Empowerment or burden?
A critical discourse analysis of gendered structures within Latin American Conditional Cash Transfer programmes

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In loving memory of my mother Inger Ahlbäck

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1. Introduction

As many regions around the world, Latin America is a region which struggles with eradicating poverty. Although different Latin American countries have had their own ways of addressing this issue, there is one type of measure which has been used throughout many Latin American countries: Conditional Cash Transfer programmes - which will be referred to as CCT programmes from now on - are a type of social assistance programmes which have obtained worldwide recognition because of how they aim at reducing poverty. These programmes have spread around Latin America and almost all of the countries in the region have adapted a form of CCT programme run by each government. A vast number of studies have been conducted on the impacts of the programmes and how they actually work in practice. Throughout these studies, it has been established that these programmes focus on women as the household members that are in charge of taking the children to school and making sure they attend regular health checks, as conditioned by the government authors of the CCT programmes. This suggests that the CCT programmes of Latin America assume a construction of men and women as being put into traditional gender roles. In turn, this shows that the CCT programmes need this type of gender division in order to function.

The fact that a social assistance programme needs to reinforce traditional gender roles in order to function is intriguing in its own right. It is not possible to fully understand the CCT programmes without looking at their gendered implications. Since the programmes have a habit of making women responsible for fulfilling their conditions, this leaves women with a great amount of responsibility that I argue is unfairly portioned out on the women of the households. The men are not included to a great or any extent. Therefore, it is important to analyze these programmes from a theoretical perspective focusing on gendered structures. This paper will draw from the theory of Maxine Molyneux and her analysis of the Mexican CCT programme Oportunidades (Opportunities) as a gendered phenomena.

The reason why this study will focus on representations of women within official documents from Latin America’s CCT programmes is because many researchers have previously studied the gendered impacts of CCT programmes in practice and “on the ground”. The purpose of this study is instead to look closely at where these structures originate. That is, to analyze how the the authors of the frameworks for the different CCT programmes around Latin America, namely government officials, describe how they should be put into practice. One could assume that it is more interesting to study how CCT programmes are put into practice and how they affect men and women in
different ways. However, I argue that we cannot overlook the importance of studying how these
gendered structures are put into practice in the first place through the setting of a discourse. This is
why this paper will focus on official representations of men and women in the documents that direct
the course of the Latin American’s CCT programmes.

In order to study the gendered structures that the authors of the CCT programmes maintain, I have
chosen to use the methodology of critical discourse analysis. This will enable an analysis of official
documents and sources by focusing on the language of the authors and what consequences arise
from this form of language. This kind of methodology also facilitates analyzing a greater discourse -
the way the official authors describe and talk about the CCT programmes. In order to facilitate a
more varied analysis, I have chosen to focus on several Latin American countries instead of just
one. The reason for focusing on several countries in Latin America is because of how the practice of
CCT programmes have spread so rapidly across the region. It has become a social assistance trend
to say the least. By focusing on several countries it is possible to understand how this trend is
affecting more than one country.

**Background**

Many Latin American countries do not have universal welfare systems put in place that serve the
whole population. One of the reasons for this lack of universal coverage is the existence of a large
informal sector. This sector refers to people who have obtained informal employment which is not
connected to or considered as formal employment. Therefore, the existence of a large informal
sector provides low tax revenue for the different states of Latin America (Molyneux 2006:426).
Latin American countries also have a large number of people living in poverty. This combination of
poverty and a lack of universal welfare has led to the spreading of alternative social assistance
programmes which are run by the state – Conditional Cash Transfer programmes.

This type of programme originates from the Mexican example called Oportunidades (this
programme used to be called Progresa (Progress) and has recently changed its name again to
Prospera (Thrive)). The aim of the programme has been to relieve poverty without using a universal
welfare system. The programme is based on, as the name implies, cash transfers being handed out
to poor families, but only if they meet the conditions set up by the programme. The conditions aim
to raise educational levels and contribute to greater health among the poor (ibid.:433). In order to receive the cash transfers, the mothers of the households have to take their children to school and make sure they attend health checks. The mothers also have to attend meetings on health issues, and contribute their time to community work (ibid.:434). The conditions of the different CCT programmes around Latin America vary, however they generally focus on promoting education and health as a way to eradicate poverty.

**Purpose and research question**

The aim of this study is to identify gendered structures in the language of Latin American government officials describing the framework of different CCT programmes. The focus lies on official sources of five Latin American countries – Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Costa Rica and Ecuador - and identifying these structures within those sources. This is based on the idea that official authors of the CCT programmes play a crucial part in constructing how women are perceived within these programmes. They hold the power to create and sustain a discourse through the wording of official CCT documents. The research question of this paper is: *How are women constructed within the official frameworks of Latin American Conditional Cash Transfer programmes?*

**Previous research**

In the research field of development policy, a lot has been written about CCT programmes in Latin America. Different authors proclaim different stances on this much-debated form of social protection, and the debate goes on. In this section the aim is to provide a concise glance at what some of the authors involved in this debate have put forward.

Among international development agencies and the international financial institutions, there has been a shift of thinking concerning social security. Now, instead of focusing on social security, they focus on social protection, which includes trying to fight the material risks of poor households in developing countries and finding appropriate interventions to alleviate poverty. In this approach, household agency and human capital are central concepts which will help reduce poverty. This is in some ways the essence of the Latin American CCT programmes, for example Brazil's Bolsa Escola programme and Mexico's Oportunidades (Lloyd-Sherlock 2008:622-623). With this focus on human
capital, there has been criticism of CCT programmes since it is the children of poor families who are deemed to be the ones to build this human capital and not the adults of the families. The criticism is based on the fact that the programmes should focus on building human capital for adults as well, since this could have a more immediate effect on poverty, than the human capital of children which takes years to develop. Also, the programmes have ignored building productive capital, land or non-agricultural assets, for households which would have effects on poverty alleviation both in the short- and long-term. It is important to build this kind of capital both for children and adults in order to soften the blow when the cash transfers discontinue (Handa & Davis 2006:517f).

One of the benefits of the CCT programmes has been the concentrating on people who have previously been excluded from historical welfare systems (Sánchez-Ancochea & Mattei 2011:300). And if one is to discuss the possible costs of CCT programmes, then it could be fruitful to take into account the argument stating that the costs of the programmes are relatively small, when compared to the amounts of money that are being spent on the non-poor (Villanger 2008:247). However, there have been arguments made against CCT programmes, one of them being that social protection is a part of the Declaration of Human Rights and therefore there should be no such thing as conditions which have to be fulfilled in order to receive benefits. Not all poor can and/or want to meet the requirements, and this should not stand in the way for this part of the population to have access to benefits of these programmes (ibid.:227). Furthermore, when using conditionality for this kind of social protection, there is a risk that the most vulnerable groups may not be able to partake. For example, exclusion from the programme can become a reality, if the conditions become too difficult to fulfill. If in such a case, a person is not able to attend community meetings or make their way to a health clinic for programme purposes, then the people suffering from inability to fulfill these conditions will be excluded (ibid.:234).

Since word has spread around the world about the seemingly successful CCT programmes, there have been recommendations to implement this type of programme in other developing areas as well. The positive experiences of CCT programmes in Latin America have led to this promotion. However, some scholars suggest that it may be premature to start recommending this implementation, based on the fact that there simply is not enough knowledge yet concerning what has led to such positive results. In fact, in some cases it could be that poor people are being kept in poverty, since the benefits may not be encouraging work (ibid.:250). According to Arne Ruckert, with the spreading of development programmes based on conditionalities, a new trend has emerged
within development policy: regulation of the behaviour of the poor through micro-conditionalities (2009:57). The only way the poor will receive the cash transfers of the CCT programmes is if they:

"conform to 'responsible individual behaviour' that will help build their human capital"

(ibid.:69).

Although there has been this kind of criticism of the CCT programmes, there are those who argue that despite their shortcomings, the programmes have shown great versatility, thanks to them having been adapted in such different contexts around Latin America. The fact that they target a range of different groups among the poor population, such as newborns, mothers, children and the elderly people, and focus on both education and nutrition, has been subject of praise (Cuesta 2007:1017).

2. Theoretical framework

After having presented some general points about Latin American CCT programmes, I now turn to another perspective which must not be overlooked: The gender perspective on CCT programmes. The research presented above does present a interesting picture of the field of analyzing CCT programmes. However, since the CCT programmes are based on traditional gender roles it is of great importance to study this phenomena with a gender perspective. I will present the theoretical framework of this analysis which is based Molyneux's research, along with other research on the gendered implications of CCT programmes.

In her article ‘Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: Progresa/Oportunidades, Mexico’s Conditional Transfer Programme’, Maxine Molyneux analyzes the Mexican CCT programme called Oportunidades. As mentioned above, the programme expects the mothers to be the ones to fulfill the conditions of the programme. According to Molyneux, by setting up the programme in such a way, the authors of Oportunidades are connecting the cash subsidy with “good motherhood”, since families only receive the cash subsidy if the mothers of the families fulfill the conditions, and in turn act as “good mothers” should. In this way, this Mexican government programme bases its success on normative maternal responsibilities. Therefore, in order for poor families to receive the subsidy and to make sure that the children’s needs are taken care of (such as schooling), the mothers of these families have to fulfill the traditional “roles for women”. It is this
structure which the authors of this government programme then take for granted (2006:438).

There is another important aspect of CCT programmes which Molyneux points out about the Oportunidades programme: the lack of involvement of men in the area of childcare. As it is now, even when not taking the CCT programme into account, the fathers of these poor families are already not as involved in the area of childcare as the mothers. The design of the Oportunidades programme continues this norm by marginalizing men and re-traditionalizing gender roles (ibid.:440). Molyneux points out that the design of the programme lacks critical assessment of the gender roles represented within poor families. The authors of the programmes assume that the re-traditionalizing of gender roles is the right direction to take.

Molyneux is also describing how the actual practical design of the CCT programmes, how they are put into practice and the objectives of them, determine both the involvement of women and how they will be affected (ibid.:432). Since CCT programmes are run by the government, it is natural that it is the government authors that will define the design and practicalities of the programme. Although this is a type of programme that bases its success on the families participating in it, it is still a programme where the state decides its design. If it is the government that is the designer, then the government authors have the ability to determine the involvement of women in these programmes and how women will in turn be affected, as mentioned above. If one combines this power over the design of the CCT programme, with the seemingly inherent re-traditionalizing of gender roles, a new picture emerges. By assuming gendered structures as part of the design of the CCT programme, the whole programme becomes inherently gendered. This demonstrates the influence the CCT programmes can and do have on women’s lives.

As mentioned above, in her research concerning the Mexican CCT programme Oportunidades, Molyneux describes how the programme is based on the idea that the mothers within poor families are the ones who are to fulfill the conditions of the programme. She also mentions the marginalization of men in this process and how it re-traditionalizes gender roles by not involving men in fulfilling the child-centered conditions, while expecting the mothers alone to be responsible for this. Lastly, through the design of the programme the authors of Oportunidades have the power to influence the lives of the women participating in the CCT programme. These aspects which have been discussed, demonstrate how Molyneux’s theory focuses on gendered structures within CCT programmes. Since the theory of Molyneux has this focus, it would be fruitful to use her theory
while answering the research question of how women are constructed within official frameworks of Latin American CCT programmes.

**Other research on gendered CCT programmes**

Molyneux’s theory has been crucial to the debate on Latin American CCT programmes and their implications, and she has had a great influence on other scholars. In the following section I will present other arguments which have been presented in this debate concerning the gendered structures of Latin American CCT programmes.

In the Colombian CCT programme called Familias en Acción (Families in Action) gendered structures are sustained by providing the cash subsidy for poverty relief, to the ‘heads of the households’, meaning the mothers. According to Farah Quijano, Familias en Acción is an example of a CCT programme with contradictory statements concerning women. On the one hand, the authors of this programme want to liberate women from the confined space of the household with all the duties it entails, by letting them manage the cash benefits the programme provides. And on the other hand women are still kept in that precise role because of how they are assigned with the task of managing this cash benefit for the sake of their children’s health, nutrition and education (2009:402). The Nicaraguan CCT programme called Red de Protección Social (Net of Social Protection) is another programme which has been criticized for the way in which women of poor families participating in the programme, are expected to fulfill the conditions of the programme, in order to receive the cash benefit. This has important implications for poor Nicaraguan women, since the conditions they have to comply with, also have them risk losing their income. That is, fulfilling the conditions at hand can force women to work less in order to find the time to live up to the expectations of the programme. This shows how the authors of the programme assume that women, as mothers, will act in an altruist way by giving up their chance of gaining their own income, in order to secure the future of their children. By putting women in this situation, the RPS is reinforcing traditional ideas of appropriate female behaviour (Bradshaw & Quirós Viquez 2008:837-838).

According to Sarah Bradshaw the Oportunidades programme of Mexico is reinforcing this norm of altruism mentioned above, which exists for women in different CCT programmes. Another aspect that is taken for granted within Oportunidades, is the idea that men would not deal with the cash
benefits of the programme as well as women would. It is thereby assumed that men as a group habitually misuse income and that women will automatically act altruistically. Although the programme of Oportunidades presents a type of solution to this problem, it does not address the underlying issues of unequal power relations and gendered divisions of responsibility (2008:195). Bradshaw demonstrates:

“In order to circumvent the much harder task of changing men’s behaviour, and society’s view of this behaviour that allows it to be perpetuated, [the women] are the ones targeted with resources and contingent responsibilities for behavioural change”

(ibid.:201).

Odra Angélica Saucedo Delgado is another scholar who has put forward critique of the Mexican CCT programme Oportunidades. She argues that poor women participating in the Oportunidades programme face a triple burden with three areas that they have to manage and be responsible for - the responsibility of the household, income-generating work and the requirements and conditions of the CCT programme. Saucedo Delgado proposes that when designing initiatives of CCT programmes, government officials have to be aware of and take into consideration the specific household-gendered dynamics and promote cooperation within households, between family members. It is crucial that this cooperation also includes men and does not focus solely on women as responsible for the good of the household (2013:75). Maxine Molyneux and Marilyn Thomson point out that in for example the CCT programme in Peru, called Juntos (Together), and in the Bono Juana Azurduy (Bond Juana Azurduy) programme in Bolivia, the meetings that are held in order to inform and educate beneficiaries about issues such as health and family relations, are usually exclusively for women. For the most part, men are not actively invited to these meetings or encouraged to participate in them, which only serves to reinforce the traditional idea of the woman as the one responsible for the family and the household (2011:199-201). Saucedo Delgado states that the Oportunidades programme in itself with all that its conditionality entails, has an important effect on how women are constructed. This means that by forcing women to fulfill the conditions of the programme, the Mexican state sends the message that women are not worthy of seeing to and taking control over their material environment, meaning that they are unworthy of seeking employment on their own (2013:74).

Although the programmes have been designed in a child-centered way, which can be considered
positive, this means that women’s needs are not addressed when the focus lies on the welfare of the children. This is unfortunate since the children would benefit from their mothers' improved health and education and from men and women becoming more equal and living together on more equal terms. When the CCT programmes focus on women as caretakers, women are deprived of their chance to develop their own capacity and ability to fight poverty in a resilient manner. It would therefore be more beneficial both for children and adults, if women and men were not kept in these traditional gender roles (Molyneux & Thomson 2011:208-209). However, there are positive views of the future. According to Juliana Martínez Franzoni and Koen Voorend Latin America's new social policies are still filled with patriarchal maternalism. However, despite this negative trend, the CCT programmes they examined have the chance to reshape policy and challenge these norms. This can be achieved by redesigning the programmes concerning childcare and make sure men become involved in domestic labour, leading to cooperation between the genders (2012:400).

The purpose of this section has been to present previous research which complements Molyneux's research on the gendered practices of Latin American CCT programmes, and clarify how different scholars view this phenomenon. This section has only presented a part of the extensive amount of research that focuses on CCT programmes and the gendered structures they seem to sustain, while presenting suggestions on how to improve the situation for women who are currently being burdened by the conditional nature of these CCT programmes.

3. Methodological framework

The purpose of this section is to specify which methodological framework will be used for this analysis. I will present a general idea of what critical discourse analysis is and what different authors have described it as. Also there will be a description on why this method has been chosen and what it will be able to add to this research paper.

Critical Discourse Analysis

A qualitative analysis such as this one, offers the opportunity to reach conclusions in such social matters that need analytical flexibility. In order to answer the research question at hand - how are women constructed within the official frameworks of Latin American CCT programmes? - critical
discourse analysis has been chosen as the methodological framework. This research method allows a researcher to study trends in language. Since the aim of this research paper is to identify patterns in the language of official documents - patterns which represent gendered structures - it is appropriate to use this method.

Critical Discourse Analysis - which will be referred to as CDA from now on - is a method for analyzing unequal power relations in society. This analysis is made possible by looking at what role discourse, through text production and consumption, has in the maintaining of the social relations which continue these unequal power relations. It is this analysis which makes CDA critical, in the sense that it is a method that strives to encourage social change. The objective is to contribute to the process of establishing more equal power relations in the processes of communication in society (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000:67-69). A critical discourse analyst is interested in the properties of text which play a part in modes of reproduction of dominance. Dominance, in this case, is the exercise of social power which leads to social inequality, by groups such as institutions and elites. Reproducing this kind of dominance can involve different modes, such as support or enactment of dominance, and these modes can consist of, for example, properties of text (van Dijk 1993:249f). Having social power involves controlling and influencing the minds of others in order to serve one’s own interests. In order to do this, discourse is a useful tool, meaning using text and talk in order to manage the minds of others. One can use subtle forms of text and talk in order to reproduce this kind of dominance, which leads to a discourse that seems ‘natural’. CDA should focus on how relations of inequality are 'naturalized' through discursive strategies (ibid.:254).

In their article, Chinwe R. Ezeifeaka and Nneka N. Osakwe analyze gender representations in the Nigerian constitution of 1999. While doing so, they use CDA as their method of choice. Even though they have a different focus than this research paper, their analysis of language is an inspiration for further CDA since they analyze how certain language takes for granted gendered stances such as assuming that some positions are not suitable for women (2013:689). The authors display their aim, which is to point at and further change the dominant discourse in the setting of the Nigerian constitution. According to the authors, this is an important aim since dominant discourses have the ability to naturalize and legitimize dominant ideological stances (ibid.:688) This analysis works as a guide for the analysis of this research paper since in this paper, the goal is to find representations of gendered structures and locating language taking for granted stances on roles depending on gender.
In an article by Michelle M. Lazar discusses representation which forms a discourse. She discusses modes of representation, that is, textual ways of achieving representations - to see who is represented and in what (textual) way (2000:374). In her study, Lazar uses, in order to analyze the gendered discourse of Singaporean family ads, sets of representations. These representations convey a certain discourse of gender relations. She uses representations of gender identities that will lead her to conclusions on the discourse at hand. In her case, Lazar looks to find these representations of gender identities in ads and text. Furthermore, when conducting her analysis, Lazar uses three types of representation in order to identify a certain discourse. Lazar also looks at lexical choices in her material, what words are used, which also serves as an inspiration for this thesis (ibid.:378f). In my case, this method can be used in order to find representations of gendered structures in the material at hand. The example of Lazar shows how one can use CDA in order to make evident a certain gendered discourse, found in textual or visual material. In practice, this means identifying representations of gendered structures within the official sources of Latin American CCT programmes. Lazar describes how analyzing representations of unequal gender relations connects to CDA, since the politics of representation is an issue of power. According to her, men and women have unequal access to ways of being and this is an issue of power, since this gap benefits one group at the expense of the other (ibid.:395). In sum, Lazar shows how CDA is useful when analyzing how a dominant group can influence gendered identities. Although it is not exactly the same analysis, the similarities in aim and goal show that this research paper can benefit from using CDA as well. After all, it is a method that shines a light on unequal power structures through textual analysis. If a state is discoursally maintaining unequal gendered structures, for whatever purpose, then CDA can facilitate a critical perspective on this issue (ibid.:397).

According to van Dijk, when conducting CDA, the analysis cannot be ‘neutral’. Although the researcher focuses on the exercise of dominance in a certain setting, and the textual properties of it, the point of the analysis is not to provide a ‘neutral’ description, but to take a stance on behalf of the social group being dominated by another group or elite (1993:270). It is important to note that the aim of CDA is not to paint a picture a dominant group as the villains. The aim is not to present a picture of who is bad and who is good. Rather, the aim is to direct attention at the access which dominant groups can have to public discourse. This access means having the ability and power to manage the public mind through discourse. Therefore, whichever group is the dominant one, is the one which should be analyzed when using a CDA perspective (ibid.:280).
One of the most prominent figures within CDA is Norman Fairclough. In his work, he has put forward two concepts called the discursive practice and the social practice. When finalizing a CDA analysis, the researcher is able to reach conclusions concerning whether the discursive practice at hand - text being produced and consumed - changes or reproduces the social practice - which can be described as the “greater” discourse in society. The researcher can discuss whether the discursive practice makes for social change or if it continues a status quo. The researcher strives to reach these kinds of conclusions as to what the ideological, political and social consequences of the discursive practice are. When doing this, the research project becomes critical. It is no longer simply a discourse analysis, but it is a critical one since it tries to identify the social consequences of the discourse. As mentioned above, it is the unequal power relations that are supposed to be at the centre of attention. When conducting this kind of analysis the aim is to comment on whether the discursive practice reinforces or challenges these unequal power relations in society (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000:90). The analytical pattern described above is an integral part of the field of CDA. The aim of Fairclough’s CDA is to inspire researchers to use the results of studies in a progressive way and make people in general aware of how discourse can reinforce unequal power relations, as a form of social practice (ibid.:92).

**Analytical framework**

I would argue that it is possible to analyze the issue of how women are constructed within Latin American CCT programmes through CDA, since after having scanned the different CCT programmes around Latin America, I have found material which can be used for an analysis. I argue that this analysis is possible and this matter is observable, since the material - government descriptions of their CCT programmes - contains normative statements concerning the participation of women of the households benefitting from the CCT programmes. These representations of gendered structures are what will be analyzed by using CDA in this research paper. By looking for gendered structures within the material, it will be possible to see whether these representations represent the discursive practice of the authors behind Latin American CCT programmes - meaning the words and statements put forward through the official documents. By analyzing these representations, one can draw conclusions as to the social practice (the “greater discourse”). This description shows how CDA is a useful method for this research paper.

Therefore, this CDA analysis will demand that I, when studying the material, do not use any strict
categories that could limit the discovery of these gendered structures. Instead there will be a set of questions to facilitate the reading of the material. These questions are not set in stone, but they have been put together in order to simplify the search for patterns of gendered structures within documents stemming from Latin American governments: Are there representations of a normative gendered view? Is the statement indirectly re-traditionalizing gender roles? Does the quote include an explanation why the CCT programme is targeting women and not men? Are women automatically assumed as responsible for the implementation of the CCT programmes? Are there gender-related words that appear when reading the quote, such as: mother, caretaker, head of household, responsibility, peacefulness? If there are, in what context do these specific words appear?

All of these questions relate to the research question “how are women constructed within Latin American CCT programmes?”. Also, there might not be answers to every single question in every fragment, however by having several questions at hand there is a better chance of reaching answers to the research question. In the results section, I will argue why each particular statement shows signs of gendered structures.

One could argue that CDA is a subjective form of method. However, since these social issues are more complex than issues that can be easily categorized and labeled, they need a more flexible way of analysis, which indeed leads to more subjective points. I will be presenting the statements which have been analyzed and argue for the comments made. The area of discourse analysis contains subjectiveness, but that should not be an obstacle towards reaching conclusions concerning social phenomena.

**Material section**

Since the aim of the study is to discover patterns of gendered structures within government material, I have focused on finding original state sources. There is a lot of material about Latin American CCT programmes both from government sources and from organizations and NGO's. The focus here has been on the former, trying to stay as close as possible to the aim of studying what Latin American governments are actually saying about their programmes to alleviate poverty. This links back to the theory of Molyneux concerning the power official authors of CCT programmes have when setting the tone for how the programmes will be shaped. The natural thing in this case, when
using Molyneux’s theory, would be to go to sources of the authors which I want to analyze. It serves the purposes of this study to find and analyze material from the very authors who write the frameworks for the CCT programmes, rather than to find material written about what the authors of the CCT programmes are saying.

Furthermore, going this direction and finding official material also serves the methodological framework of CDA. As described in the methodological section, the aim of CDA is to analyze power relations within language. This material consisting of statements written by Latin American governments on the websites of the different CCT programmes, is a clear example of language with a great amount of power. It makes sense when studying the power structures behind government programmes to turn to as original sources as possible. It is the words of the government officials that have the power to set the discourse concerning the CCT programmes, which can have an immense effect on people's lives.

More specifically, the material I am using is what I have found when scanning the websites of various Latin American CCT programmes. There is at least one CCT programme in every country in this region, which means that there is a lot of information on government websites about them. However, the material that has been chosen in the end, is the material which I concluded could be used in order to study gendered structures. I have chosen fragments from government websites which concern the implementation and actors of various CCT programmes in a number of countries. In this analysis, focus lies on Colombia, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Peru and Ecuador.

As a way to make sure that the material used really is authentic, I have focused on first of all official websites of Latin American governments, and also the specific websites of each CCT programme. When conducting an analysis about Latin American government documents it is a great advantage to be able to study the material in the original language. Since I speak Spanish I have been able to study the original material from governments and this has facilitated an analysis of the nuances of the language, which may otherwise be lost if one studies translated material.

4. Results and analysis

The purpose of this section is to present the results of the analysis of this research paper. As mentioned in the methodological section the analysis is conducted through using CDA. Below, the
results of the use of CDA will be described and presented. When describing what other scholars have done through CDA, it was written that one can look for representations of a discourse within one's material. The representations of gendered structures, which are the focus of this research paper, will be presented through three distinct themes that have been recurring within the fragments and statements in the textual material from Latin American CCT programmes. These themes will include a description each and examples of quotes that form a part of the particular theme. I have translated the quotes on my own and these translations are included.

**Theme A**

*Women constructed as responsible for the fulfillment of the conditions of the programmes.*

The characteristic of this theme is that in many fragments there is a clear stance on which group is perceived as the one responsible for fulfilling the conditions of the CCT programmes – the women of the poor families. These fragments contain explicit sentences portraying the view of the official authors behind the programmes, a view that when it comes to the list of conditions that have to be fulfilled – such as taking children to school and attending community meetings – it is first and foremost the women who are left with this responsibility. Women are expected to take the time and fulfill the conditions at hand, which leads to a form of gendered participation, and men are not included in this equation. The official authors assume that women are to complete the tasks set up by the CCT programmes and there is no room left for choice in the matter. It is not up to the women to decide whether or not they want to partake in the fulfillment of the conditions, they are expected to assist as women and as mothers. Below are some examples of this theme:

**Bolivia**

An official document from the Bolivian government describing the implementation of the CCT programme Bono Juana Azurduy:

"Los pagos referidos a los controles bimestrales integrales de salud de los niños y niñas, podrán ser entregados a la madre..."

"The payments designated for the bimonthly and completed health controls of boys and girls, will be handed to the mother..."
By referring to the completed health controls while mentioning that the transfers will be handed to
the mother of the family, this sends the message from the Bolivian government that the mothers are
in some way connected to the controls being completed. One could presume that this statement only
concerns who will be handling the cash transfer. However, since this is a subsidy based on
conditions, a picture emerges of the mother being the one who should make sure that the controls
are completed in order to receive this benefit.

Colombia
Information about the CCT programme Familias en Acción from the Colombian Department for
Social Prosperity:

"Para lograr esto, las madres titulares y sus familias participan en los espacios de
bienestar comunitario los cuales son: Asamblea municipal de Más Familias en Acción:
Asisten todas las madres titulares del municipio..."

"To achieve this, the responsible mothers and their families participate in the community
welfare meetings which are: Municipal assembly of More Families in Action: All the
responsible mothers of the municipality assist...”

(Departamento para la Prosperidad Social de Colombia 2015, B)

This is an example of the Colombian government assuming women to be responsible for the
implementation of the programme. In this case it is the community meetings which the mothers of
the families have to attend as part of the conditions of the programme. This statement does mention
"mothers and their families", however it is clear that the mothers are prioritized when it comes to
participation in these community meetings. The fact that it states that all mothers of the
municipality will assist shows that this is something that the government of Colombia takes for
granted that the women will do.

Colombia
Information about the CCT programme Familias en Acción from the Colombian Department for
Social Prosperity:
"Madre titular: Responsable de cumplir los compromisos para la entrega de incentivos."

"Responsible mother: Responsible for the fulfilling of the conditions for the transfer of the payments."

(Departamento para la Prosperidad Social de Colombia 2015:88-89, C)

This statement encapsulates theme A by stating clearly that it is the mother who is responsible for fulfilling the conditions of the programme. It shows in quite an obvious way that this perspective on mothers' responsibilities concerning the programme Familias en Acción exists within the Colombian government.

Peru

Information about the vision and mission of the Peruvian CCT programme called Juntos from the Peruvian Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion:

"...incentivos monetarios condicionados al cumplimiento de compromisos que asumen las madres representantes de los hogares..."

"...conditioned monetary incentives upon the fulfillment of conditions which are undertaken by the representing mothers of the households..."

(MIDIS 2015)

As in the Colombian example above, the Peruvian government in this case displays its view on mothers as the group responsible for fulfilling the conditions of this Peruvian CCT programme. It is interesting to see that this view is so clearly stated in this fragment as well, and it is an example of another Latin American government deciding, through their official statements, which group is responsible for fulfilling the conditions of a CCT programme.
Theme B

Constructing women as responsible for cash transfers without an explanation why.

Government authors have described women as the receivers of the cash transfers in a way which lacks arguments why specifically women are the ones to receive the payments. The statements include a lot of comments about responsibility and at the same time, that monetary responsibility is ascribed to the mothers of the poor families. This is clearly a gendered responsibility as it is the mother who has to decide what to do with the money, and therefore how it will affect her children. There is hardly any mentioning of the man or the father of the family in these statements, which clearly suggests that it is the mothers who are considered solely responsible. This theme includes no explanation why there is this focus on the mothers, which gives us an idea of how this is something taken for granted, that having the women as responsible for the payments is something natural. This is a massive responsibility for some women, and since most CCT programmes are child-centered it shows the government authors' views of women as the primary caretakers of children.

Colombia

Information about the CCT programme Familias en Acción from the Colombian Department for Social Prosperity:

"...la madre titular debe decidir cuáles de sus hijos recibirán el incentivo."

"...the responsible mother has to decide which of her children will receive the benefit."

(Departamento para la Prosperidad Social de Colombia 2015, B)

Here is an example of the government of Colombia ascribing the responsibility of handling the cash transfer to the mother of the family. Not only is it stated that the mother is the receiver of this benefit, but she is also given the responsibility of deciding how to handle the benefit in relation to her children. There is no explanatory statement why the government is presenting this allocation of responsibilities. It is also evident that by not providing an explanation why it is the mother who should be responsible for the cash transfer, the Colombian government is signalling that this allocation of responsibilities is not a subject which has to be discussed.
Costa Rica
Information from the Costa Rican Mixed Institute for Social Aid (IMAS) about the CCT programme called Avancemos (We Advance):

"El beneficio lo recibira la madre o el encargado del o la estudiante...”

"The mother or the one in charge of the student will receive the benefit...”

(IMAS 2015)

This statement from the Costa Rican government is another example of how the allocation of responsibility of the cash transfer is not discussed. It is written in a matter of fact kind of way, where there is no explanation why it is the mother who is to handle the benefit.

Colombia
Manual for the CCT programme Familias en Acción from the Department for Social Prosperity of Colombia:

"El programa prioriza la inscripción de la madre como titular de la familia para el programa, para recibir los incentivos.”

"The programme prioritates the inscription of the mother as the responsible of the family for the programme, in order to receive the incentives.”

(Departamento para la Prosperidad Social de Colombia 2015, C)

Here we see yet another example of how the mother is written as the one responsible for the benefit, without any direct explanation. In order for the whole family to receive the benefit, the mother has to fulfill her role as the one to receive the cash transfer. It is also clear that it is the authors of the programme who decide which group is to be prioritized. This is not something which is left to the mother or the family to decide, it is decided by the government who is responsible. This leads to the gendered allocation of responsibility which is represented in theme B.
Ecuador
Information from the Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion of Ecuador about the CCT programme Bono de Desarrollo Humano:

”...lo reciben los representantes de los núcleos familiares (de preferencia a la mujer que consta como jefe de núcleo...)”

”...the representatives of the families will receive it (preferably the woman who serves as the head of the household...)”

(Ministerio de Inclusión Económica y Social 2015)

In this statement, the government of Ecuador decides, through its language, that it is the woman of the family who is to be considered the head of the household and therefore the one to receive the benefit on behalf of the family. It is assumed to be preferable to give the benefit to the woman, but there is no explanation why this is preferable.

Colombia
Manual for the CCT programme Familias en Acción from the Department for Social Prosperity of Colombia:

”...el papel activo que desempeña la mujer en el programa como receptora de las transferencias.”

”...the active role the woman takes in the programme as the receiver of the transfers.”

(Departamento para la Prosperidad Social de Colombia 2015, B)

Here as well, women are being assumed to be the ones to take responsibility for the transfers. Furthermore, the way the authors of the programme say that the woman takes an "active role", is yet another example of how the responsibility for the handling of the cash transfers are ascribed onto and for women without critically examining why.
Theme C

Constructing women as responsible for cash transfers with an explanation why.

This theme has surfaced as an example of how sometimes government authors want to point out how giving the responsibility of the cash transfers to the women, should be seen as a way to strive towards empowerment for women. As such, empowerment is a good thing indeed which can help women gain their own status as human beings. However, in these statements, the empowerment that the government authors seem to be aiming for, is still a family-oriented one. The empowerment they are seeking for women is one which will raise women's status within the family, not necessarily on their own as women. Although it could be considered a good thing that in this theme of statements there are explanations why women are targeted as the receivers of the cash transfers, these explanations are still problematic. The authors want to provide an explanation, but they still end up putting women into traditional roles as caretakers of the household. The fact that there are very few examples of this theme, is also a sign that explaining why women are to be taken for granted as receivers of the benefits has not been a priority.

Colombia

Official document from the Department of Social Prosperity of Colombia about Familias en Acción:

"El programa privilegiará el pago de los subsidios a las mujeres del hogar, como una medida de discriminación positiva y de empoderamiento del rol de la mujer al interior de la familia."

"The programme will hand the payment of the subsidies to the women of the household, as a measure for positive discrimination and for the empowerment of the role of the woman within the family."

(Departamento para la Prosperidad Social de Colombia 2015, A)

This statement from the Colombian government does contain an explanation why the women of the household will receive the subsidies. It could be considered a good thing that the focus here lies on positive discrimination of the women, but what does this actually entail? Could this be considered an example of the Colombian government trying to make it sound as if this is something which will
be beneficial for the women, while hiding the uneven allocation of responsibility? It seems to be a way for the authors behind this CCT programme to portray themselves as having a gender perspective. Also, the fact that there is the emphasis on empowering the role of the woman within the family is interesting since it still links the woman to the space of the family. While aiming at empowerment for women, the authors of the programme are putting women into traditional gender roles by speaking of a family-oriented empowerment for women.

Ecuador
An official evaluation of Bono de Desarrollo Humano from the Ministry of Coordination for Social Development:

"Un aspecto relevante es que el BDH, al ser entregado prioritariamente a la madre (aproximadamente el 99% de hogares), presenta un enfoque de género. La madre generalmente tiene la responsabilidad de las decisiones de compra y preparación de los alimentos, del cuidado de la salud de las y los menores, así como la de vigilancia de la asistencia de las y los menores a la escuela."

"A relevant aspect is that the Benefit of Human Development, when being payed preferentially to the mother (approximately in 99% of households), present a gender perspective. The mother generally has the responsibility over decisions concerning the purchase and preparation of foods, the healthcare of minors, as well as the supervision over assisting the minors to school."

(Ministerio de Coordinación de Desarrollo Social 2015)

Here we have an example of a statement where the authors of the CCT programme express having a gender perspective, by explaining why the cash transfer is being payed preferentially to the mother of the household. However, while trying to use a gender perspective, the authors fall short of this since they assume that women have and will always have a certain role within the family – the role of caretaker and the one responsible for the children. This is a clear example of a government re-traditionalizing gender roles in the context of the CCT programme. There is an explanation why women are the ones to receive the benefit, however the explanation makes it clear that in the eyes of the authors of the CCT programmes, women are to stay in their role as primary caretakers. Without critically examining why men and women have these different roles within the household, there is
no real gender perspective.

5. Discussion

After having conducted the analysis it has become evident that the results found can be connected back to the theory of Molyneux. Throughout the statements from Latin American governments there is a tendency to put women into traditional roles of what women should do as mothers in relation to the CCT programmes. One of the aspects of this re-traditionalizing of gender roles is shown particularly in theme A in the results section. It is the way the Latin American governments make it clear that it is the women who are to fulfill the conditions of the CCT programmes. This is one of the things which is brought up by Molyneux, whose theory serves as the theoretical framework of this study, as mentioned in the theoretical section. It is possible to make a connection between her theory of authors of Latin American CCT programmes associating ”good motherhood” with the fulfillment of the conditions, and the way the statements within theme A show that it is precisely the mothers who are responsible for fulfilling these conditions.

Another aspect of the results of this study which can be connected to Molyneux's theory, is the absence of men in the statements from the authors of the CCT programmes. Molyneux points to how men are marginalized by the CCT programmes while the bulk of the responsibilities is placed on the women, and how this continues the re-traditionalizing of gender roles. This same lack of men involved is evident from the results of this study. Throughout the three themes found in the material, there is hardly any mentioning of men as involved actors. The authors of the CCT programmes are focusing almost entirely on women, while presenting a picture where men are not included. Apparently, the men of the households do not fit the mould when it comes to being responsible for fulfilling the conditions of the programme, handling the cash transfers or upholding the programmes.

The statements presented in the results section are all fragments taken from official documents presenting the practical implementation, guidelines for which direction to take or the general goals of the different CCT programmes around Latin America. These statements are therefore examples of the design of the programmes and how the different governments have decided to shape the programmes. This is another aspect which can be connected to Molyneux's theory. She describes how the Latin American governments have an influence on women's lives since they have the
power to decide on the design of the programmes. This influence is formed when the governments re-traditionalize gender roles through the design of the CCT programmes. In sum, the statements in the results section show how the different governments have this power over the design of the programmes, and over the lives of the women who are targeted through the CCT programmes.

While discussing the subject of power, it is important to look at what the use of CDA has shown. As mentioned in the methodological section, CDA focuses on analyzing how unequal power relations are sustained through text and language. It is by reproducing dominance through these kinds of textual elements that a discourse can become "naturalized" in society. In this study the aim has been to study the textual material behind Latin American CCT programmes and through this analysis, see if there are representations of gendered structures within the language of the different governments. As I have shown through the presentation of the three themes in the results section, these representations of gendered structures are present. Since the authors of the CCT programmes have this kind of access to public discourse it is clear that they have the power to set this gendered discourse in the context of the CCT programmes. The different governments present women as the responsible ones for the fulfillment of the conditions and the handling of the cash transfers, and by constructing women in this way, the authors of the CCT programmes define the discourse on CCT programmes. Since they hold the power over how the programmes implementation is described - through the assumed participation of women – they also have the ability to shape the discourse through their texts. When looking at this discursive practice – the text being produced by the Latin American governments – it is evident that it continues the status quo of dominance in re-traditionalizing gender roles through their setting of a gendered discourse.

This continuing of the status quo can have important social implications for the lives of women and men who are benefitting from the CCT programmes in Latin America. The women are being burdened by the amount of responsibilities that is being placed on them by the authors of the programmes. And the men, in turn, are being marginalized when they are not taken into account in the designing of the CCT programmes. This re-traditionalizing of gender roles can have severe consequences for the lives of people who could instead benefit from being less affected by traditional gender roles and stereotypes.
6. Conclusion

There is a widespread positive attitude towards the Latin American CCT programmes. This attitude can in itself be a good thing, however it is important not to let a positive attitude towards the CCT programmes lead to us ignoring the parts of the programmes that could be improved. Many are not yet aware of or choose not to acknowledge the gendered structures that inform the CCT programmes in Latin America. But in order to be able to improve these programmes and work towards de-traditionalizing gender roles, one has to have an understanding of the issue. The aim of this study has been to add, if only in a small way, to this understanding. With this analysis I have presented how women are constructed within the frameworks for different Latin American CCT programmes. By using a number of countries I have been able to use Molyneux's theory and test her theory on more than one country. At the same time, I have only focused on a few countries and the analysis has served to present a piece of the puzzle that is Latin American CCT programmes. My recommendation for further research would be to focus on several countries or one at a time, and try to analyze the setting of a gendered discourse on a broader level. For example, one could analyze a larger amount of documents and try to find patterns there or study how Latin American governments are setting this gendered discourse through other media, such as photos, videos or interviews. Either way, this is a subject which I hope will continue to be taken into account in the development field. As mentioned above, if these CCT programmes are to change for the better, then there has to be an understanding of their gendered implications. Only after such a picture has been presented, can the CCT programmes in Latin America be judged for what they really are.
7. References


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