better. I do not mean to say any physical job but intellectual. I give as an example to parents and students that the Educational District Director is a woman”*.

Other teachers talk about gender from different perspectives of different subjects they teach which may or may not be linked to gender. One of them teacher N° 8 (male 29): *“I observe that my colleagues started talking about gender equity in subjects such as philosophy or psychology. I also intend to relate the subject I teach biology with gender equity”*. Another teacher N° 9 pointed out (female, age 38): *“... as it is mandatory in curricula even the principal of our school demands that our educational plans include gender equity in some way”*.

The Principal at Padre Landini School (female, age 37) affirms that teachers at her school organize joint activities in their classes (both male and female) so that everybody practices gender equity in the classroom in an effective way. For instance, some teachers promote practical activities such as line up interchangeably, holding hands, sitting together and / or washing the breakfast dishes without distinction when they are in primary levels. When exhibition activities and fairs are performed (such as student government illustration), teachers require the participation of groups of both, women and men. Or when students are admitted to a particular course or degree, it is required that the number of students be the same for both. Teacher N° 8 (male 29) said that some levels have more female students than men especially when the boys decide to quit school to work with the purpose of helping their parents with the family expenses. The fact that equal participation between men and women is encouraged suggests that teachers seek to give equal opportunities to men and women students. However, that does not necessarily mean that students as such, have a favorable attitude toward women in the classroom (as it will be observed further down).

Most teachers assume a favourable position about gender equality to generate awareness about equal opportunities for men and women and of the respect and solidarity that should exist in interpersonal relationships. Clearly, the issue of implementation gender mainstreaming However as it is mandatory for all formal education, it must be implemented. However, this does not mean that all teachers fully understand the issue of gender or gender mainstreaming. Nor does it imply that they in practice all take actions consistent with gender mainstreaming. It may be that, people behave contrary unintentionally, simply because it is part of the culture or the familiar way of thinking. For example, a male student N° 1 (age 17) said that he practices gender equity when he passes his sister ingredients so that she could cook the meals faster. Another male student N° 3 (age 18) said that at home he performs tasks and his sister performs female tasks, even though at school everyone should do the same.

Regarding gender mainstreaming, such in the curriculum, many teachers say that this is a job that doesn't have to be made only at school, hat it has to have active support of parents because parents approve or reinforce the behavior for or against gender equity. In this regard,

teacher N° 1 said (female age 32): *“in reality what families do is to give priority to the boys and not that much to girls; but we try to emphasize on creating consciousness on parents about gender equity.”* Another teacher 10 (male age 28) when asked whether he believes that the inclusion of the gender transverse in the curricula would improve the situation for women he said: *“Yes I believe it will because it all depends on working in coordination with parents, students and teachers guided by school authorities”*. Thus, mainstreaming is considered a continuous work that cannot remain in theory but must be practiced continuously in concrete and visible actions, so that students not only understand the principle, but also generate positive attitudes which are then translated into practical behavior.

When teachers were asked about the possibility of achieving improvements in gender equity in the community of Villa Charcas by integrating such an important topic in the school curricula, most teachers stated that integration is positive and that they could get the expected changes. However, according to one of the teachers, such changes will not occur in a short term, what's more, people will have to wait several years to eyewitness such a change.

Also for this change to be sustainable, many teachers commented that not only is required the integration of this topic in the curricula, but also continuous feedback in other areas and participation of other stakeholders who can be mainly parents. Many teachers express that education begins at home and it would be easier to strengthen the acquired knowledge at school by taking them into practice in daily basis. For this to be effective, they need more guidance on the subject. For instance, Padre Landini's Principal expressed that it is required to have more training sessions addressed to parents, authorities and teachers. This will allow all of them to influence in children at all ages. She also expresses that the earlier these aspects are taught, the longer their knowledge lasts.

5.4.2. Students attitudes towards gender equity

While teachers teach gender issues in their classrooms with the objective of changing attitudes and behaviors from awareness of gender equity, teachers note that students still bring with them the lessons learned at home and find that in many cases machismo persists. Many teachers surveyed say that education starts at home and that they find very difficult to break the patterns that children bring from their family environment. They note that in some cases men have superiority complex and do not consider women to be on the same level as them intellectually or in terms of influence, or note that students perceive gender roles as already established and that it is men who perform the toughest jobs and take the most important decisions as opposed to women.

In the classroom male students still feel that they hold rights and benefits than women students and their partners do not feel comfortable when performing joint activities such as working in groups or sitting in an intercalate way in the classroom. In this last point teacher N° 1 (female 32) affirmed: *“..guys do not want to sit next to their female classmates, the worse thing is to sit intercalate”*. Teacher N° 10 (male, age 28) opinion suggests that female students feel insecure against certain types of activities and tasks underestimating their capabilities as they believe that only men can do things in a better shape than them. According to teachers, this is reinforced by male students who argue that girls cannot do anything. Therefore teachers admit that the prevailing culture of the area is sexist and the work of teachers should be constant so that students can understand the concepts and embrace an attitude of respect and sympathy for the opposite gender.

5.4.3. Migration and out-of-school children of Villa Charcas

One finding that stands out when collecting information from interviews with teachers is the movement in the number of students enrolled in schools. There is no fixed statistics on the number of students registered: sometimes the number who varies even from quarter to quarter. According to the school and high school principals from Villa Charcas town interviewed, there is an average of 550 students who get registered to first grade and only an average of 35 high school students who complete their high school studies and graduate from the secondary level. The number of students reduces gradually from the first to the eighth year where only about 300 students get to this level. The number of students who get to ninth grade is dramatically reduced as the principals mentioned that about 80 of the 300 students mentioned retake their high school studies. That means that most of the students only finish the Primary level and some moves on to finish only their eighth grade.

According to the Principal, the students decrease is due to parents and children migration for financial reasons, to get a job for family sustenance. She also mentions that students drop out of school because they need to get a job and help their parents with the house expenses. That may mean to work in the same community, their own land, or move to other cities such as Santa Cruz and even to other countries such as Argentina where they could be better paid. The Principal also indicates that sometimes they do not go back to Villa Charcas and may continue their studies in one of these cities or just work. In other cases young people leave school at Villa Charcas to enter other school which offer better education and finish high school, most of the time the finish their studies in Tarija.

5.5. Impact of gender equity education on women's role and participation at home

5.5.1. Adult women's enrolment and attendance to school

The respondents' ages were between 22 and 56 years old. Some of them were asked and others just brought it up, if their parents went to school or knew how to write and read. These respondents all answered their parents were not able to read and write.

To the question addressed to women if they were enrolled to school when young girls, the majority answered positively. They said that in general families would enrol both, boys and girls to school, so it was common to see girl students in the classrooms at that time. In spite of this, boys had different experiences concerning school, as their parents preferred them to attend school rather than girls who -according to some answers- were more helpful at home.

The answers given by the informants revealed an important difference between enrolment and continuous attendance, which also confirms some of the findings outline above. The fact that children were enrolled to school did not mean necessarily that their attendance was permanent until they completed the mandatory years of schooling. Therefore in this case many women who were enrolled did not pass to secondary school and in some cases did not even pass until 3rd and 5th grade. This is possible because in past decades -and still now-, some schools in small towns join students from different ages and they just reach until 3rd or 5th grade as it was explained in the first finding section. Thus it is likely that these women did not want to continue studying after completing the last grade available in their nearest school.

Other reasons for dropping out are related to their parents' decisions. For example, Mrs. 5 (age 38) reported she finished primary but then her father did not want her to continue with secondary. As stated by her, her father told her *“women do not study, studies are for boys”*. In this case, there were clear gender privileges reserved to men. This opinion was shared for one or the two parents (father and/or mother). Yet another woman (Mrs. 27, age 46) pointed out there were girls at school but none of them finished primary; when she was asked about the reasons for this situation she said it was because parents sent women to learn to sign and a little reading, nothing else. Another woman (Mrs. 26, age 40) pointed out she did not finished school because children enrolment to school was not mandatory, so parents used to send them or not discretionally. In her case, her father decided she would not continue because as the eldest sister she had to help her mother. Adult women constantly faced obstacles to attend regularly to school when they were young, one of the respondents affirmed (Mrs. 3 female, age 40): *When I was a girl we suffered a lot. I suffered a lot. I remember I used to bring water for others to pay for an eraser. My dad was mean; he did not even give us money for an eraser”*.

Few women of them admitted not having been enrolled mainly because their fathers did not allow them to attend. As reasons for that they commented the distance from their households to the school and the danger for girls to walk alone at night, or after being asked by their ageing parents to stay at home in order to take care of them. Some of them answered they dropped out of school because of a familiar tragedy when being young girls. For instance, a woman stated she and her sister did not go to school because neither her father nor her mother enrolled them. In contrast, her two younger siblings (one sister and one brother) were sent to school. For her, the reason was because she was already old to go to school and she had to help her mother grazing sheep. She also mentioned that although her girlfriends went to school none them can read or write.

This last finding was also confirmed by all the adults interviewed since they admitted they barely can read and write. Most of them are just able to sign their names and when reading it is quite difficult for them to grasp or understand the content of any written material. And in fact, adult women have not many opportunities to use the knowledge learned in school. Firstly there is not much material for them to keep practicing reading or writing as there are no newspapers or interest in them since they get the news mainly through radio. And secondly the activities they carry out for living do not demand skilled workers who read and write perfectly.

Picture 11: Socio drama at school



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

Most of the respondents women and men have attended the programme *“Yo si puedo”* implemented by the last government of President Evo Morales and whose aim was to teach how to read. It was mainly addressed to adult people who are functionally illiterate.

5.5.2. Gender Labour Division at home

When asked about the tasks their children carry out in the house, many respondents answered that the work is the same or have to be the same for both of their

children, boys and girls. There is also other kind of tasks assigned indistinctively and which are also very important; for instance, doing homework, making their beds, and cleaning their personal space in the house (it is usual many siblings share one room), among others. Although mothers said that there were not differences on the things boys and girls did in their houses, I observed they have different roles so I can say that girls, for example, are in charge of the house chores (cooking, washing the dishes, sweeping the floor, among others).

Other tasks different that house chores are weeding and caring for animals, both men and women are equally responsible for them. Culturally, the animals care is in charge of the daughters and the weeding is responsibility of the boys. The fact that both sons and daughters now carry out the same tasks may be due to an economic rather than a cultural issue; due to extreme poverty or lack of boys or girls in the family. Whenever this is the case, children can be forced to carry out these activities. Under these circumstances, a child's work is not undervalued and the child can be engaged in farming or animal care.

In cases of mothers who claim that children have different tasks at home based on gender differences, it was perceived that the roles traditionally assigned to gender are still present but women take men's roles just when they are absent or when it is required to comply with agricultural activities to satisfy families' basic needs, sacrificing their time and effort. Curiously, these mothers wish that education curricula at school be the same for both, boys and girls.

Most of the respondents stated there have been changes in education since they were children. Only one answered negatively. There were other women who did not answer this question.

5.5.3. Children' tasks at home

Among the answers given by mothers regarding the kind of work their female and male children do at home, I could see that the mothers who make a difference in their children's tasks are mothers who learned these roles in their own family environment. This means that, boys tend to have harder tasks than girls, tasks that imply more physical effort, such as, soil preparation for planting seeds, harvesting, etc. These tasks are commonly assigned to boys with the purpose to introduce them to their future productive role to generate income for their own families. However, it is obviated that these boys and girls are young for such efforts. I observed cases of very young children helping at household on smaller jobs such as raising animals.

There were examples of parents promoting gender equity at home by forcing boys to do house chores as much as girls. Teacher N° 4 age 30, for example, said forces her son to perform all kind of tasks at home because since she teaches gender equity at school she has to be coherent and practice equity at home too. On the contrary, the Municipality counselor (Mrs. 83, age 37) does not allow her son to do tasks that are traditionally assigned to women mainly because her husband does not agree men should do house chores. Hence it is interesting to note that although the woman has power in the official role she plays, she does not opposed decisions taken by her husband, affirming with her attitude that men is considered superior. Considering her position and education, one can see how hard it is to then expect rural women with little education and part of a strong gendered division of labour to change the situation.

5.5.4. Boys' attitudes about gender roles

Some interviewees say that when boys are asked to perform a task traditionally entrusted to women, some of them take a negative attitude, as a way to demonstrate their discomfort and/or protest, even the same sisters or women in the house decide to perform these tasks instead of their brothers. In some extreme cases the mothers force their children to perform tasks traditionally assigned to the daughters and sometimes they punish their sons so that they carry out the assigned task.

On the other hand there are cases in which men perform these activities by themselves in the absence of a woman (mother or sisters). Another case is the case of the oldest brothers, and this means that since they are the oldest children in the family, they have to perform activities traditionally entrusted to women.

5.5.5. Parents' perceptions about the influence of gender education on children

Many mothers showed not being familiar or not understanding the term gender equity. To the question of whether notice any change in their children about their behaviours towards women and the possibility to do house chores; their responses were vague, arguing, for example, that there were times in the family when siblings get along, and other times when they have problems, but they usually end up getting along well again.

Within the mothers who do understand the concept of equity, there is one case in which her children learned the concept of gender equality outside Villa Charcas. These children study at the main university in Sucre and they have to do all kind of tasks at home because they live by themselves. Another case shows that the oldest sister at home knows about gender equity because she learned about it at school and at home instructs her younger brother to practice it at home.

Then there are those who understand the concept but have not observed changes in their children's behavior. This is the case of the children of the previously mentioned Municipality counselor who admits that at home, there are still sexist relations and in that sense, the husband does not encourage their sons to do housework. However, it is important to highlight that the mother does not share the same opinion and that she believes that men and women at home should help with the housework and have the same capabilities and rights to have public positions. Despite this, and being a woman who holds an authority position in her community, it is noted that it is still difficult to challenge male-centered schemes within the home.

Most of the interviewed women could not answer the question even when it was reformulated in more understandable terms. So it is evident that in some cases, they do not understand the terms of gender equity and empowerment and in other cases they are unaware of what their children learn at school or they do not understand that what their children learn at school should have an impact on their daily lives including their behavior at home.

5.6. Impact of gender equity education on women's role and participation in the community

Based on of the answers given, one realizes that not all students have an understanding of the concepts of gender equity and empowerment. For example, one of them mentions that he practices gender equity at home when he "passes his sister some food items so that she could cook faster."

If we start with the implementation of gender equity in school, all students are somehow compelled to perform activities without discriminating between men and women. One of the interviewees said that everyone must pick the school breakfast and wash the containers in which they have breakfast. In some other recreational activities, men are responsible for peeling and cooking some food.

In contrast, the practical application of concepts within the family environment is somewhat different. There are cases where male students do perform housework (wash their clothes and some of them even cook) at home. This may be because they really believe that there are no gender-based differences between men and women, and/or because they have no choice but to perform all these tasks due that their mothers and/or sisters are absent.

Finally, the remaining half of the interviewees admit that men at home do not engage in "doing women's things" like cooking washing and sweeping the house. They specifically state that these are women's activities and, on the other hand, the tasks that are related to the family sustenance belong to men.

Part two: Discussion

In this section I will discuss the information given by the interviewees in light of the information compiled in the theoretical approach. Each one of the research questions will be discussed with reference to the concepts stated in the theoretical approach.

As it was presented in Chapter Two, the central perspective on empowerment used in this work is the one proposed by Kabeer (2005: 13-16).

Empowerment implies the concept of power and this power is understood as the *ability to make choices*. Hence empowerment is the process by which someone who previously had limited ability to make a choice now acquires such ability. There are two conditions to be fulfilled so that there is a choice; there must be alternatives and the alternatives must be visible.

Similarly empowerment is a concept that encloses three dimensions: *agency, resources and achievements*. *Agency* is the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. *Resources* are the preconditions which enable someone to exercise choice. And finally *Achievements* are the outcomes of people's efforts. There are also passive and active forms of agency where the former one implies action taken when there is little choice and the latter one assumes purposeful behaviors.

The following discussion section analyses the findings to the light of the theory proposed above.

5.7. The role of women at home

The situation within the home can be defined from the different aspects that converge on the home life such as health, education, food, and economy, jobs where the woman could generate alternatives, proposals and take decisions.

5.7.1. Sustenance

The situation of poverty in Villa Charcas forces men and women to generate money in any way possible to meet families' basic needs. The alternatives to generate money in this region are limited. The choices available to earn money are restricted to being farmer, merchant or construction worker. These occupations sometimes do not allow them to meet all basic needs for the family so in some cases migration turns out to be the only alternative to earn enough or even more. For example, someone who goes to Argentina may earn ten times more than someone who work the same time in Bolivia. Working conditions in Argentina are far more favourable than in Bolivia. In the past it was usual for men to migrate alone. Nowadays, the tendency is to take the complete family so all of them work and earn more money in a shorter period of time.

Despite better working conditions in Argentina, any of the activities carried out by men and women of Villa Charcas (agricultural, commerce, construction or transportation), either in the country or abroad, are own-account and informal jobs and these lack of benefits and social security. Similarly since most of women -and also men- work as farmers in Villa Charcas, the share of wage employment in the non-agricultural sector is reduced. This situation is an obstacle to the progress of the 3rd MDG which seeks to promote gender equality and women's empowerment at an education and labour level.

Making a deeper analysis of the family choices in Villa Charcas and the dimensions of empowerment it is possible to observe that choices related to work are relatively available for both. Agriculture, commerce and migration are alternatives equally available for men and women -excluding construction which is an occupation restricted for women in Villa Charcas because of its physical demands. It could be argued that there is also denial of choice; this is denial of seeing a different alternative as some adult women affirmed they feel all right with the life they live, they would not change because apparently they do not visualize other occupations (alternatives of job) to make a different choice.

The second element of Kabeer's empowerment theory *resources (preconditions for decision making)* also plays a fundamental role for examination. If there is a lack of resources women will not be able to exercise agency, which is to define one's goals and act upon them. Moreover this confirms another statement of the theory reviewed in this research: "*unequal access to resources limits women's capacity to ensure agricultural productivity, security of livelihoods and food security and is increasingly linked to poverty, migration, urbanization and increased risk of violence*" (WSRWD 2009). For instance, a woman who does not have land cannot be farmer; if she does not have capital to invest, she cannot buy merchandise to sell; or even if she does not have enough money to pay the travel ticket she will not be able to migrate to any other place deepening in this way her poverty situation.

Regarding the third dimension of empowerment-*achievements (people's potential to live the lives they want)*, we could refer only to those choices by which women changed and improved somehow the lives they had before. It could be the case of women who after migrating came back with resources to expand their choices. In contrast women who make choices just to meet survival needs are not necessarily empowered because they merely apply a survival strategy.

According to Kabeer (2005:15) changes in any one of the dimensions can lead to changes in others. Thus the positive change related to resources such as the increase of income, increase of goods, exposure to different cultures and experiences have an impact on the way how women think and perceive life. This could lead to establish new goals (agency) and act upon them. The best example is migration, women get in touch with another culture, perceive other ways of behaviour and ultimately they get to have amounts of money they never had before. This may have different impact on adults and younger women. Adult women may not adjust to other culture but when they go back to their hometown they have resources they invest to improve their homes, to purchase land, to buy a car/truck or to educate their children. Women who migrate at a young age in many cases decide to move permanently to Argentina. This decision could be considered empowering since it constitutes a strategic life choice according to the theory.

5.7.2. The responsibilities of childrearing

According to Kabeer (cited by López, 2000:93), consensus is often assumed when there is absence of conflict. In this sense, education, health and responsibility for food and nutrition tasks traditionally given to and accepted by women. Nevertheless, decisions at this level would not be considered empowering because a great deal of choice is held by women over children. As this role is not commonly questioned, it does not entail changes of power relations

Furthermore it could be assumed that since men are immersed in their roles as providers and make important decisions at the social and political level, they do not want to gain ground over women's household responsibilities, maybe because they consider decisions at this level irrelevant compared to their decisions spheres. In spite of this, there are cases by which the effective authority over childrearing and nourishment, commonly women's responsibilities, are exercised by the father.

In Villa Charcas the majority of the respondents (men and women) affirm that both parents make these decisions (education, health and nutrition) together. There were few cases were respondents (men and women) declared that these responsibilities were attributed to the father. In this scenario, I consider that if the woman would challenge the patriarchal power over children it might be considered as empowering.

5.7.3. Education

With reference to education, enrolment of children to school is mandatory in Villa Charcas. Therefore, not enrolling children to school is not seen an alternative. As was presented in Chapter Five, both fathers and mothers decide on enrolment decisions, but mothers have greater expectations that their children (girls and boys without distinction) attend school and continue their studies in higher education institutions. This result rejects the statement of Brown and Park (2000:538) who pointed out that "empowerment of less-educated women has a significantly stronger negative effect on the likelihood of children being held back than the empowerment of better-educated women"; because it is assumed less-educated women do not have a great deal of decision over children enrolment so it affects children's attendance. Mothers in Villa Charcas are less-educated in comparison to their husbands, but they do want their children to study and attend school since they acknowledge that life would be easier for them in terms of jobs and income.

Parents' decisions on enrolling children to school and encouraging them to continue are driven by state educative policies and programs such as the subsidy Juancito Pinto and the school breakfast. This incentives increase the range of resources given to parents in order to take an active role towards their children's education. It is important to mention that these actions seek gender equality since these are equally available even for boys and girls equally.

5.7.4. Health

As habitual, there is a range of decisions regarding health that women in Villa Charcas must take, especially when facing situations of sicknesses or just to prevent sicknesses at home.

Picture 12: Women's training on health



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

The decisions start in the most common ones which are the decisions of whether or not take their children to a medical check-up when they are sick, whether to take them to the hospital, a health center or a native medicine practitioner of the zone. And range to the decisions of familiar planning.

About Villa Charcas women's empowerment with respect to their health decisions, there are two scenarios. Although both parents take health decisions at home, it was observed that mothers are usually the ones who know what to do when there is an ill member in the family. In this regard, and under the perspective of Kaber's empowering theory, when referring to decisions about where to go when a member of the family is ill, the women's choices are limited due to the very few alternatives there are in the area, and the low number of doctors or "*curanderos*" (folk healers). Also, their availability of resources to pay for medical attention is limited. For instance if they need to go to a medical center, they will need to go by car or walk for long hours they will also need to have some money to buy some medicines. Going to bigger hospitals that have better resources requires more economical resources too. In this way, one can see that their alternatives are very few and the choices are also limited. Therefore, we can see that both men and women are limited by their economical situation. In a rural and poverty context, health is mainly a matter of survival.

Within health decisions making, women are expected to take an important and active role when it comes to that of family planning. The way she will assume this role varies according to her self-esteem as well as her education, perspectives on how she wants to live her life. Sexuality is still a tabu for women in Villa Charcas although it might be assumed they should be in charge of teaching their children of family planning. In this second scenario, another reality was observed in Villa Charcas Municipality, since an adult woman do not take her own decisions on whether to have children or not when being in a relationship (as may be the case in other cultures/contexts as well) men are the ones who formally take the final decision on whether to use any method of family planning or not (however, one may assume that there are things not said in the interviews – and women can have their own strategies not necessarily known or approved by the man...). In the same way, motherhood is an indicator of being a woman. Not having a child before a specific age places a woman's identity as a potential mother in doubt among other women and men. Consequently, delaying having children or not having children at all is not an alternative for women in Villa Charcas and the average number of children is four. Hence motherhood and marriage may be considered as access to resources for Villa Charcas women in the sense that within the community families have greater importance than individuals and in hierarchical order husband and wife are considered before daughters and sons for community's decision-making. However wives are considered, even by themselves, in absence of husbands. This access to participation in community is not always made good use by women to make their voice heard.

As mentioned in the findings, the youth generation is changing gradually in this regard because young people have more and more information about sexual and reproductive health, this information is given at schools and in training sessions organized by health offices.

5.7.5. Nourishment

Regarding the nourishment or nutrition decision making, this is as previously said the sole responsibility of women without being shared. Women takes this on as an obligation and not as task that leaves them with a decision making power. It becomes, in most situations, an obligation that she takes on and that cannot be shared with her partner because if the man

takes a role of this type, his virility would be placed in doubt by both, men and women of the community.

Within this issue, there is a difference that is starting to be noticed and which deals with elder and younger women. Young men help around the kitchen, they peel potatoes, beans and other vegetables and others, in very few cases, prepare the meals for all the family. Nevertheless, the principal task of money administration for purchasing food supplies is assigned to the woman. Thus, in this respect she holds the financial responsibility. This kind of decision is part of an unquestionable cultural and social role and at the same time, it satisfies a survival need. For women in VC, there is no such alternative of giving this task to the husband, there isn't the option of questioning the cultural and social regulations and, therefore, it is not considered as an empowering action.

5.8. The role of women in the community

According to the research results, men and women can be part of the community meetings, there is not any kind of restriction for women's attendance. It is in these spaces where men and women can demonstrate their abilities to expose their needs and propose a negotiation of the possible solutions.

In spite of that, and as it will be observed next, the Villa Charcas women attend the meetings in order to meet social demands, they cannot take advantage of them as an opportunity to claim their rights before the community. With reference to the empowering theory, it can be said that public spaces for problem solving and discussion of needs exist as a formal alternative, but women do not see them as spaces to claim for their rights and protest for better opportunities. This means that there is a denial of options and choice. Hence participating in these meetings do not empower women as such – if they are empowered, this happens through other, informal arenas. Another key finding is that women express not to have the necessary financial and educational resources to be self-confident and demand a larger role to play in society. That means, that they may not have had enough education, knowledge and even economic resources that increase their self-esteem and motivate them to fight for better living conditions. Considering that the previous conditions to empowering are not fulfilled, they will not fight to reach their objectives or because their requests are not satisfied.

Analyzing women's participation in the meetings, in case of monthly meetings, where more political, communal as well as agricultural issues are addressed, the women's participation is considered the representation of family unity when the husbands are absent. Their interventions are not considered very important especially when there are important decisions to be taken, but more for getting to the necessary number of participants to get to a consensus. Or just to keep the family informed about the community situations. Therefore, it is evident that in this regard, the women do not feel empowered by their participation in meetings to publicly claim necessities or focus on issues they consider important.

The situation is similar in case of the School Council. Most of the members of the School Council (representatives of the school classes and OTB) are men and not women. Thus, the people who take relevant decisions about control and educational staff follow up as well as the administration of resources are mainly men. Men are overrepresented, despite the fact that it is the mothers who are in close contact to their children's education. Regarding the class

meetings with the purpose of having a follow up to their children's school results, organization of activities and breakfast preparation, it is the mothers who usually take part of them. It seems that at this level, the women have more confidence to propose, claim, and participate in meetings and they consider that having an active participation is important. Comparing the Educational Council and school meetings, there is a great visible difference in the kind of decisions that are taken. The first ones are related to the administration and control of resources, where there is authority before the community; the second ones are meetings where the power is executed in the classroom

A similar phenomenon to that of the Educational Council happens in the meetings of the Committee of Analysis of Information of Villa Charcas. Men are the principal performers in these latter meetings, despite the fact that most practical decisions related to health issues at home are taken by women – mostly regarding daily health issues. At the same time, it can be observed that women are the ones who receive more training regarding health prevention and have a practical performance at home. Hence women are the ones who know the real situation they live in and count with the basic knowledge on what to do in front of a sickness. Once more, the difference among the first and the second meetings is that the first meetings, the CAI meetings are a space of analysis and discussion, it means a more notorious role before the society. However, in training meetings, there are not major decisions to take; everything is related to experiences and knowledge transmission.

Among places in which the women could gain ground regarding their rights and opportunities as women, are the female social groups such as the women group Bartolina Sisa and the political positions within the Mayoralty. The Bartolina Sisa, the women's group, is not completely active, since just its representative election fulfills with all the requirements that need to have all communal representation positions. Even the election of these women is in charge of men, so that the same representatives do not know what tasks they need to perform. This concludes that there is no empowering in this case.

Finally, in the first case, the counselor women are a good example that, in spite of the fact that the society of VC delays women participation in the community, it is still possible to give women some space to take some political decisions. It would be interesting to know how these women got such important positions and thus, made everybody respect their right to a community leadership. Seen in the framework of empowerment, one can clearly see that these women counsellors have challenged the traditional schemes of power in the community.

5.9. Effectiveness of Gender Equity Education

5.9.1. Gender Equity in the Education Reform Law of 1994

Gender equity is a transverse issue of the Education Reform Law of 1994. According to the theory, a transverse should be capable of presenting, conceiving, understand and living a new reality beginning from education at school. A transverse also helps improving competences, contents and the process of construction of knowledge. In this sense, gender equity as a transverse in the ERL was conceived under the premise that men and women should have the same opportunities but also as way to construct new gender relationships based on respect solidarity and equity by understanding and valuing women's contribution to society. The transverse in the ERL supposes exposing, teaching gender equity in *all subjects* in school with different strategies according to the subject.

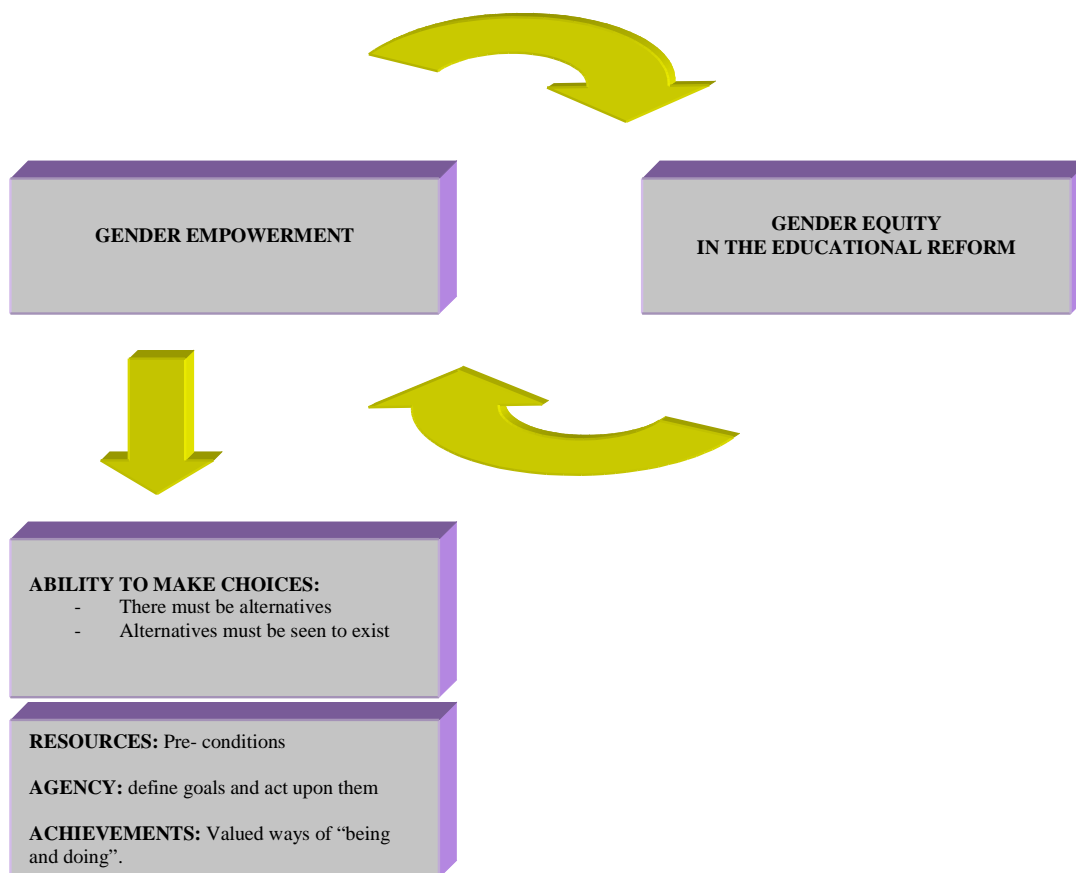
Although the issue of gender was introduced in the EC of 1955 (previous to the ERL), it had a patriarchal point of view because it aimed to enhance women economic situation through training in occupations related to domestic chores. There was a prevailing focus of sexism within the educational system, which according to Stromquist (1992:29), in some way contributed to the continuation of social roles based on gender. In the past activities such as cooking, sewing and embroidering were activities just addressed at women, whilst teaching other type of activities for boys such as carpentry. Nowadays both, girls and boys, with no discrimination are taught this subject which aims to strengthen technical and manual abilities in students. Yet there is still one subject taught separately based on gender; sports. In this case girls are not encouraged to play soccer but to practice other types of sports

The ERL of 1994 aimed women to have the same opportunities than men. The ERL introduces the issue of gender in terms of gender equity but as synonymous of gender equality because it encloses the term of equality of opportunities for women that not necessarily implies redistribution of power and resources. The ERL does not encloses the term empowerment it self. Empowerment it is a complex term as the theory mentions it does not have an exclusive definition and its dimensions may enclose a certain amount of subjectivity. Gender equity on the other hand is a term that was more known and more comprehensible for the common run of people. For this reason in the research the term gender equity was used instead of empowerment with the intention to make the issue of gender empowerment more operative. Not even educated people as teachers were able to answer questions when the term empowerment was used.

Empowerment and gender equality are related. Gender equality looks for equality in opportunities and rights for women and men perceiving there are inequalities between women and men that create subordination of women. Empowerment is related with women's capability to control their own life by making strategic decisions, assuming they have access to resources and opportunities. Thus, women's empowerment is essential to achieve gender equality. However this relation can be reciprocal; for example some teachers revealed gender equality (as a transverse theme in school activities) was rather an imposition than the product of the process of learning but it made it possible for some girls to challenge gender labour distribution at home and for some boys to accept this position.

The Figure Nro.3 shown below explains the relation regarding gender equity and empowerment. The interrelation and the dimensions required for achieving empowerment.

Figure 2: Relation between gender empowerment and gender equity



Source: Own elaboration November 2011

5.10. Impacts of Gender Equity Education in the curricula

5.10.1. Gender Equity as a Transverse theme in the curricula

According to the findings some teachers pointed out different ways of understanding and applying gender as a transverse issue in their subjects. Interestingly, more than one teacher indicated that there was gender equality in a class with equal or similar number of boys and girls. Nonetheless, having the same number of girls and boys in a class is a variable that does not depend on teachers alone, since education is as a right and therefore available to everyone. On the other hand, having the same number of girls and boys attending a certain class does not offer any form of empowerment for the girls. If education is sexist or fails to construct significant knowledge about gender equality, it would not matter if there are more girls than boys in a classroom.

Even though the ERL of 1994 included the implementation of the four transversing themes (education for democracy, health and sexuality, environment and gender) through clear strategies and tasks the teachers' answers suggests that the concepts of gender equality and gender equity were not fully understood even within the school community. Despite the various trainings carried out by international advisors and addressed to educators throughout the country, many teachers admitted they still need more instruction about the theoretical part

of gender and the methodological approach. This reflects that even though the implementation of the ERL has been a thoughtful process, the strategy has not been completely effective in the sense of training teachers and provide them with practical tools for teaching gender in their schools. This does not mean that there were no materials or school texts for teaching gender equity, but perhaps a weak understanding of concepts and definitions as well as a lack of knowledge on how to put it in practice. Therefore one conclusion is that instead of facilitating the learning–teaching process, the lack of understanding of gender equity and/or the lack of knowledge on the methodological approach affect the quality and the continuity of the contents of the curricula.

Gender equity is a transverse theme that has to be taught and reinforced by law in every opportunity within the classroom. Yet the term is still abstract and therefore in practice is difficult for teachers to measure if the concept has been applied not. It is even likely that teachers at some point neglect the education of gender equity in the classroom, despite their positive answers in the finding section.

5.10.2. Gender parity

The 3rd MDGs establishes the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Its first target is to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015. As will be recalled from the introduction, the gender gap in school is higher in countries with high indigenous populations like Bolivia

In VC according to statistics 80 percent is Quechua population. This means it is predominantly an indigenous population. The gender gap in this region is closed, according to information provided by the Mayoralty For the year 2011 there were a total of 1964 girls and 1938 boys in total in school (initial, primary and secondary) (Education District Office from Villa Charcas, 2011) (see Appendices 4 to 6). For the results it seems there is no gender discrimination in enrolment. There isn't either discrimination in terms of ethnicity. In this case because there is a majority of indigenous people and education is not only a right but a duty for people from communities as pointed out before.

Nevertheless, as findings show, in high school there were no “*cholitas*” (women with *pollera*) for the lasts cohorts of seniors. The later shows a change in new generations of people in VC perhaps because of the influence of migration. More important to highlight is the high drop out of women and men in the last years of secondary school.

Regarding the enrolment number of girls and boys in the schools it is possible to see that the gender gap has been effectively reduced in comparison with the figures obtained from the latest MDG progress reports in Chuquisaca. According to this document (Progreso de los ODM 2008) the gap in Incahuasi in 2008 was - 6,4% which means that there were more boys enrolled to school than girls. Findings in this research show that the situation has been reverted for the last year 2011.

5.10.3. Gender equity as tool for empowerment in Villa Charcas

Theoretically education is assumed a tool for empowerment. To be empowering it should create consciousness in students; make them analyse and reflect on themselves in society in order to take action and change it in positive ways. Theory shows that for learning and the

transmission of knowledge to have significance for life it should aim for a change in attitude by passing through cognition (to know a concept) and procedure (doing and being). Gender empowerment education should overcome sexism and avoid reproducing gender roles. Moreover as said by Stromquist, (2002: 25) education for gender empowerment should reduce masculine norms working not only with girls increasing self-esteem but also with boys decreasing their desire to be superior to girls.

As teachers pointed out and students confirmed the introduction of contents and activities committed to the issue of gender equity is found in school, through themes, contents and activities. However, I find that implementation is failing to create positive attitudes in boys in and out of school. Even when contents and activities are equally taught and carried out by both; for boys, these activities represent an unavoidable task in school they do not have to do at home. Then one may ask how quickly changes are expected to occur.?

Boys reported to do house chores as a result of absence of women (mother/ sister) or they were compelled to do because the mother used her influence to make them do this. This was the case of a teacher who enforced at home what she was teaching in class. In cases where men were out of their family or community context they showed more openness to do domestic chores maybe because (again) they don't have a woman around) or they have to adapt their conduct to the new context.

In the case of girls, the findings showed gender education fails to increase their self-esteem as they still believe they don't have same capabilities that men do. Findings also showed, although girls believe gender equity is applied in school, gender labour division at home hasn't changed. Moreover, in the cases girls reported to receive help from brothers to cook it was in the cases these brothers were older than them; apparently older siblings have responsibility over younger siblings and this fact counts over gender. The only one case in which a mother reported her older daughter asked her son to do something and he did, it was because it was a younger than her. Still this boy had a different attitude and didn't have the same response to sisters younger than him.

The situation at household level influences and reinforces negative attitude towards gender equality. As findings show even though teachers intend to make parents aware on the subject, it is difficult to achieve results because of the lack of contact with students' parents. Findings indicated that mothers have more familiarity with their children situation at school. However, if fathers are not receiving training and are not well-disposed towards change it will be difficult to generate change in attitude in the household.

Clearly, patriarchal attitudes remain in male and female students that are accepted as natural for both and reinforced by parents even though at school they receive same treatment, same responsibilities and information on gender equity.

Finally, according to the findings section teachers observe gender education as positive and they expect to see results in the future if parents commit in this process. Education by itself will not be enough to change attitudes. Likewise, a law (the ERL) can't change attitudes by itself. To impose a certain number of seats for women in the parliament did not change attitudes either. Women had to prove time after time they are just as capable as men in politics and every other field women bring upon themselves. To include gender education in the law was a starting point for a change in education. However, in order to change patriarchal attitudes it will be necessary confront the issue among other institutions of society like the

family since education begins at home; or the community since they have cultural influence over their members.

5.11. Generational Changes

5.11.1. Adult women generation

One can observe that the interviewee's parents' generation didn't go to school and thus, they were illiterate. It is assumed that these generations were born earlier than 1952 and 1955 time when the Universal Education was introduced for the first time as a right for everybody. The Educational Code was also established. This can also mean that there may have been children of school age in that time, but they could not be sent to school because the Government didn't have the necessary resources and enough schools to consider these children part of the process.

On the other hand, it is evident that the generation of interviewed parents had limited access to education. The fact that not all of them attended school and/or finished comply with other factors that will be next discussed. One of the possible reasons may have been that, although education was stated as a right, school enrolment appeared to be a parental decision more than a duty. Thus, many adult women said they did not attend to school or they did not finish it because their parents did not want them to. Another reason could have also been that parents and children in the countryside did not see any benefit for them in a practical way since the work they performed did not need to have people who could read and write. An important result to emphasize is that when women were asked why they did not attend school, they answered that their parents thought it was more important for their sons to attend school rather than for their daughters. They also expressed that according to their cultural roles, the women had to stay home and help with the house chores.

School access was limited. It is also probable that they did not have enough schools and school materials. Therefore, students had to walk long distances to get to the closest school in the area, Parents also did not want to send their daughters to school because of the danger it might imply to go to school alone.

Due to the fact that the women's task in the house and in the fields did not need any reading and writing skill, and because they attended school just for some years, the elder women interviewed have a functional illiteracy. This means that they can only sign their names whenever they need to do it and they cannot write extended paragraphs. They can also read a little, but do not fully understand what they are reading. This means that in spite of being enrolled to school, the education received has not been useful in their practical life, and this, may have had a negative incidence in their self-esteem as women.

As it can be observed, we can conclude that education has not played a critical role for the empowerment of women of this generation. They did not have the chance to hear topics related to empowerment or gender equity at school when they were young or girls. It is more likely that these issues were addressed during their mature life with the introduction of the legal structural changes that the different governments began to introduce in the 90's. These laws were the Popular Participation Law, Law on Administrative Decentralization and Educational Reform Law. Perhaps other additional programs that may have had impact on women are those promoted by the Government as the case of Bi-literacy program Spanish - Quechua implemented by UNFPA and those carried out by NGOs (e.g. ADRA, Esperanza

Bolivia and others) by providing training on issues regarding Family Planning, Reproductive Health and Nutrition for their children.

Therefore, women who attended school but did not complete it, did receive information through training sessions on gender equity and empowerment in some way or another. However, it can be assumed that due to deeply rooted cultural norms and that these new concepts have been introduced in their mature lives, the change of attitude in these women towards the exercise of their rights and opportunity search is a little slower.

Within families, the elder women are more related to the reality of health and education within their home. When their husbands travel for work, they are the ones who are responsible for childcare and home care in addition to the cultivation of their lands. They also support their children at school and take them to the doctor when they get sick. However, the decisions in day to day are not necessarily strategic life choices such as the fact of where they live and what major purchases to perform. It is true that they can decide who to live with, but they must live with their couple in their couple's parents' house and then the man is who decides the final place to live in. Regarding the number of children to have and when, the acquired knowledge could help them demonstrate the level of empowerment they have, but as was noted in the findings of the first research question, it is still the man who still makes decisions about this. Therefore, the decisions in this group of women are decisions related to the role attributed to women and in many cases daily decisions of survival. In respect with migration, the level of self-esteem and confidence is likely higher when women go abroad and come back with new experiences, the fact of making decisions at home is also important despite this is not visible for them.

At the level of community decisions, adult women participate in community meetings but do not hold positions where decisions are made. Their attendance is valid because through them their husbands are informed when they are not present in the community, or as part of a quorum of female participation that must exist formally, so that it is said that the community manages gender equity, and even as a political tool by certain organizations that promote it publicly but which are truly supported and managed by male leaders. It could also be said that, although there are three women councilors of the Municipality of Villa Charcas, adult women mostly have not reached a level of empowerment that allow them to actively participate as agents of change in terms of community issues. Finally, it is noted that these women are represented by councilors of the Municipality, who in turn also have the challenge of changing structures of thought and sexist decision making because even in the interviews, they admit they face the traditionally assigned gender roles within their homes.

5.11.2. Young women

Nowadays, education is equally established as a right and duty for girls and boys. Women and men interviewed said they enrolled their children (boys and girls) without discrimination, therefore, it can be said younger women have approach to education whether they attended continuously afterwards or not.

In terms of education policies, in contrast to their mothers, girls have been benefited. Attendance to school is considered as a duty as it is established in Mayoral Decree N° 08/2007. Therefore, in Villa Charcas it is even penalized if parents do not take them to school because the community fails to receive funding for community projects. For the implementation of projects in a community it is an indispensable requirement that every child

from that community is enrolled as presented previously in the findings part. Nevertheless, there is still considerable drop out of school of young women as much as men in the area, especially after 8 years of school. This means young people that abandon school in Villa Charcas do it approximately at the age of 14. In terms of economic growth for the community of Villa Charcas and the general economy this could have a strong impact. According to the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (2008:2), primary education alone is important but insufficient as efforts on secondary education promote a comprehensive boost to economic development.

Access to education is also a benefit given to girls in contrast to what their mothers experienced. The positive attitude of parent's to enrol children to school, better infrastructure and transportation, more schools in Villa Charcas and better support materials for education offer new opportunities for girls to attend school.

Another advantage young women have in relation to their mothers, is the importance given by parents (especially mothers since they are responsible for children' education) to education. Mothers repeatedly stated for them it is priority that their children do their homework before doing house chores. There is a change of attitude towards education and gender education in these women despite the facts that they are not as educated as their children and they were not encouraged to go to school. In terms of empowerment access to education as a resource has been enabled for younger women. This is likely to have a positive impact on the next generation, especially on women, since these young educated girls will have a positive predisposition to enrol their children to school.

In the household there is still strong tendency to maintain gender labour division for young women and men. This tendency is reinforced by both father and mothers no matter whether the mother is instructed or has an authority position in the community. Young women haven't showed either a desire or taken concrete actions for this to change. Power in this context is exercised over them in some cases even by younger brothers.

One interesting case is the one referred to young pregnant students that insisted attending to school despite teachers, school staff and parents' opposition (parents argued pregnant students were a bad influence for the other girls); and returned to school after they gave birth. This is a demonstration that young women are giving more importance to education and education is having an impact in them to challenge patriarchal structures at home, community and school. These young women challenge family's structure by being single teenage mothers and communities traditions, since they stay single and prioritize education to the role of being house wives and mothers

Alternatively, migration of young women, as it was pointed out in the findings section; exposes young women to different social context different to Villa Charcas and give them the chance to earn money. Having income gives them some control over their lives. Likewise, exposure to another context may open their mind to other options they did not see before in their community context. Thus, education apparently is not the main element for this generation' girls' empowerment.

As stated before in this discussion the weightiness of education doesn't seem to be enough for most students to decide to conclude secondary and/or to continue with higher education. This may be attributed to the fact that benefits of education (in relation to income) are long term and young people in the area are not predisposed to wait or invest on higher education. Higher education for people in Villa Charcas represents extra cost of living (rent, food, transportation, books, etc.) since Higher Institutes and Universities are in capital cities only. In this respect quality of education doesn't help them either. Rural School students (women and men) are in disadvantage to pass the admission test to public University, compared to urban students of public schools and students of private schools.

Picture 13: School Fair at the main square



By Rocío Azurduy Aguirre (2011)

There were reported few cases of students male and female who concluded University careers and went back to Villa Charcas to work there. This shows they not only understand the benefits of education for themselves but also for the community.

Regardless women are progressively gaining places out of the household and in the public sphere; the load of domestic labour has not changed for them.

Regardless women are progressively gaining places out

Chapter Six: Conclusions

6.1. Education and Empowerment

Through out the development of this research study it was noticed the importance of education on women's empowerment. Education is an essential means by which people are able to read and write improving in this way their capabilities and increasing their knowledge to get better opportunities in their lives. Basic mathematic skills enable people to negotiate better and to understand the dynamics behind any activity.

This is acknowledged by people from Villa Charcas. Parents -equally women and men-, recognise the importance of education for boys and girls at least until they complete the primary education. Many parents admit that they prioritize school duties at home over daily tasks so that their children are not left behind. Hence, education plays an essential role for them. But what is more important to highlight is the fact that most Villa Charcas' women feel not deprived to their right to education as they would have felt few decades before. They all know that education is free and available and that reading and writing will offer them an "easier life" -as they quoted above- meaning that they could get better work conditions if they attend school. Seen as such, education is empowering and in terms of the theory, it favours the preconditions or *resources* (relations within the family, market, community) which enable women to make a choice in the future.

On the other hand, in order to achieve the expected social outcomes, education must be conceived and framed within certain values (Kabeer, 2005: 16). Otherwise it could be seen as a double edged sword and jeopardize the development process - this understood as Amartya Sen's notion of freedom of making different decisions (Sen 1999:xii). For instance, education could be considered disempowering when it limits women's scope of choices and opportunities by teaching the traditional gender roles at home and in society. Education in Bolivia before 1994 used to restrict alternatives to women or make them invisible mainly because of the predominant patriarchal culture.

Therefore the ERL of 1994 has been an attempt to change the prevailing educational model of that time which not only had a sexist focus but also it would not meet the needs of the indigenous population of the country. ERL was proposed by international organizations, it focused its strategies on the awareness and respect to the different cultures that inhabit the country, the respect for the diverse languages and the awareness of equal opportunities for women and men. Although other previous laws may have considered these aspects superficially this was the first law that arranged concrete strategies and resources to implement these aspects and to put them into practice. For the first time gender equity has been the main topic taught and spoken about in the educative community. The ERL is nowadays still favourable for women's empowerment as it implies acknowledgement that there is discrimination towards women and actions must be taken to reverse this. After 18 years of the law promulgation (as a state policy greater than just a government policy) it comprises one generation of people. Hence this study has attempted to assess at a small scale if education (as in the ERL) has fulfilled its objectives and purposes. Thus, parents in Villa Charcas affirm there have been positive changes in education. Likewise, teachers confirm there have been changes related to gender but there is still a long way in order to achieve gender equity for women in the community. These answers point out education is a longer process (more than one generation) whose results will be appreciated in the long-term.

6.2. Impact of gender equity as a transversing theme of the ERL

In respect to the gender equity transverse of the ERL it was revealed throughout the research that there have been favourable impacts, but not to the extent of changing radically the community's mentality. For instance carrying out all type of activities women and men without distinction and establishing same, non-sexist contents is an attempt to give both the same schemes and values avoiding discrimination.

As a consequence young women increased their aspirations with regard to education. Compared to the previous generation, young women finish secondary education aiming at superior education, professionalization to access qualified work away from the agriculture field. Receiving equal treatment allowed these women to recognize that in respect to intellectual capabilities they are at the same level of their male classmates. Therefore education shouldn't be a matter of gender. By compelling gender equity, the ERL along with other policies has set ground to implement strategies at community level to increase men and women attendance to school so that the gender gap in this region is overcome. Gender equity practiced in school makes boys and young men witness and live gender equity through activities and practices different from those at the household level, which is predominantly patriarchal. Some replicate these practices in the household and some don't but at school there are practical exercises of gender equity, not just theory.

Despite these steps, gender equity practice at schools in Villa Charcas have had weaknesses and faced obstacles. Impacts could have been greater if teachers fully comprehended mainstreaming to apply gender transverse more effectively. From the time the ERL was gazetted to the present there was wastage in the process of implementing gender as a transversing theme. Also, as teachers affirmed there was distance between school and parents (although parents consider education important for their children). The educational system failed including parents as key stakeholders to promote their active participation and reinforce gender contents and practices to influence changes at household level. In addition education hasn't been capable to deepen students' critical analysis to either recognize gender equity or defy prevailing structures. Education failed *building* significant knowledge to be single satisfactory means for gender empowerment.

However, there are unfavourable circumstances that exceed school jurisdiction. For instance, family is the first environment where education is built; it is the first referent of communication and behaviour for children. In a culture predominantly patriarchal the family is where children first learn about traditional tasks, activities and aptitudes assigned to women and other activities and aptitudes assigned to men. Interviews and informal chats of this study show that the cultural stereotypes for women and men are still present among people from Villa Charcas. Thus this strong mind-set influences how children think and act at school making difficult in this way the work of teachers.

Another obstacle is that there are no other reinforcements for education about gender equity outside the school. It seems that schools and other few NGOs' initiatives are the only spaces where gender equity is taught and spoken about. There are no other continuous efforts coming from other institutions (i.e Mayoralty, church, hospital, school committee and others) with the purpose of strengthening gender equity in Villa Charcas. This could support not only the education process at school but also the whole process of raising awareness about gender equity issues in Villa Charcas.

6.3. Changes in perspectives from the adult women generation to the young generation

The research indicates that there has been a clear change of attitudes and perceptions about their own lives between the adult generation of women and the young generation. While the adult generation has not experienced a formal education that is empowering during their childhood, the young generation of women has received gender equity education –even since the first grades- and has expanded their range of opportunities.

As with regard to whether this young generation has been empowered or not thanks to gender as a transversing theme of the ERL of 1994, it is possible to conclude that although these women have been educated accordingly, there is still a long way to go within their homes and community. Education framed within the ERL has played an important role on women's gender equity perspectives. Yet in order to reach an empowerment level such that they are able to make choices by themselves concerning strategic life decisions and to challenge the prevailing social and cultural system the process, they are not yet there. . This level of empowerment can possibly be achieved in circumstances where they will not be at school anymore but in their adult lives, at work or home. In this way it is possible to observe many other factors that play an essential role on this process according the results of this research. These factors are migration -own or from family members- and the work they perform and gives them the economic income.

Therefore it is possible to observe that the gender equity of the ERL is a good starting point but it is not determinant and the only means by which they feel completely empowered and owners of their lives.

6.4. Education versus other opportunities

The difficult economic situation in Villa Charcas forces women and men to intensely look for ways to assure sustenance for their families. Completing secondary education is sometimes considered too long for some families as they cannot afford waiting for their daughters and/or sons to be financially independent and to help contributing to the household economy.

Under these circumstances other alternatives emerge for financial sustenance, migration for instance is one of them. Generally Villa Charcas people who migrate to Argentina do so for working reasons. Whether they are adults or children, women or men, they travel to the neighboring country to work hardly and earn money faster than in Villa Charcas. Capital cities in Bolivia such as Tarija, Sucre or Santa Cruz are also destinations for expanding their labour choices or for completing school education in the case of young people. When they return to Villa Charcas they come back financially better with a sense of status or self confidence and in practice, with new experiences that favors their knowledge.

Thus migration has revealed to be an important factor on their lives and also on women's empowerment. By working, having income and therefore contributing to the household economy women extend their perspectives and acknowledge that their efforts and capabilities are equally essential. When women manage the payments they receive for their work, the sense of independence is higher. Similarly different culture gives them another point of view

on how women live their lives and make decisions, not necessarily depending on men's opinions.

On the other side, when women stay in Villa Charcas and their families are the ones who travel, they are in charge of all sorts of decisions at home (education, health, agriculture). Even though they are not educated women or they just have elementary skills such as reading and writing, under these circumstances they must be responsible for their children and the house. While the level of self-esteem and confidence is likely higher when women go abroad and come back with new experiences, the fact of making decisions at home is also important despite this is not visible for them.

This proves that even though education has a positive impact on women's empowerment it is not the only means (or not powerful enough) by which women can overcome their deprived and oppressed situations. Women in Villa Charcas still confront disadvantages in the labour market and property of goods.

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Appendices

Appendix N° 1: Relation between Specific Objectives, Research Questions and Interview Guides

Specific Objectives	Research questions	Interview Guides
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To explore the perception of the community regarding to the role of women. 	From the community perception, what is the role of women at home?	Interview Guide N° 1
	From the community perception, what is the role of women in the community?	Interview Guide N° 2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To analyze the curricula of Bolivian Education Reform in relation to gender education 	What are the changes intended by the Education Reform Law?	Bibliographical cards
	How has the curricula, of the Education Reform Law in relation to gender equity, been implemented in the communities of Villa Charcas?	Interview Guide N° 4
		Interview Guide N° 5
Interview Guide N° 6		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To visualize women role's changes at home and community through formal education. 	In which way the education changes have had impact in the role and participation of women at home?	Interview Guide N° 7
	In which way the education changes have had impact in the role and participation of women in the community?	Interview Guide N° 8

Source: Own elaboration

Appendix N° 2: Interview Guides

Interview Guide	Purpose	Addressed to	Questions	Way that the instrument was applied	Support materials
Interview Guide N° 1	To visualize women's participation at home	Men and women from community.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) At home, who gives money to sustain your family? 2) At home, who decides in what and how to spend the money? 3) When children have to go to school, who enrol them? Who helps them with the homework and the attendance? The man or the woman? 4) If someone in the family gets sick who takes the responsibility to go to the doctor or the yatiri and give them the medicines prescribed? The man or the woman? 5) Who decides what to eat, what to shop to prepare daily food? Who cooks? The man or the woman? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide
Interview Guide N° 2	To visualize women's participation in the community	Men and women of the community	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) When does the community have meetings? With what purpose? 2) Are women and men called equally to these meetings? 3) Do women participate and talk at the meetings? Or they go but don't participate? 4) Do women participation at the meetings is important? 5) Within the community, are there women leaders? Where? Are they many? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide
Bibliographical Cards	To analyze the characteristics of the curricula in relation to gender equity and empowerment				Written documents (laws, papers, etc.)
Interview Guide N° 4	To visualize the characteristics of the content and execution of the curricula in reference to gender equity and empowerment from the perspective of teachers.	Teachers from schools and high schools	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What is your opinion about the education reform of 1994? 2) What is your opinion about the gender equity transverse theme? 3) How do you see student's behaviour about gender equity? 4) How is the acceptance of male and female students about gender equity at the class? 5) How is the acceptance of parents about gender equity? 6) Do you think that with the inclusion of gender equity in the curricula is possible to make improvements about this issue? 7) What is your opinion about school desertion in Villa Charcas? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide
Interview Guide N° 5	To define the parent's perception about their children's education about gender equity and empowerment at the school	Parents (Mothers and Fathers)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) How do you see the relationship between male and female students in the school? 2) Do you think it is necessary to incorporate gender equity topics in the school? 3) Do you notice changes about the relationship about men and women since they go to school? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide
Interview Guide N° 6	To define students perception in relation to their education concerning gender equity and empowerment	Secondary Students	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Could you explain what gender equity is? 2) Have you learned about gender equity at school? 3) Is gender equity practiced at school? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide

Appendix N° 2: Interview Guides Part two

Interview Guide	Purpose	Addressed to	Questions	Way that the instrument was applied	Support materials
Interview Guide N° 7	To define women's perception about children's education about gender equity and empowerment	Women from the community	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Did you go to school? 2) Was it usual that women went to school when you were a child? 3) Has the situation changed from the time you were a child? 4) What are the chores that the girls have to do at home? 5) What are the chores that the boys have to do at home? 6) What attitude do boys assume if you ask them to do house chores that are usually entrusted to girls? 7) Do you notice any change in your son(s) about their behaviours towards women and the possibility to do house chores? 8) Do you think that education at school has influence in the change of conduct in girls and boys about equity if rights and duties that should exist between women and men? 9) At community meetings, do young bachelor or students (men and women) participate? 10) Do some bachelor girls from the Secondary have responsibility positions within the community? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide
Interview Guide N° 8	To define the perception of boys and girls from the community about education about gender equity and empowerment	Students	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What it is said at school about gender equity, it is applied at home or the community? Can you tell us your impressions/experiences? 	The interviewer met the individuals one by one to carry out the interviews	Tape recorder and interview guide
Interview Guide N° 9	To visualize men and women access to health services in Villa Charcas	Chief Doctor of the Municipality of Villa Charcas	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What do you think about access to health services in terms of gender in Villa Charcas? 2) Are women or men more in touch with health prevention and training workshops held by the health services in the Municipality? 3) Who attend/use more health services and for what kind of health issues? 4) Do health services give support in training or workshops at schools? 5) Are there communities' meetings to treat health issues? 6) What other institutions work with health issues in the region? 	The interviewer met the key informant to carry out the interview	Tape recorder and interview guide

Source: Own elaboration

Appendix 3: Villa Charcas Municipality Population by Districts

District	Communities	Population
Villa Charcas	Arpaja Alta	367
	Arpaja Baja	426
	Ayomita	229
	Centro Centro	408
	Centro Villa Charcas	251
	Chaquimayo	179
	Huancarani Bajo	372
	Sultaca Alta	565
	Sultaca Centro	233
	Villa Charcas	1.144
Supas	Ancomarca	198
	Caylle	192
	Ololoma	112
	Quirusillani	161
	Supas	314
Cayza "K"	Bomboma	314
	Cayza "K"	498
	Charcosi	175
	Dispucó	179
	Lambrani	211
	Mollini	238
	Pucara de Lujllaya	300
Pucara Chunchuli	Huancarani Alto	690
	Huancarani Centro	256
	Palca Pata	399
	Sacari	345
	Pucara	986
	San José de Chunchuli	300
Santa Elena	Cañahuayco	381
	Chiragua	112
	La Hoyada	300
	Llanquisa	175
	Quirincho	435
	Quisquira Alta	103
	Santa Elena	239
	Tipani	408
	Valle Flores	179
Total		12.374

Appendix N° 4: Villa Charcas Initial Education Statistics

Initial Education in Scholar Community Family																																		
YEAR	AGE	ENROLLED						UNINCORPORATED			UNTIMELY ENROLLED						ENROLLED DUE			DROP OUTS						EFFECTIVE			RETAINED			PROMOTED		
		NEW			REINCORPORA.			M	F	T	NEW			REINCORPORA.			TO TRANSFER			TRANSFER			ABANDON			M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1a. Section	4	29	33	62			0			0	3	3	6			0			0	1	0	1	1	2	3	30	34	64			0	30	34	64
	5	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0
	6	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0
	7y+	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0
SubTotal		29	33	62	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	3	30	34	64	0	0	0	30	34	64
2a. Section	4	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0
	5	70	68	138			0			0	2	3	5			0			0	2	2	4	3	2	5	67	67	134			0	67	67	134
	6	1	2	3			0			0	0	1	1			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4			0	1	3	4
	7y+	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0
SubTotal		71	70	141	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	3	2	5	68	70	138	0	0	0	68	70	138
TOTAL		100	103	203	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	7	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	5	4	4	8	98	104	202	0	0	0	98	104	202

Source: Education District Office from Villa Charcas Municipality (2011)

Appendix N° 5: Villa Charcas Primary School Statistics

YEAR	AGE	ENROLLED						UNINCORPORATED			UNTIMELY ENROLLED						ENROLLED DUE			DROP OUTS						EFFECTIVE			RETAINED			PROMOTED					
		NEW			REINCORPORA.			PORATED			NEW			REINCORPORA.			TO TRANSFER			TRANSFER			ABANDON														
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
FIRST	5y-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	6	192	190	382	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	9	16	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	2	4	8	5	13	190	193	383	34	15	49	156	178	334			
	7	59	50	109	9	16	25	0	1	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	69	66	135	4	7	11	65	59	124			
	8	3	7	10	5	8	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	8	13	21	2	5	7	6	8	14			
	9	2	1	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	0	0	0	2	4	6			
	10y+	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1			
Subtotal		256	248	504	15	28	43	0	2	2	9	10	19	1	0	1	2	4	6	3	3	6	11	8	19	269	277	546	40	27	67	229	250	479			
SECOND	6y-	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	6	1	2	3	3	0	3			
	7	103	129	232	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	4	5	0	0	0	3	1	4	2	3	5	0	2	2	106	130	236	3	8	11	103	122	225			
	8	62	63	125	7	8	15	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	70	71	141	11	9	20	59	62	121			
	9	5	13	18	3	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	18	26	3	2	5	5	16	21			
	10	1	3	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	5	1	0	1	1	3	4			
	11y+	0	1	1	2	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	3	4	1	0	1	0	3	3			
Subtotal		174	211	385	14	16	30	0	0	0	4	5	9	0	1	1	3	1	4	3	3	6	1	4	5	191	227	418	20	21	41	171	206	377			
THIRD	7y-	17	16	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	16	34	0	2	2	18	14	32			
	8	86	125	211	2	2	4	0	1	1	3	2	5	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	2	2	2	1	3	92	125	217	6	9	15	86	116	202			
	9	37	67	104	7	9	16	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	3	3	44	73	117	1	9	10	43	64	107			
	10	16	10	26	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	18	14	32	1	1	2	17	13	30			
	11	4	4	8	2	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	6	9	15	0	3	3	6	6	12			
	12y+	4	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	3	3	6	0	0	0	3	3	6			
Subtotal		164	225	389	14	19	33	0	1	1	4	4	8	1	0	1	4	1	5	1	4	5	5	4	9	181	240	421	8	24	32	173	216	389			

Appendix N° 5: Villa Charcas Primary School Statistics Second Part

YEAR	AGE	ENROLLED						UNINCORPORATED			UNTIMELY ENROLLED						ENROLLED DUE			DROP OUTS						EFFECTIVE			RETAINED			PROMOTED					
		NEW			REINCORPORA.			PORATED			NEW			REINCORPORA.			TO TRANSFER			TRANSFER			ABANDON														
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
FOURTH	8y-	22	16	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	16	38	2	0	2	20	16	36
	9	103	110	213	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	4	2	3	5	0	1	1	102	110	212	6	4	10	96	106	202			
	10	54	68	122	6	6	12	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	61	74	135	3	6	9	58	68	126			
	11	16	18	34	9	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	23	20	43	2	1	3	21	19	40			
	12	3	3	6	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	9	2	0	2	4	3	7			
	13y+	3	1	4	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	3	2	5	1	1	2	2	1	3			
Subtotal		201	216	417	20	9	29	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	4	5	3	3	6	3	2	5	217	225	442	16	12	28	201	213	414			
FIFTH	9y-	18	10	28	0	0	0			0	0	0	0			0	3	0	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	18	10	28	0	1	1	18	9	27			
	10	128	121	249	0	0	0			0	1	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	128	119	247	4	4	8	124	115	239			
	11	86	69	155	3	1	4			0	1	1	2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	88	71	159	4	3	7	84	68	152			
	12	25	24	49	4	2	6			0	0	1	1			0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	2	29	25	54	1	4	5	28	21	49			
	13	10	2	12	2	0	2			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	11	2	13	0	1	1	11	1	12			
	14y+	1	2	3	1	0	1			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	1	0	1	1	2	3			
Subtotal		268	228	496	10	3	13	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	4	8	276	229	505	10	13	23	266	216	482			
SIXTH	10y-	11	14	25	0	0	0			0	0	1	1	0	0	0			0			0			0	11	15	26			0	11	15	26			
	11	56	44	100	0	0	0			0	0	1	1	0	0	0			0			0			0	56	45	101			0	56	45	101			
	12	50	30	80	4	0	4			0	0	0	0	1	0	1			0			0			0	55	30	85			0	55	30	85			
	13	17	27	44	4	1	5			0	0	0	0	0	3	3			0			0			0	21	31	52			0	21	31	52			
	14	7	3	10	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0			0			0	7	3	10			0	7	3	10			
	15	1	0	1	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0			0			0	1	0	1			0	1	0	1			
	16y+	123	97	220	8	1	9			0	0	2	2	1	1	2			0			0			0	132	101	233			0	132	101	233			
Subtotal		265	215	480	16	2	18	0	0	0	4	4	8	2	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	283	225	508	0	0	0	283	225	508			
Subtotal		1328	1343	2671	89	77	166	0	3	3	20	26	46	4	5	9	14	10	24	14	13	27	24	22	46	1417	1423	2840	94	97	191	1323	1326	2649			

Source: Education District Office from Villa Charcas Municipality (2011)

Appendix N° 6: Villa Charcas Secondary School Statistics

YEAR	AGE	ENROLLED						UNINCORPORADOS			UNTIMELY ENROLLED						ENROLLED DUE TO TRANSFER			DROP OUTS						EFFECTIVE			RETAINED			PROMOTED			
		NEW			REINCORPORATED			M	F	T	NEW			REINCORPORATED			TO TRANSFER			TRANSFER			ABANDON			M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
		M	F	T	M	F	T				M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T										
FIRST	11y-	10	6	16	0	0	0			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	11	4	15	0	1	1	11	3	14	
	12	59	54	113	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	8	12	55	46	101	4	8	12	51	38	89	
	13	36	33	69	0	0	0			0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	4	9	30	31	61	5	4	9	25	27	52	
	14	18	12	30	3	3	6			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	4	12	14	11	25	8	4	12	6	7	13	
	15	4	1	5	1	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	1	4	1	0	1	2	1	3
	16	0	1	1	0	0	0			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	-1	0	
	17y+	127	107	234	4	3	7			0	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	14	16	30	118	95	213	14	16	30	104	79	183
Subtotal		254	214	468	8	6	14	0	0	0	6	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	6	32	34	66	232	188	420	32	34	66	200	154	354	
SECOND	12 y-	8	6	14	0	0	0			0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	6	14	0	0	0	8	6	14		
	13	49	71	120	0	0	0			0			0			0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	4	7	46	66	112	3	0	3	43	66	109	
	14	26	24	50	3	1	4			0			0			0	0	0	0	2	2	5	5	10	24	18	42	2	0	2	22	18	40		
	15	7	6	13	1	1	2			0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	6	6	12	1	1	2	5	5	10		
	16	0	2	2	1	0	1			0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2		
	17	2	0	2	0	0	0			0			0			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	
	18y+	65	80	145	0	2	2			0			0			0	1	0	1	0	2	2	7	10	17	59	70	129	4	0	4	55	70	125	
Subtotal		157	189	346	5	4	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	5	5	18	20	38	146	168	314	10	1	11	136	167	303		
THIRD	13 y-	3	4	7	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	7	0	0	0	3	4	7	
	14	16	29	45	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	4	15	26	41	1	0	1	14	26	40	
	15	14	10	24	1	1	2			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	5	13	10	23	3	0	3	10	10	20		
	16	2	1	3	0	1	1			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3		
	17	5	1	6	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	1	5	0	1	1	4	0	4		
	18	0	0	0	1	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	19y+	1	0	1	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Subtotal		41	45	86	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	8	5	13	38	42	80	4	1	5	34	41	75		

Appendix N° 6: Villa Charcas Secondary School Statistics Second Part

YEAR	AGE	ENROLLED						UNINCORPORADOS			UNTIMELY ENROLLED						ENROLLED DUE			DROP OUTS						EFFECTIVE			RETAINED			PROMOTED		
		NEW			REINCORPORA.			M	F	T	NEW			REINCORPORA.			TO TRANSFER			TRANSFER			ABANDON			M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
		M	F	T	M	F	T				M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T									
FOURTH	14 y-	4	1	5	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5	0	0	0	4	1	5	
	15	12	16	28	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0	1	0	1	1	1	2	10	15	25	0	0	0	10	15	25
	16	5	5	10	1	0	1			0			0	1	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	5	12	1	1	2	6	4	10
	17	3	0	3	1	0	1			0			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1
	18	1	0	1	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
	19	0	0	0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	20y+	0	0	0	0	0	0			0			0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal		25	22	47	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	4	24	21	45	3	1	4	21	20	41
FIFTH	15 y-	2	3	5	0	1	1			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	0	1	1	2	3	5	
	16	8	12	20	0	0	0			0			0					0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	12	19	0	2	2	7	10	17	
	17	10	7	17	0	0	0			0			0					0	0	0	0	3	1	4	7	6	13	0	2	2	7	4	11	
	18	2	1	3	0	1	1			0			0					0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3	
	19	0	0	0	1	0	1			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	
	20	0	0	0	0	0	0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	21y+	0	0	0	0	0	0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal		22	23	45	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	1	5	19	23	42	1	5	6	18	18	36	
SIXTH	16 y-	1	2	3			0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3			0	1	2	3	
	17	4	15	19			0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	14	18			0	4	14	18	
	18	4	4	8			0			0			0					0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	3	7			0	4	3	7	
	19	2	3	5			0			0			0					0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	4			0	2	2	4	
	20	0	1	1			0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1			0	0	1	1	
	21	0	0	0			0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	
	22y+	0	0	0			0			0			0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	
Subtotal		11	25	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	11	22	33	0	0	0	11	22	33		
Total EPCP		510	518	1028	18	14	32	0	0	0	8	4	12	1	1	2	3	0	3	5	11	16	65	62	127	470	464	934	50	42	92	420	422	842

Source: Education District Office from Villa Charcas Municipality (2011)