

Statsvetenskaplig institutionen
Stockholms Universitet
Påbyggnadskursen, VT-2005
C-uppsats, 10 poäng
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Giving voice to the voiceless

A field study from India about capacity building
towards women in Panchayats as an instrument for empowerment

Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate how capacity building strategies given by NGOs in India can help elected female Panchayat members and how it can effect women's political empowerment. The study focuses on the research questions; first - what barriers that make it hard for women to enter politics, second - what role can support from NGOs and capacity building activities play in breaking the barriers that makes it hard for women to enter politics? An empirical research study has been conducted on capacity building programmes in India during the period of November-Mars 2004/2005.

According to my findings it is found that there are more female participants in Panchayats and that the awareness has increased as a result of this programmes. Some NGO has served as agencies, which in an effective manner has strengthened the women's role in politics and also provide educational and organizational support, which would not have been available in its absence.

The presence of women in the panchayats structure is an indication of the collaboration that is desired of them in the development of the country. Women's presence in Panchayat bodies open a way for them to make their voice heard and thus bring to the fore the rich content of feminine thought and action in the development of a people.

There is also reason to believe this helps women to be more equal in every day's life in India and helps them break the barriers that stop them from being equal by there presence in politics.

Further empirical research is important and it is also important that NGOs in India start to co-operate; it is also important for them to make evaluations and support the women during their whole time as panchayat members - only then will the support they give really helps.

It is argued that education is one of the best long-term strategies to create the preconditions for participation, but that an active agency is needed to initiate and support long-term processes of increased popular participation in those societies where it is weak.

This research was supervised by Professor Drude Dahlerup, Department of Political Science, Stockholm University.

Keywords: Capacity building, quotas, reserved seats, education, empowerment, Panchayats, India, women.

Acknowledgements

Many people have contribute a great deal for this thesis to be completed, too many to be mentioned here but I am very grateful to all people who made this study possible. Fist I must acknowledge Lineaus-Palme and the Department of political science at Stockholm University, which made my field study in India possible by granting me a scholarship.

My supervisor Professor Drude Dahlerup, that during the process of writing this thesis has helped me with valuable comments on my work.

Henrik Berglund for being so helpful before and during my stay in India and sharing his knowledge about India.

Everyone at Centre of women's studies and development, Benares Hindu University (BHU) especially PhD Candidate Preeti Singh. Also Professor Jha at department of Political Science, BHU who kindly invited me to India.

All the people at the NGOs for letting me take part of their work, knowledge and helped me make this field study possible. My interpreter Shruti Smith, without her I would not have been able to conduct interviews in the rural areas and for the company; all those hours we spend on the trains going to the villages. All the women whom I interviewed, it has been an unforgettable experience to be welcomed in their villages and shared the spontaneity of the rural atmosphere. And for talking to me about things they never talk about before – sharing their thoughts. I am so impressed by all their work, effort and struggle.

Thanks to Miriam, Ann and Lanie for taking time to read my thesis and giving remarks on the language.

Finally and above all my family for always standing behind me and all the time being so supportive.

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Glossary and definitions

Capacity building – for the researcher it is about giving women self-confidence. It could also be called self-confident building. Capacity building is the education NGOs offer women so that they will be aware about their own capacity in politics, on the work market etc. Giving women the capacity to know what to do when they take place in politics, what their rights are, so they can act out these rights. Without women's development our development will be for seen. It includes development skills for women, preparing them for their new roles, legal reforms, administrative structures and mechanism that will work to change the crippling bureaucratic attitudes. Giving women knowledge and awareness about their rights is the key issue.

NGO (Non governmental organization) - The term NGO is applied to a wide range of organizations, which are not established or operated by government. NGOs are usually private, non-profit organizations, which are run by their members.

Panchayat – village council. “It presupposes democratic decentralisation to the district level and below, which are recognised as “institutions of self government”. In short terms local governance. Panchayat Institutions: There are democratic bodies at the district level and below. They have been given Constitutional statues under 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Indian Constitution” (Venkatesan, 2002)

Proxy women – “is a shorthand term used by some who perceive that women elected to panchayat bodies are merely “proxies” or “puppets” in the hands of their husbands, relatives or other male panchayat members” (John, 2003:9). The women are forced by their families to run election as candidates. In this way the families don't lose power and the seat stays in the family (PRIA, 1999). “The term can be defined as those who are never given any space in the decision-making process by their male family” (Mohanty and Mahajan 2004:15).

Quotas – reserved seats are a system that guarantees women a certain number of seats in the local government independent of the electoral result (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2003:9). In India seats are reserved for women by law, the country has a quota system with reserved seats with direct elections which means that there are certain seats for women to whom only women are allowed to contest (Frankl, 2004:20). The quotas system has been used in India in different forms for a couple of years; in politics on local level for women and people from certain castes and tribes when the representative on village-, block- and district level is appointed. Quota has also been used in the school system, to help people from lower caste to get into university (Keay, 1999:122-130).

1. Introduction

1.1 Giving voice to the voiceless

At the end of 1992, the Indian Parliament passed Amendment Acts 73 and 74 to the Constitution, which provided for a new quota system. The intent was to reserve 1/3 of the seats for women, with direct elections in the village council, Gram Panchayats¹ (Rai, 1999:84-99). India has a patriarchal culture and social structure; defined by the idea that a woman's place is at home as mother and housewife. The thought of women as politicians is perceived as completely unfit in a patriarchal philosophy. It is not uncommon for men to tell their woman how to vote (Shvedova, 1998:33). Indian politicians agreed on the need for reservation for women in the local bodies to ensure the interests of rural and poor women. Quotas were introduced to give women the opportunity to make their voices heard and overcome this structural barrier (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:26-48).

When women become active in politics they gain influence over political decision making, which enables them to represent their interests and India's common interests on a much more influential scale than they could ever achieve by simply voting in elections. It allows them to introduce their concerns into political debate, which would not be considered as necessary in a discussion by all male groups of politicians. It allows them to make their voice heard. There has been a widespread belief that women are not willing to enter politics. However, reviewing the history and dynamics of the political evolution shows that women were not properly introduced and prepared for the new opportunities they were recently provided. Prior to the introduction of the quotas system and capacity building programs, female opinions were neglected (Kumari, 2000:48). While studying the status of women in the Panchayat system, I discovered that many women are uneducated and don't know the political procedures, rules or their rights. In addition, male members of the Panchayat discriminate their female Panchayat members. Such underlying discouragement works toward an unsuccessful attempt to introduce women into politics, even if women are being forced to enter politics by their family members. To counter these problems women need, in my opinion, to be educated about the importance of their role and influence in politics, how the system works and which rules are prevailing. NGOs provide women with a foundation of the crucial knowledge through education in capacity building programs.

I also discovered that women's participation is merely symbolic even though there are 33% seats reserved for them. There are many cases where female Panchayat and Pradhan

¹ From now on referring to only as Panchayat(s).

(village head) members act as proxies because their responsibilities have been taken away by the male member of the family. Even if women are represented in all the committees in the Panchayats, such as administrative, planning, health and education committees, in most cases women members have no knowledge about their role and responsibilities. In several cases women are not called for the meetings except when their signature or thumb impressions are necessary to fulfill official quorums.

In theory, the Amendments demand that there should be 1/3 women in the Panchayats (see Appendix I for state by state statistics). In reality, this ideal is not being met. Total in all states, there are only 31.37% seats filled by women, compared to 33.3% which represents the goal set. The number of women chairpersons is significantly higher with 40.1%. However, while these are the numbers shown on paper, it may not represent the actual attendance of women.

Table 1. Women’s participation in Panchayat Raj (2000):

Panchayat bodies	Member %	Chairpersons %
Village level	31,37	40,10
Intermediate level	29,71	33,75
District level	31,80	32,28
Total	31,1	35,38

Statistic from *Women in governance*, National Commission for Women, Delhi 2004, p 52.

1.2 Statement of purpose and research questions

This paper is an empirical study with the aim to investigate the potential of capacity building work of NGOs in empowering women in the rural areas in India.

The following two research questions that will be underlying this study are (a) what are the barriers that hinder women to enter politics? and (b) how can these barriers be broken with support from NGOs and capacity building programs? As a political science student I’m also interested in the contribution that women can make in the important task of nation building, a subject of women’s development that has been of great interest to the researcher. I also took into consideration the socio-economic background of the women.

1.3 Previous empirical research

When starting to write this thesis and searching for material I realized there is very limited research on women representation in South Asia available from a non-western perspective. Among the available sources, a few studies have been done to examine the outcome of

reserved seats for women in the Panchayats. Several of the NGOs that offer capacity building to women in India have made studies about the subject and evaluations of their own. Some of the big NGOs, for example PRIA, CSR and SEARCH² - have research centers and development studies for women. The research shows that several women don't attend the meetings themselves; instead they let their husbands attend and make the decisions. Those women who received education by NGOs desire even more training. Previous research done by the NGOs also shows that most of the capacity programs were only for women. In the last years many Indian academics discussed women in local politics, Panchayats and quotas from many different perspectives; among them Shirin M. Rai in *Political Representation, Democratic Institutions and Women's Empowerment: The Quota Debate in India*, Pam Rajput in *Women and Electoral Politics in India*, Mary, E. John in *A decade of women's empowerment through local government in India* and Vasanthi Raman in *The implementation of quotas for women: The Indian experience*. Some of the gender institutes and research institutes in India have also done research about reserved seats for women in Panchayats, to name the following; Bidyat Mohanty, Grirish Kumer, Ranjana Kumari, S. V. Sharan have done several studies sponsored by the Institute of social science. There are few empirical studies that are which have not done by an NGO on that subject. It is therefore in my interest to find out whether NGOs' research on their role as supporters and the importance of capacity building is underlying objective analysis and shows the true picture.

1.4 Selections and Limitations

Several limitations had to be made to fulfill the purpose of this study, depending on the time and resources available for the research. The study is limited to Panchayats on the village level in rural areas in India (the states Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, see Appendix 2 for a map) and is based on qualitative data from interviews with a small number of women from rural areas who have been in capacity building programs, key-persons (Indian academics that helped me get in touch with NGOs and people that could be of interest to the study) and NGOs. Uttar Pradesh was chosen because it is the largest state in India and one of the states that have the lowest participation of women in Panchayats. The choice was also influenced by my contact with Benares Hindu University in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. Rajasthan was chosen because I learned upon my arrival in India that this state is known for its strong women's movement and I wanted to see if these have had an effect on women's participation in

² For more information about these NGOs see Appendix III.

Panchayats. Both of the states have a wide representation of poor rural segments of the population and the population is quite diverse with a mix of caste, class and religion.

I could have paid more attention to western factors, transnational actors, but because my empirical data comes from the field of the locality I excluded western context from the study. I analyzed the capacity building programs from a gender perspective, while considering the socio-economic background of the participants.

2. Theoretical Framework

Feminist writings about barriers for women in politics, development and empowerment will be used as the theoretical framework for this thesis. There is a complex relationship between the western and third world theories about barriers for women in politics. To illustrate the difference, I will present both theories separately.

2.1 Western theory about barriers for women in politics

The political system is of great importance when one wants to explain why there are very few women among the politicians. Systematic factors include the legal system, electoral- and party system and structures of opportunities (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995:183). The number of parties, their ideologies and how the nomination is done are also of importance according to many researchers (Goetz 2003:39, Norris 2004). How much say do the women have in the party, how strong their engagement is and how much back up by the party the women get are key-questions that must be considered. Resources and motivation of candidates, as well as the attitude of gatekeepers will certainly affect the outcome (Wendt & Åse 1999:50-51, Norris & Lovenduski, 1995:183,198-205). Majority systems are often not seen as a women-friendly electoral system because it creates incentives to front a candidate that appeals to the majority, and this candidate will most likely not be a woman or a class, ethnic or racial outsider (Reynolds, 1999:8, 50).

One underlying barrier in West is the division between public and private spheres (Squires, 1999:23, Okin 1998:116-137). It is said that women often participate as politicians in a different manner than men. One explanation for this is that there are assumptions underlying the separation of the public and the private (Waylen, 1996:1-5, Okin 1998:116-137). Particularly, the social and political forces that create the situation in which women were confined to a private, domestic, care-taking role while men were able to move freely between the private (domestic) and the public (civil society and state) spheres (Squires, 1999:28).

2.2 Third world theory about barriers for women in politics

Are the barriers the same for women all over the world? According to Richard E. Matland the answer is no. Women in the third world have unique barriers that make it hard or even impossible to be a part of the political procedures. The western theories about barriers may exist also in the third world but the main barriers are different from the once that focus to the once in West. Quotas have been created to include women into politics. However, the central question then becomes how they can act once they are elected (Matland 1998(a):109-125, 1998(b):65-85). Among research done about women representation, as said before, not much is done from a non-western perspective and more research is needed (Dahlerup, 2003:5).

Even if there is not much research available in this area in a third world perspective, available studies show that women in many countries still have difficulties to express their rights in the political system. This is often due to cultural, religious, patriarchal and economic factors. Women have for a long time, and still are, facing difficulties to enter institutions of governance such as political parties. When successful, their party still often fails to support them to become elected as candidates and the electorate encourages the gender stereotypes in society by choosing men. If women are successful in becoming a member in the institution, they face new obstacles that constrain their ability to act (Ginwala, 1998:2, Nelson et al 1994:10-21, 49-55). It is the recruitment process, organized by parties, that is surrounded by a patriarchal system that should carry the greater burden of change and not the women (Rai & Sharma, 2000:160).

Extensive literature has been written on the subject with different approaches and perspectives. My point of departure will be one development approach that has been used in the process of women's development in India, "Women In Governance" (WIG) (Mayaram, 2003:242). The WIG focused not on women per se, but on the relationship between men and women. WIG also sees women as active agents rather than passive participants, and is a holistic approach, which emphasize the importance of the social, political and economic dimensions in the society as means of analysis. Social change can only be possible if institutions are changing and women get a place in them. It also emphasizes the role of organizing in terms of "self-organizing" to increase power and focus on the role of local communities in providing support for women. WIG believes that the organization of women at this level will lead to organization at higher levels. Women's voice is not only heard in the vision of WIG, the vision is dedicated to furthering women's rights and demands that include that women speak for themselves and that women's concerns and questions are reflected in the decision-making and on the political agenda. In WIG, women have an actual place in the

political institutions – they are present (Mayaram, 2003:242-250). In the mid-1990s, WIG tried to break the barriers that burdened women for countless years in India. WIG is now working in rural India in the Panchayats where women are beginning to participate in politics. After capacity building training, many of these women are making demands and put their concerns on the political agenda. The presence of women has a transformable potential in politics and in the development in general in changing the social structure. “The empowerment of women is linked to the empowerment of the Panchayats but also empowerment of the society” (Mayaram, 2003:271).

Some critics have emerged against WIG and some global development programs (approaches) such as WID (Women In Development) are accusing them of being top-down approaches. Others see it as more bottom-up approach with passing an act that reserves seats for women on local levels (Mohanty & Mahajan 2004:1).

2.3 My view on the theoretical discussion

Doing this field study and talking to these women who struggle to become part of the Indian political system, I felt the need to add and consider a number of additional barriers that have not been considered in contemporary research (more about these barriers in chapter 4.2). Today WIG is not a global development program. It would also require a procedural change to better incorporate and assimilate women members. If WIG should be expanded into a global development program, I suggest that the following basic requirements must be met: (1) the nature of political institutes must be more women-friendly, achieved through a cultural change of greater gender awareness, and (2) a procedural change must be developed to better incorporate and assimilate women members. The issue of women’s status and role in politics needs urgent attention because politics is central to everything in a democratic society. All important decisions are made at the political level. Politics reflects and molds the social and cultural conditions of a society. As such, the percentage of women’s representation in politics is important. South Asia can proudly boast of giving the first and the second women Prime Minister to the world. But a Mao Bhandarnaike or Indira Gandhi is not the representative of a large number of women in Asia. Once women are elected members, they must know their rights to be able to use their power for changes. The number of women in judiciary, politics and public services is small and inadequate, particularly among high official levels; but nevertheless growing. Their representation in the upper management echelons in the economic, cultural and social fields is unsatisfactory, but in the WIG’s view the situation is improving day by day. It is also important to provide political institutions with sufficient

power. Otherwise the changes will remain a theory on paper. My analysis lies within the WIG's approach. I want to analyze whether the use for changes in consciousness and self-perception for women is a key instrument to promote women's participation in the decision making process, not just as beneficiaries, but as active agents of change.

2.4 Empowerment

The definitions of empowerment are today as numerous as there are organizations using it. It is an apparent feature of any development practice, from small grass root organizations and NGO:s to UN and the World Bank. Not everyone agrees that empowerment can be defined, let alone measured (Kabeer, 2001:18). According to Naila Kabeer there are dimensions of empowerment; resources (conditions), agency (process) or achievements (outcomes). Empowerment is the "expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them" (Kabeer, 2001:19). Essentially, empowerment is about to change (Kabeer, 1999:47). According to Shirini M. Rai there is no use in trying to get more women in politics if they have no economic support (Rai, 2003).

Are quotas the best way for women to get empowerment in India? Are these women really a part of the political system or are they just guests in a male system? Will women in India develop the same barriers at some point that Western women have today?

Research done by Shirini M. Rai shows that it is not enough to be elected as a member of the Panchayat, it is essential that all the members use their mandate. It has been argued that the system of reserved seats for women in India is a strategy of recognition rather than redistribution, but it has a transformative potential. The debate on the empowerment of women also has to focus on better life-chances for women, not only try to increase the female political representation. India shows that there is no simple correlation between the visibility of women in political institutions and empowerment of women in general. Empowerment can't be disassociated from power relations within different socio-political systems (Rai, 2003). Despite the system of reserved seats in India women continue to remain invisible and marginalized in decision-making bodies. They have not been able to break the boundaries of gender (Rajput, 2003). According to Maud Eduards the liberals argue that quotas are undemocratic and discriminatory because it gives someone from a certain gender or ethnic background an advantage (Eduards 2002:48). Others see quotas as a way of empowerment – as compensation for the structural barriers that make fair competition fail (Dahlerup 2002:11). According to Drude Dahlerup, quotas for women are a way of getting a shift from "equal opportunity" to "equality of results" (Dahlerup 1998:95).

Women in the third world might face the same problems that women in the West are experiencing today, but it is not certain (Matland 1998). Women as a group have interests opposed to those of men; these interests “women’s interest” unite them in a common global sisterhood that transcends the division of class or race. This means that all women share this and that women should struggle together to achieve their own liberation (Bryson, 1992:181, Waylen, 1996:8). Women need subjective changes, such as increased levels of critical understanding, self-esteem and confidence, which are crucial for the development of stronger, more assertive personalities. Only getting the women of grassroots groups stronger is not enough, women’s empowerment must include transformative political actions as well (Parpart & Rai & Staudt, 2002:10-11). Empowerment is political (Parpart & Rai & Staudt, 2002:101). Empowerment is not just participation in decision-making; it is about being able and entitled to make decisions (Rowlands, 1997:14). It is about mobilizing people, especially women, by increasing their self-esteem and self-confidence so that they will really become part of the political process and not being just their husband’s proxies (Rowlands, 1997:129-130).

For some, empowerment is the goal, for others it is the path to the better and for Majorie Mayo it is a tool (Mayo, 2004:139-156). The power to make change as a group and as individuals is a process that develops power *within* to turn into power *to act*. This brings about a change and redistribution of power and resources toward women, resulting in gender balance (Parpart & Rai & Staudt, 2002:239, 244).

The following study has been performed with my interpretation of empowerment. For me, empowerment is about making women believe in themselves. This will increase the power of women. Being an empowered woman requires a positive self-image, image within her family and toward the outside. Empowerment emerges in form of awareness for the women. Through empowerment, women face challenges and overcome the barriers in their lives and increase their ability to shape their lives and environment.

3. Method and Material

3.1 Methodological discussion

This study is based on empirical material that I gathered during a field study in India November-March 2004/2005.³ The empirical material is mainly based on interviews with women, who have been in these capacity building programs and are now Panchayat members, and interviews with representatives from NGOs who give this education (see Appendix V). Criteria for which NGOs that were included in the study were based on the notion that the

³ I have read Warren A. B. Carol *Gender issues in field research*, to understand more how to do field studies.

organizations are well established and accepted by the society (description of NGOs which I visited see Appendix III). The size of the NGOs had no importance, but the quality of the work of the concerned NGO has been of interest, i.e. that it is an active and well functioning organization, not only a facade NGO. The snowball method was widely used in the selection of NGOs to fit into the prepared schedule, although different people were asked to suggest NGOs, in order to avoid getting one sort of NGO.

Because several of the women wanted to be anonymous I have given them a number and from now on when referring to them I will write their number in a parenthesis, this will help the reader to know which women I'm talking about and the reader can also study the socio-economic background I have put together on all the women (see Appendix VI and 5.4). The NGOs principle activities were investigated. The interviews are based on subjective stories given to me. My study includes observation of educational activities in the capacity building programs through. I was given documents from the NGOs to aid my studies.⁴ I also collected information through informal interviews/discussions with people from the organizations, attended group meetings of the organizations, as well as political meetings concerning the organizations and meetings concerning the subject matter of my research. The method used is primarily empirical qualitative because the strongest basis of this research relies on in depth interviews. This investigation was conducted in different areas of India; Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan.⁵

I also used a qualitative method when analyzing the literature and I will use a quantitative method when analyzing different statistics. I used a combination of these methods when analyzing the material. I have followed the discussions on pro and con qualitative- and quantitative methods and the stance against combining the two in *Theory and methods in Political science*, I am aware of the advantage and disadvantage of combining qualitative and quantitative method (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:231-240). The critique directed towards the use of qualitative methods is mainly concerned with reliability and validity. The reliability critique concerns the issue of choosing a sample of respondents. Since my interviews imply a small sample of respondents it is impossible and not even desirable to have a representative material, rather you should seek diversity. It is also about how the questions are asked and handled. In my case the concerns have to do with the choice of organizations and who to interview. It can of course be seen as a limitation in the comparison aspect to have such different organizations, in size, locations and finance but since it is not the organizations per

⁴ Information about the organizations, their program, and evaluations they have done on their work etc.

⁵ See appendix II for a map of India.

se I'm interested in but the empowerment potential, I rather see this as an advantage of the study. Another criticism against the qualitative method is concerning the validity of the study. This is about controlling that the observations really mirror the variables of interest and concerns the interpretation of the collected data (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:231-240). In this respect a disadvantage was that I had to use an interpreter.

3.2 Material discussion

I have used both primary and secondary material in this analysis. Even though the essay is mainly from my own empirical material it is not very extensive and it is hard to make any definite conclusions from such a small material due to a limited time in field. Some general trends can be traced and I have also compared it with other research done on the organizations and subject. The interviews, more than written material, form the base for my main sources. The purpose of the literature is mostly to be a theoretical base against which the results from the interviews were compared. It also provided materials for my continuing search for constructive approaches to the third world, feminism, empowerment and democracy development. The literature I have used is mainly feminist and development writing about politics, empowerment and capacity building. This literature also carries a constructive approach towards political change. The empirical material is based on both written and oral sources. The written sources are laws, books, research papers/reports, evaluations, articles and other writings. A lot of critique has been directed towards feminist theorists writing about empowerment among women in Asia and in effort to avoid this "Western bias" I have tried to include writers from Asia and mainly from India to get a broader discussion about the concept of empowerment. When I was doing material-work I had in mind that for me it was important to search many independent sources. Sincerity in the source means that I did judgments if the source really is what it says it is, and I also did judgments where I tried to observe the sources' own values and interests (Thurén, 1994:61-65).

The interview data were collected through interview-schedules (Berg, 2001:72-76) and group-interviews. Two separate schedules were prepared for women and NGO representatives (see Appendix IV). Because the interviews had both a firm form (identical questions) together with a more opened part with personal experience/opinions the interviews were made orally with personal meetings. I have recorded the interviews and also made notes by hand. These statements have been placed together so that both common and digress trends/results can be identified.

3.3 Interviews

My interviews were conducted mainly with women that have been (or still are) in the capacity building programs and are elected as representatives in Panchayats, but also with representatives from the organizations to get the top-down perspective and to see how well the responses correlated. I also conducted discussions with some key informants (see Appendix V) with good insights in the area of study to make sure that I made contact with all the necessary people and organizations. Before starting the interviews I worked out a question-schedule where I had some dimensions and adapted the interview-questions so that could they respond against these. This schedule was the frame for the interviewed guide (see Appendix IV). The guide served as a checklist, and was not strictly followed in every interview, since some of the questions were more relevant for some interviewed than for others. This interview guide also changed during the time spent in the field when I got a better understanding of what kind of questions and discussions worked best, still the interviewed-guide shows how these interviews where made and the analysis that were made from them (Berg, 2001:72-76). By using this frame the interview was made in a semi-structured way; meaning that the questions were open. In this way the interviewed could give their views, experiences and they could reflect and speak openly around the questions, without effecting my questions. Most of the interviewed women were not familiar with an interview situation. As an interviewer I wanted to affect the respondents as little as possible, to be sure that the respondent apprehensions really appear. The interviews therefore are more like conversations about things that were relevant for the research questions. The interviews started with some short question to learn more about the participant but also to get a good conversations-atmosphere, I also told them the purpose of the interview. I also did an observation study to get a reasonable understanding about how these organizations work and how the women in this program experiences their own situation. These women were elected randomly out of women that have been in the programs. I did deep-interviews because I thought this was best suited for this essay, which is an intensive study on a political area during a shorter time period (Esaiasson, 2003:279-291).

I may have been seen as a representative from the organizations and to avoid a misunderstanding I tried as much as possible not to make explicit reference to the project when asking questions. Instead, the interviewees have been asked about the local development and participation in more general terms, leaving the opportunity for the women interview themselves to point out the importance of the capacity building programs (Berg 2001:70-71).

An interpreter assisted me in all interviews made with the women. The interviews were translated from English to local language (mostly Hindi) and vice versa. This may add to the problems of distorted information often associated with the use of interpreters. However, these women probably felt more comfortable talking their mother tongue and also not only to a western woman but also with someone that understands and is a part of their culture. In addition, as a daughter of the region where the projects villages are situated, my interpreter did not only have an excellent knowledge of the local language and of English but also of the cultural aspects. At the same time she had many years' experience of cooperation with Europeans and other westerns and consequently a good knowledge also of the "western way of thinking".

After doing each interview I did a summarizing of it, I tried to summarize as close to what had been said so it would be easier to analyze. After that I did a context-concentration, where the purpose was to sum up relevant information for the research-questions.

4. Women in the rural India

4.1 A brief country profile

India is after China the world's most populated nation with over 1 billion people. India has a strong majority of male citizens opposite from most countries in the world that have a majority of females. 2001 records over all female sex ratio at 933 for 1000 male in population (Department of Women and Child Development, 2001-2002). India covers an area of 3,287,263 sq km and there are 29 states. 18 languages are recognized by the constitution, the most spoken is Hindi. The literacy rate was 65, 38 % in the year 2001, a 13, 75% improvement from the year of 1991. With literacy now at 76% for males and 54% for females there is also heightened gender equality. The state of Kerala has the highest literacy rate with 91% and Bihar the lowest 48% (Lonely planet 2003:34-64).

In India, women and men are getting the same ontology status, but in traditional practice and thoughts the status is very different. Women's role is in the household whereas men are expected to fulfill the role as provider. Many women today have very limited options for employment. Gender discrimination in wages is a regular feature for women workers. Since it is traditionally a women's job to take care of the household, it is hard for girls to get the education that would lead to a better job. Those who get an education often work with health-care, education or administration. For the women in the rural areas that work, bear the double

burden of a job and responsibility for children and home. The agriculture sector in Indian employs 65 % of the labour market (Lonely planet 2003:34-64, Länder i fickformat Indien).

Today the caste system is weakened but still wields considerable power; especially in politics. In India it is illegal to discriminate because of caste but positive discrimination like affirmative actions is legal. The government reserves significant numbers of public-sector jobs, parliamentary seats and university places for scheduled castes. Arranged marriages are still the norm rather than the exception. In the big cities love marriages are starting to become more common. Out of the Indian population 80 % are Hindus, Muslims 14 %, Christians 2,3%, Sikhs 2,3 %, and Buddhists 0,7% (Lonely planet 2003:34-64; Swarup & Sinha & Ghosh & Rajput, 1994:361-370).

4.2 The political system and women in India

“India, whose democratic political stability was the envy of the developing world, may have entered a condition of structural political fragmentation, and of regionalization of politics” after the election 1996 (Castells, 1997:348). India is the world’s largest democracy. The constitution, which came into power 1950, details the powers of the central and state governments. Women’s political participation in the political system is not encouraging. Indian women got the right to vote and ran for political office in 1950 and the first Indian women became elected in 1952 (Mohanty & Mahajan 2004:14).

When the 73rd and 74th Acts were passed there was also discussion in the Parliament about ensuring a quota for women of 33% in future Indian parliaments (the 84th Amendment Bill). This system would ensure that 182 seats would be reserved for women out of 545 seats in Lok Sabha (the Indian government). It never came further than to be discussed but if the system on local level with quotas works fine, there will once again be a discussion and this time it will lead to a quota for women in Lok Sabha. No Indian party is against 1/3 woman in the parliament but they are against reservation with direct seats in the parliament so that is why the act has not been passed on governmental level. Today there are only 10, 3 % women in the Indian parliament (the upper house) and only 8, 8 % in the lower house. Already today 125 seats out of the 545 in Lok Sabha are reserved for the Scheduled Castes (the official term for Dalits or Untouchables) and Tribes (Raman, 2003:24-26, Rai, 1999:84-99). Women are less than 1/5 of the party members of political parties. How do women in India vote? 65 % say that they decide for themselves, 17 % say that they confer with their husbands and 18 % say that others make the decision for them (Lecture by Prof Rajani Ranjan Jha at the 7th orientation course in women’s studies at Banaras Hindu University 14-28 December, 2004). If

these numbers are really true, that is good, but in reality I think that many women feel that they are making their own decisions when in fact their husbands are doing it for them.

4.3 Local governance - The system of Panchayats

The reservation of seats in the Panchayats is an outstanding feature of the amendment as it provides for reservation of seats for women for the first time in the history. The Panchayat system's goal is to decentralize power and bring decision making to the grass root level; Panchayats is the lowest level in Indian political system (Pande, 2001).

The Panchayati Raj system is a three-tier system; Zila parishads (district level), Panchayat samities (sub-district level) and Gram Panchayats (lowest level). Gram panchayats are supposed to consist of 8-10 villages, which give 12,000-15,000 inhabitants in total. The number of members in Panchayats in India depends on the size of the population in the union and usually varies from 5-30 members. The term of the Panchayats and the municipalities is five years. The members are elected as candidates from a party list. The Gram Panchayats members elect chairmen among themselves (Thörlind, 2003:56). There is also a reservation of offices of chairpersons for women. The system of reserved seats for women is rotating. This means that if you have a Panchayat with nine villages and nine members, three of these villages have to vote for a female candidate. In the next election there are three other villages that have to do so. It is the same system for electing the chairman (Frankl 2004:26). The rotating-system is negative in the way that women can't be elected two terms in a row - can't be reelected (Thörlind, 2003:56). One of the women I interviewed had been re-elected and she told me that this was because no other could stand for election except her.

The weakness of the democratic institutions at the village level in India today, reflects a long tradition of centralized governance. India is one of the countries that has the largest population in the world; this population consists of people with different cultural, linguistic, religious and racial differences of the citizens. There must be a local government otherwise there is not a true democracy (Kumari, 2000:50f). A system of Panchayats is something very important since 75% of the population lives there. The Panchayats is a democratic decentralization and an Indian political system. Without decentralization would not be a real democracy in India (Keay, 1999:66). Decentralization has had a good effect on women's movement and its capacity to support women candidates and councilors (Goetz and Hassim 2003:24).

According to authors Goetz and Hassim at least two explanations have been suggested for constraints on women's political participation on local levels. "First, traditional patriarchies

can be more intense and immediate in their repressive effect on women's public engagement at the local level compared to the national level. Second, the women's movement's capacity to support women in local politics and help develop gender equity policy platforms can be fragmented by decentralisation" (Goetz and Hassim 2003:21

5. Women's empowerment

5.1 Barriers for women in India

There are many barriers for women in India that make it hard for them to get a place in politics and being able to express their rights (Rai, 1999). What problems – barriers - have the interviewed women expressed? What is it that stops women from being active in panchayats?

Custom and norm barriers - politics in India are created mainly for men and even if this thought has started to change, to women in the village, their place is in the house. This is why people in the villages have a hard time accepting women in the Panchayats and the men don't want to work with them. Several of the women I interviewed talk about non-cooperative male Panchayat members (woman number 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10 see Appendix VI). When women stand up against the pressure and patriarchal bargains they are in many cases subjects to physical violence (Stepen, 2001:134). One of the interviewed women (number 2) told me that sometimes violence against women is also used during the election campaign to make them withdraw their applications. This had happened to her.

Practical barriers - the women's lack of time for study is only a small part of the project's problems. For many it is difficult just to get to the place where the capacity programs are held. Many of the interviewed women also told me that the men in the Panchayats deliberately choose not to tell them when the meetings are held (woman number 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10).

Institutional barriers – in some ways caste and democracy are antithetical to each other and just these last years' supportive links between the two has appeared (Dube, 1988: 24).

Psychological barriers – lack of confident barrier. It is not only the society's perception of women but also women don't believe in themselves and on their capacity to be politically active (Shvedova, 1998:34).

Motivational barriers – for many in India there is a belief that society shouldn't or couldn't be transformed (Dube, 1988:23).

Traditional and cultural barriers - there is a problem of traditions and culture that makes it hard for women to fight for their own benefit. Women in the rural areas are not used to working side by side with men – so Panchayats don't work well in these areas. This is a

problem that almost all of the interviewed women expressed (woman number 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9).

Family barriers – Power, which is always seen as a part of the political world, is of central meaning even in the family life. The relationship of power exists within the family as gender-structures, violence - physical and psychological and the women's economic dependence on males (Okin 1989:128-129). Balancing the family and political interests is the most common expressed problem by the interviewed women. While I was in India I could see that women's living conditions are being brought down even further as a result of patriarchal attitudes and practices. The burden of women's work doubles when men, by force of habit, do not share household tasks in any way at all. On the other hand many of the female Panchayat members were forced to enter politics by their families and when winning the seat they are not attending any meetings themselves but instead their husband, father-in-law or another male family member take their place (woman number 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10).

Caste barriers - There is also a power-relation between women, based on class, caste and ethnicity. This is a relationship that is not so much mentioned and most of the theoretical and empirical results do not present this perspective (de los Reyes et al 2003:31). A woman from the lower castes that has been elected since the system of reserved seats was introduced has been discriminated not only from the male-members but also from women-member from the upper caste (SEARCH Bulletin, 1999:45).

Lack of knowledge/Awareness barriers - there are many women that are illiterate and don't know what political participation is all about what. They are not awareness of their role, rights and responsibilities in Panchayat as well as in development and welfare activities. The lack of knowledge and awareness about this makes it even harder to overcome these barriers. I only interviewed two women that were illiterate, but to be honest, they also seemed to be more clueless about their rights (woman number 3, 10).

Recruitment barriers – as said above, many women have a lack of education, several of the women are illiterate, the cultural norms and conservative customs makes it even harder for women to enter politics and they have to struggle hard to survive in politics (Sarema, 1999:150).

5.2 The role of education for participation – The power of education

Some females send their husbands, sons or father-in-laws to the Panchayats meeting, they don't realize that it is their positions. Some women are proxies for their husbands so that the family doesn't lose the seat in the Panchayat. How can capacity building and NGOs solve

these misunderstandings and help women overcome other barriers mentioned in the earlier chapter?

5.2.1 Capacity building programmes and NGOs

One way to overcome the problems of 'proxy' women is, according to Dahlerup and Freidenvall, massive capacity-building and support from women's organizations (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003). The capacity building trainings aim to educate women about their rights and help them to become more equal. The basic approach would be to give women confidence and bring out an awareness of their own potential for development as well as their rights and privileges. Already in 1985 at the World Conference of the UN in Nairobi it was stated that NGOs and the governmental education of women about their civil, political and social rights is one of the most important ways of rising consciousness, but also the need for a quota system (Kumanj & Dubey, 1994:25).

Education is a powerful tool in the way of empowering women (Parpart & Rai & Staudt, 26-30). During my time in the field I could see that education enables women to gain more knowledge about the world outside of their heart and home, increase their skills and help them to get status-giving employment – all of which will develop their personalities.

Training over a half million Panchayats members in the state, a majority of whom are poor, uneducated and helpless, is a task that is enormous in its magnitude and complexity. NGOs have a key role in generating awareness and mobilizing the people (Sharan, 1998). India has a large number of NGOs⁶ and the capacity building training is very different among all of them offering it, but most have the same goal; to help get women become more self-confident and to give them more knowledge about their role as Panchayats members (Matland, 1998(b):66-67). Some NGOs have training for women only and some have a mixed stream for both women and men. This is a direct result of feedback they have had, explaining that some women prefer to be trained in mixed groups. Men also need training in broad gender issues as the women need to be accepted by the male members and the chairmen. Training for both sexes is also the conclusion of many evaluations the NGOs have done themselves. Previous empirical research on the subject also argues that only training for female members will not give any great change in the roles and functions of the female members as one must also change the male members' attitudes. One of the NGOs told me that this had been a problem and that they now provide training for both male and female

⁶ To understand the work of NGOs in India, how they are seen by the people and government and their role in the development work I read the book *NGOs and Women's development in rural south India a comparative analysis* by Vanita Viswanath.

members. They said “we hope that by running training programs for both sexes we can maximize the help and support we are giving to women, as well as introduce men to the valuable work which we are doing.” Several NGOs describe another problem; the students have very different backgrounds, conditions and levels of ambition. Many of them need to take a big responsibility in their homes. Some students are difficult to motivate while others have high ambitions. It makes it harder to educate when their participants have so different ambitions.

The program offers different parts; i.e. the influential woman candidate that provides the opportunity to share experiences with other women candidates and will cover topics such as communication skills, team-building work, assertiveness for women and campaigning skills. Most of the programs focus on: understanding local self-governance, democratic values, gender issues, leadership development, financial management etc. (Rai et al, 2001:192-193). For the illiterate women the education has to start on a more basic level – teach them how to read and write. During my time in the field I could see how NGOs help Indian women to get empowered by helping them in many different fields; i.e. to become more economically independent, better health and work against illiteracy. This has also helped the women to get a higher self-confidence. According to Shirini M. Rai, as said before, there is no use in working to get more women in politics if they have no economical support (Rai, 2003). Several of the NGOs and capacity building helps women to become more economically independent and also emphasis the need of independents. The NGOs I visited provide education and a few organizations had also focused on job training; if women can earn their own money they will become more equal. Therefore all the sample organizations contribute to the improvement of women’s living standards. In other words - they promote the economic, social and cultural rights of one vulnerable minority in the Indian society. The political context of Indian economic, social and cultural rights has a democratic relevance. If these rights are provided and defended it gives the citizens, in this case the women, the possibility to participate in the society. Education and job training are all crucial needs of the disabled and a precondition for integration into the community. Furthermore, it is argued that these so-called positive rights are a precondition for civil and political rights. By adopting replicable and sustainable strategies that could bring about large-scale impact to improve the lives of poor women and their families, these NGOs have offered a realistic vision to other agencies involved in women development (Lecture by Priyankar Upadhyaya at the 7th orientation course in women’s studies at Banaras Hindu University 14-28 December, 2004).

One NGO has gone even further than educating only women and men and had capacity building for children as well, where they learn how it works. In these Panchayats 50 % are women and 50 % men. “Because children is the tomorrow and in the future we want to see 50/50 in the Panchayats”, said the NGO representative I interviewed. Some of the NGOs actually recruit women to the Panchayats. First they have a capacity building program for all the women that wanted in the village and then later the women themselves choose their representative(s) to the real Panchayat.

It is not only NGOs that offer training, some parties are also running training sessions, and they also have the same program focus and goals. The parties in India also started to care about the female candidate because they realized that they needed them not to lose places in the Panchayat.

During my time in the field I noticed that NGOs could also act like a watchdog of the Panchayats to see that women really get a saying in the decision making process. The women’s movement and network of NGOs that have strong grassroots presence and deep insight in women’s concerns have contributed in inspiring initiatives for the empowerment of women and helped women to get a place in local politics. Women don’t need just a couple of days training, they need long-term support and in order to give them that is why it is important that the NGOs offer education, but also, that government and Panchayats cooperate.

With 33 % reserved seats for women this gave them the initial trust – the so-called critical mass (Dahlerup, 1988) that was enough to sustain and give momentum for the rest of the movement. Women are no longer an exception in Indian local politics; they still are a minority but a minority that counts. Women still have barriers to overcome but with training this traditional power structure can be broken (SEARCH bulletin, 1999:65).

5.3 The interviewed – raising voices

I wanted to learn more about the participants in the capacity building programs; their thought about the project, change and opportunities that the reserved seats and capacity building programs might have given them - about their reality, to get the answers I did a field study. Out of the women I interviewed some of them had gotten training from several NGOs. One woman had gotten training from three different NGOs (woman number 8)⁷. Even so, all of them expressed that they wanted more training.

⁷ From now on I will only refer to the number the women are given in Appendix 6.

Several of the women also said that they would not have run in the election if there had been no reserved seats for them (2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9). Experience of women found high levels of stress and suggested that many women might not stand for election again (Goetz and Hassim 2003:100). Of the women that I interviewed, two had run for re-election more than one time and one of them was re-elected again, because there was no other female candidate (2, 5). The woman (2) that was not re-elected told me that she was not re-elected because the men knew that she after one term and being in the capacity building program knew her rights and was not going to be a proxy if she got elected again. The other women (3, 4, 8, and 9) told me that they had all kinds of bad experiences and that they felt that women didn't have any say in the Panchayat. To run for election again, the system first needs to be change in many ways.

Caste and religion is important in India. Some of the women that were Panchayat members said that because of their political position they have been able to help their families (1, 4, 5, 8, 9) and caste (3). Many of the women say that because of their gender and the social structure they are often excluded from politics on all levels (2, 3, 4, 7, and 10). One woman (6) said that she is just acting as a stand in for her husband. He knew that he would never have won a seat on local level, so he forced her to be a candidate. Now he has taken over her seat. She says that it is hard to prove because her name is on all the official documents (decisions) but he is the one that makes all the decisions and goes to the meetings. She also said that the interview I did was the fist interview with her, other interviews have been made with her husband; even when she won the election he was the one that had been answering all the interviews. The interview I did with this woman was also the most emotional one; I came to the village and was going to interview a women by the name Pinkey but instead of a woman coming to meet me a man showed up. After some time I understood that he is the husband. He said that I should do the interview with him because his wife did not know anything about politics and that he always went to the meetings. He told me that if I didn't want to do the interview with him there would be no interview, I said that in that case there would be no interview and after a long and harsh discussion between the husband and my interpreter he let me do the interview with his wife. She was so happy and told me that this was the first time someone asked her something about the capacity training and her time as a politician. She was crying during the whole interview, happy-tears she called them.

Another woman (4) said that she has support from her family and that her husband now helps out more with the housework so she has been able by entering politics to transform her family and today her husband and she are more equal partners. Her husband gives her more respect. It all sounded so great that I was wondering if it was true, and she soon looked sad

and told me that she is discriminated by the men who are panchayat members. So she might have changed her family but to be equal in the Panchayat and as an equal citizen in India she still has a long way to go and many barriers need to be broken.

One woman (5) that had been involved in politics for many years and had been working for a party said that she never dreamed about being able to be elected during her lifetime. She now hopes that more women will get involved in politics and she said that she had got great self-esteem after the training. Her status has changed both in her own family but also in the village, she said that a woman in Panchayat has a higher status in other

In some cases the women's self esteem has grown during the interviews and since this is the first time they can speak so openly about their experiences in local politics and how important their work is – their ability to help the people in the village.

A question that I was interested in was; is there a female political agenda? The answer is yes, in almost all the cases women (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, and 10) said that the most important on the political agenda is improvement in education, health, drinking water and employment opportunities for women. Looking at official documents it is possible to see that these questions has been more on the agenda these last years since women have receive more place in the Panchayats than before. Men don't talk about women's problems and the importance of things we bring up on the political agenda said one woman (2), "so we have to learn to make demands for ourselves and bring these up on the agenda".

Most of the women, all except one (2), said that they had the support of their families. This is not so strange; most of the women are actually proxies that have taken their husbands or father in laws place. Many men have lost their own site since the reserved seats for women. To let women in the family run in the election is one way to keep the post in the family. I asked the women in all categories whom they represented, most of the women (1, 2, 5, 8, 9) told me that they represent the poor people of their ward. Some women (3, 7) were open about the fact that they, apart from representing their ward, they also represented their families. Others (4, 5, 10) said that they used to do so but after getting the training now became more independent. Only one woman told me that she only represented her husband and relatives, she had only attended one meeting during her five years term (6).

One of the villages that I visited was really a fine example of women empowerment. As a result of women becoming active members of Panchayats many problems in the village have been solved, today several problems concerning healthcare and school are solved. Women have started to work. They got material from the NGO and they make clothes from it that they sell and they pay back the NGO for the material but all the rest of the money they make they

get to keep and this is a great way for them to become more economically independent. Along with the economic development of the village, the women of the village have also occupied a respectable position in the society.

With capacity building programs all over India this program has succeeded in attracting women in over thousand programs. These women learn to increase their awareness, become active in politics, and acquire the self-esteem needed to dare to demand and influence. Many of the women worked per wishes of their guardians (often the husband), but after being in the program they learned the importance of their role and one woman told me that she had been voting against her husband's wish several times after getting education.

5.4 Socio-economic background of respondents

Knowledge of the socio-economic background of a woman is an indispensable prerequisite for understanding women's thoughts and behavior. This is even truer in the case of rural communities that are more traditional in their structure. Unexposed to social pressure outside the home, the power of family influences tends to get intensified. Who are the elected women? The study of socio-economic background (see Appendix VI for statistics) showed that most of the elected women are from the upper class and caste (Maratha; Kshamiya and Kunbi), owners of big land areas and political influentially members (i.e. women from a political engaged family, were the father or the husband was political active). Also women with some education are represented to a greater degree among the sample of women interviewed than their actual proportions in the rural population. The conclusion that women from backgrounds like these have tended to dominate the seats reserved is showed both in my study and in others.

Caste background, economic statues and education are of course interrelated variables, but in some cases education seemed to have compensated for the lack of either appropriated castes or economic status. Political awareness and participation of women varies with the levels of education, degree of urbanism, exposure to mass media, quality of local leadership, approach of the political groups functioning in the area etc. Some studies have established this correlation but others have proved it to be more apparent than real (Ahuja, 1992:100).

Some may say that the Panchayat structure gives opportunity to the representatives holding traditionally high caste statues and influence. Since landownership has tended to go hand in hand with high caste status the backward classes who don't possess much land may never be able to rise to positions of power and authority in a society dominated by tradition.

The Panchayat structure thus gives opportunities for a more democratic participation based to a larger extent on achievement. While participation in the Panchayat structure is open to all, education seems to have become a qualification at the point of entry, helping those who cannot count on traditional sources of status to still find a place and climb the ladder of political influence. While the foregoing analysis has shown the dominance of traditional symbols of status in the selection of women-representatives in panchayat, it has also highlighted the positive effect of the status in involving women of varied castes, socio-economic classes, education and personal abilities to make a definite contribution in the rural setting.

The age for membership in Panchayats was lowered to attract younger members (Pande, 2001:123). Still, which is shown among my respondents, only one woman (8), and in other similar studies only a few women are under the age of 30. One explanation to this could be that unmarried women in India that enter politics are against all social norms of the Indian society. That is why most of the women are either married or widows.

The educational level among the members is low, many are even illiterate. Several NGOs told me that a majority of the women in Panchayats are educated by name only, which means that they can make their signature, read and write a little, mostly without understanding what it means. This picture did not reflect most of the women I interviewed, among them over half had been to school for several years and even one was a graduate.

The economic status of the respondents was very different, I don't know if this is because some of the women were afraid to tell me the truth about their landowning because of tax or not. But most of the women came from the upper strata, especially among the women that actually made it to become a chairperson. Most of the women depend on their families and didn't have any income of their own.

Most of the women I interviewed were Hindu or Muslims. A majority of the women had not been politically active nor had they been involved in any other movement or organization before entering politics. But as said before, several of them had families that had been political and still are active. Before, parties did not show any greater interest in the Panchayats elections; this is because Panchayats were not contested on party basis, but in the last election (year 2000) more and more parties started to show interest in Panchayats play. Some parties even have their own capacity building programs offered to women.

6. Concluding discussion

6.1 Breaking the barriers – where there is a will there is a way

I can only agree with what Stefanie Strulik writes; the best way to break the barriers is not to make women fit into the political arena; it is to make the political system more women-friendly (Strulik, 2003:19). Getting women into Panchayats in large numbers was only one part of the task of representation. Another was ensuring that women had some leverage in relation to political decisions; it is important to bring gender related issues to the legal, social and political agendas. With the help of capacity building women have gotten the confidence to try to overcome the obstacles created by patriarchy, bureaucracy and society. Education has long been one of the most decisive of our life-chances, the key to equal opportunity and the ladder to advancement. The role of support from NGOs and capacity building strategies seems to be a way to overcome many of the problems women are facing, although my study showed that not all NGOs or not all capacity-building strategies are equally effective to increase the power base for the elected women. Capacity building programs for women are good but it is also important that men get education about the importance of women in politics. Excluding men from these education programs will never lead to complete change, as male attitudes contribute to the problem.

Women are for the first time legally empowered to participate in the political decision making and over time the active women will go from being proxy candidates to women that have confidence and knowledge about their role in Panchayats and the importance of making their own decisions. It will still take many years before there are really 1/3 women in Panchayats and this has a lot to do with the social and cultural changes that need to happen. Even if there are still many patterns that need to be changed, barriers are being broken and changes are going on in India. Seeing this from a WIG approach gender empowerment strategies under these barriers need both a structural systematic change and basic attitude and value change. Although the barriers to women's role in India and in politics may be many and complex, they are not insurmountable. The cultural and economic barriers will probably continue to weaken as economic growth, priorities get reordered, and cultures come under pressure to adapt to new realities.

The barrier that women's role is in the home and not as politicians can, according to me, only be broken by women actually entering politics and becoming politically taught and aware about the world outside their homes. The feeling that women are meant for home should be replaced by a feeling of equal partnership. The traditional role of women has started

to change; today women have made successful careers in many different fields. In fact, they play multiple roles; mother, home manager and working women. In rural India, however, the transformation in the lives of women is slow. This is primarily because of the age-old customs and traditional practices followed in the families.

Political participation is a wider concept than just being a politician. Women can break the barrier by being active in many different ways and try to influence the political process; by voting behavior; by keeping oneself informed about politics or by attending political meetings. On the practical barrier the work is slowly moving forward. Several NGOs that I visited said that new study circle teachers are being trained to spread the course even further.

During my time in the field I could see how networking among the women became a good way to overcome barriers between different castes and classes; this would also enable them to learn from each other. Capacity building programs for all women in the Panchayats is a good way of breaking barriers of caste, class, kinship and ethnic differences and for NGOs it is a perfect opportunity to help each other and exchange knowledge. While education will improve the confidence and effectiveness of the new women politicians, I think it is also important to supplement this education with active programs of social change to encourage mutual respect among men and women politicians and among the general population

It is not only the society's view on women but also their own perception of themselves. It is also hard to change the view that you are raised with; the change must be done in the family not just in the society. Empowerment is according to me as mentioned before, greater self-esteem. It will create awareness among women about the importance of local governance, their own roles, responsibilities and rights.

I feel that capacity building must include male counterparts so that they understand and recognize women's rights and rules, jointly for both men and women. This is the best way to influence the attitude of male members in Panchayats. In some programs the male family members accompany the women in the education programs and in this way their attitude towards women's leadership undergoes a change.

The only effective answer against discrimination towards women, according to a WIG approach, is the breakdown of patriarchy, the empowerment of women and the democratization of society. Only when women see themselves as capable persons – politicians – will they succeed.

I do believe that findings in my study suggest though that there are important differences in the empowerment potential of the organizations and capacity building. It can be a powerful instrument to get a more equal society and is a very important complement method that breaks

some of the barriers even if not all of them. It empowers women to a certain degree but need to be completed with other methods if the result is to get an equal society and a robust democracy. After doing my field study and having seen all the efforts NGOs put in to give women the best training possible, I have to praise them for their support. It is worth so much for the women and is the only way that the system of reserved seats will really work. NGOs should have credit in all aspects but what I also realized during my time in the field was that these women need long term support, not just two weeks of training. That is why follow ups are crucial, to see how the women are handling their positions as politicians after three months, six months and after one year. These women have to feel that they are a part of a system that works.

In conclusion it may be said that if India wants to develop and grow further, then half of its population, females, must also grow – educate females sufficiently and have a positive self-image. Political empowerment seems to require a prior process of social empowerment through which effective participation on politics becomes possible. For women, social empowerment can lead to release from household duties, which makes it easier for them to be politically active. It may also contribute to an increased sense of self-confidence, which makes it easier for them to act outside patriarchal laws (Friedman 1992:34). Society may discriminate women but the constitution discriminates for them (quotas are often called positive discrimination) and this is important in the process of a society reform.

We should not forget that it is only a decade since the reservation was introduced and to change a patriarchal structure of society doesn't happen over night. It will take time but the process for change has started. I believe that the NGOs I got to know, their capacity building education has enormous potential and to some extent the positive external effects does have an impact in other areas of life as well. However there is a danger in putting too much faith in quotas and capacity building as empowerment methods and trust that by giving women education about the political system and get those in place in Panchayat equality will be created. To educate and make women aware about their rights is how ever so at least a good first step. The tide for changing women's status is surging and neither patriarchal culture nor caste can stem it.

6.2 Further research

Further research should be to get supplementary research, including other NGOs in other parts of India that offer capacity building and see if these organizations and women that have been in their capacity building programs had another view. There are also needs for additional

research with women chosen to leave the programs. Another interesting research area would be about how these programs can or should develop in the future. This could be ways of taking the research one step further. It would also be interesting to see if women in other parts of the third world have the same barriers and if capacity building programs can help them overcome these.

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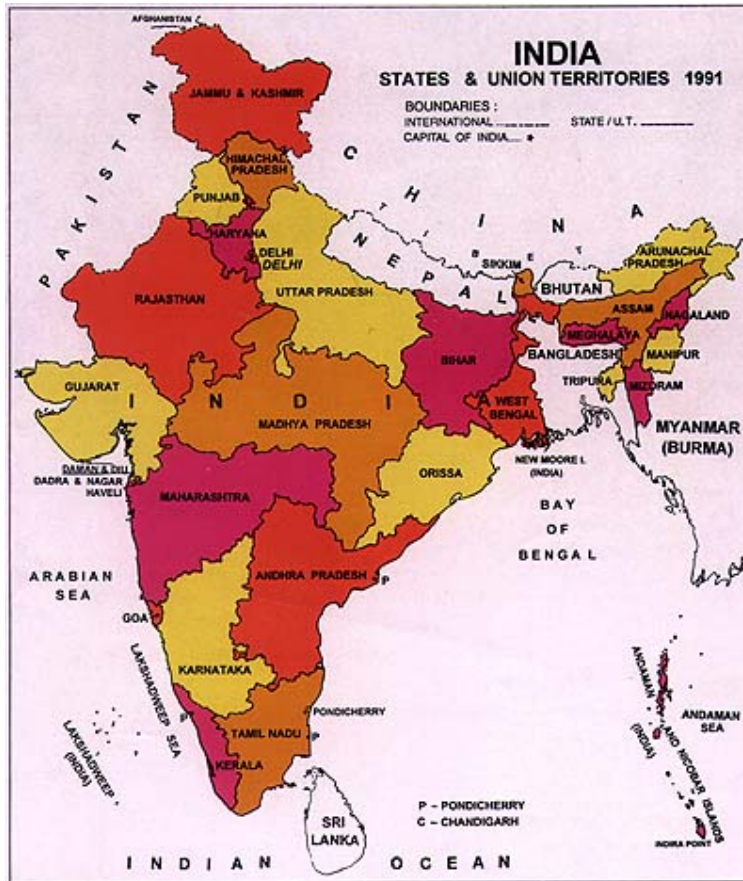
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APPENDIX I
Women members' participation in Panchayat

S. No	State	Gram Panchayat	Total	% Women
		Women		
1	Andhra Pradesh	78000	230529	33,84
2	Arunachal Pradesh	86*	5733*	1,50*
3	Assam	8977	21301	42,14
4	Bihar	FIGURES	NOT	AVAILABLE
5	Chhattigarh	53667	159923	33,5
6	Goa	468	1281	36,53
7	Gujarat	41180	123470	33,35
8	Haryana	17928	54169	33,01
9	Himachal Pradesh	6013	18258	32,93
10	Jammu & Kashmir	-	15490	-
11	Jharkhand	FIGURES	NOT	AVAILABLE
12	Karnataka	35305	80627	43,79
13	Kerela	3883*	10270	37,81*
14	Madhya Pradesh	106410	314847	33,8
15	Maharastra	101182	303545	33,3
16	Manipur	555	1556	35,67
17	Orissa	27036	87539	33,35
18	Pondicherry	-	120	-
19	Punjab	26939	75473	35,7
20	Rajasthan	33566	112897	29,73
21	Sikkim	326	873	37,34
22	Tamil Nadu	31548	125852	25,07
23	Tripura	1809	5421	33,37
24	Uttar Pradesh	174410	682670	25,5
25	Uttaranchal	1937	117930	1,64
26	West Bengal	17883	49225	36,33
27	Andaman & Nicobar Island	229	667	34,33
28	Lakhsadweep	30	79	37,96
29	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	46	135	34,07
30	Daman & Diu	25	63	39,68
31	Chandigarh	22	109	20,18
	Total*	768582	2449759	31,37

All data are from 1999 except the number marked with a * these are from 2001. All numbers are taken from *Women in Governance*, National commission for women, Delhi 2004, p 60f.

APPENDIX II
Map over India



<http://www.censusindia.net/india.html>

APPENDIX III

Name and description of NGOs

PVCHR – People’s vigilance Committee on Human Right Manavadhikar Jan Nigarani Samiti

E-mail address: pvchr@rediffmail.com, pvchr@yahoo.com

PVCHR is an NGO that was formed in 1996 as a culmination on Dr Lenin, in association with Mr Gyanendra Patis struggle against human rights violations. 1999 they establish a trust fund – People friendly trust. The purpose of PVCHR is to uphold human dignity and protecting the rights of those who are vulnerable. The strategies used to achieve this are (there activities): to make the voice of voiceless vulnerable people, research and publication, study circles, capacity building program, awareness and campaign, lobbying and advocacy.

They have 50 000 members in 5 states – 80 districts and have a staff of 37 people.

Their vision is establishing a true, vibrant and fully entrenched democratic society through Jan Mitra (people friendly) concept where there shall be no violation of human rights granted to citizens.

Manav Sewa Kendra

E-mail address: mskup@indiatimes.com, mskup@rediffmail.com

Manav Sewa Kendra is a voluntary organisation established in 1987, which is dedicated to the rural community of Uttar Pradesh. They take up the social responsibilities and nation’s building through their organization. Main interventions of the organization include Empowerment of Panchayats, primary education, community organisation, women’s empowerment, forming of self-help groups, development of self-confidence and sustainability in the community.

The project covers 50 villages of Naugarth Block district Chandauli covering a population of 45 000 and 6 villages of Block Sahabganj of district of Chandauli with a population of 10 000 people. The organisation has a staff of 60 people; social workers, doctors, nurses, teachers. Their aims and objectives are to support and motive people in these villages to come in the mainstream in such a way that they become self-dependent and help themselves after a little support. The organizations aim is also to play a key role in development of a strong and well-reformed society.

Society For Social Action and Research (SSAR)

E-mail address: brajeshvns_28@rediffmail.com, ssarutr@rediffmail.com

In 1996 the NGO SSAR foundation stone was laid, and since 1999 they work with capacity building programs. In present scenario this organization is working on the national level in Uttar Pradesh in 13 districts. Other than these the organization has expanded to Rajasthan, Gujarat, Samora, Mehsana and Delhi regional. In Varanasi they work in 6 villages and has a staff of 22 people and 100 supportive members.

Mission of SSAR is to create awareness in the mind of the people through different activities in the region so that people can empower themselves in the field of education, health and employment through serious and positive attitudes. The capacity building programs (awareness programs) is mostly about to teach the women about their rights and help them get economic independence.

All Indian progressive women organization

Phone: 0091-542-2451145

All Indian progressive women organization is neither a NGO nor a GO; it is a woman's organisation. There are over 200 000 members all over India and in Varanasi (Benares) there are over 1000 active and staff. The organization has existed for over 10 years (started in 1993) and already from the beginning their main work was capacity building programs and working for empowerment. The organization is active in poor rural areas all over India and work against poverty, unemployment and equal rights for women. The aims are that there should be no difference between men and women should get the same chances (especially to get employment) and same payment for the same work. They help women to get a sit in the Panchayats – most likely in a leading position from where it is easier to change the patriarchal society – male dominate society.

Lok Chetana Simiti

Phone: 0091-542-616289, 0091-542-587664

Lok Chetana Simiti was found in 1993. The vision of the organization is the formation of a just democratic secular society. A society free from caste discrimination and with a special concern for its marginalized and a society with respect for all religions, with everybody's full participation in its running is part of their vision. In order to achieve its goals the samiti works for a mass awakening and collective action of the people through two movements namely Samit (men's organisation) and Mahila chetana simiti (women's organisation).

They have a staff of 40 people. The organisation says that very many atrocities are committed on women; their rights are violated and justice is denied to them. To meet these challenges women themselves need to get organized. There for women's separate organization called "Mahila chetana simiti" in the villages. They take up issues concerning the interests of the entire society from the point of view of women's perspectives. The particularly aim of the organization is empowerment of the women. That is why there is a need for a separate organization of women emerges from the particular social set-up which active in public life is taboo. Separate organizations give them forum for express them and get self-confidence and exercise leadership at various levels.

Centre for social research (CSR)

E-mail: csr@grasdl01.vsnl.net.in

Centre for social Research (CSR) has been working since 1983 towards empowerment of women and restructuring the existing gender relations. CSR has a strong belief in Parivartan – change –achieved through research, action, training and networking. Since 1995 they work with capacity building programs. The objectives of the organization are; to provide comprehensive learning opportunities to rural girl children through informal training centres. Facilitate skill training for economic empowerment and democratic citizenship in adulthood, to make women aware of the whole life cycle of a woman, to arrange for cultural and social awareness. The organization work in villages all over India and has a staff of 40 people working. The organization has three main fields; research, development and gender institute (located in Delhi).

Social action and research centre (SARC)

Phone: 0091-542-2509584

SARC has existed since 1997 and has worked with empowerment of women all the time. The organization is active in the whole Uttar Pradesh in poor and rural areas and has its base in Varanasi. SARC has 3 paid workers and about 60 active volunteers and 100 supporting members. SARC work for an equal based society where there should be no difference

between man and woman, between the different classes, caste – everyone should get the equal opportunities in life.

SARC sees itself as a people organization and works mainly against women violence, child-sex-abuse but also capacity building programs to help women understand their rights and how women themselves can achieve their rights – help women to raise their voice.

Seva Mandir

E-mail: info@sevamandir.org

Seva Mandir is an NGO set up in 1969 to help rural communities. In Udaipur they have an outlet for textiles and the money they make goes to the artisans and towards community development work. The organization has a staff of 282 full time workers and 737 Para workers and volunteers of 60-70 people and does its main work all over Rajasthan. Outside Udaipur the organization is active in 583 villages in the six blocks (sub-districts) of Jhadol, Girwa, Badgaon, Kherwara, and Kotra in Udaipur District and Kumbhalgarh in Rajsamond District, here it is giving education to children and women. The NGO also started Mahila Mandel – a women's organization in every villages. Their goal is to raise the living standard and to make women more free. This is done by helping women to more economic freedom, the NGO give material to the women so they can make things and the profit they make goes to the women and the organization also set up a bank only for women where they can save their own earnings. Another help they offer is helping women to get equal healthcare and help them with family planning. The NGO have a Panchayats organization for women – Mahila Mitra which is a government one. Seva Mandir works with women to build their capacities, increase their confidence levels, and facilitate their ability to articulate their concerns and participate in all development efforts. Self Help Groups (SHGs) cultivate awareness, financial independence, and spur leadership development.

PRIA

E-mail: info@pria.org

PRIA, society for participatory research in Asia, is an international centre for learning and promotion participation and democratic governance. Founded in 1982 the essence of philosophy is “knowledge is power” and since then it has promoted people centred development initiating within the perspective of participatory research. Strengthening popular knowledge, demystifying dominant concepts and promoting experiential learning have been the basis of supporting empowerment of the poor and oppressed in its work. Though fields studies and documentation, workshops and training programs, networking and enabling linkages, PRIA has facilitated the strengthening of capacities within grassroot groups, voluntary agencies, NGOs, local elected representatives in urban and rural areas, informal associations and citizens in general. PRIA reaches out locally, nationally and globally. The organisation is active in 42 districts in India in 12 states. Headquarter is in Delhi and all together all over India they have a staff of around 100 people.

I Watch

E-mail: krishan@vsnl.com

The NGO started in 1992 and has more than 1200 active member and a staff of 3 full time workers. The NGO has been working with capacity building over the last 6 years. It works a lot with networking with other NGOs. The programs provide is literacy, vocational training, enterprise skills education and training. The biggest problem is to reach all over India, to convert all the programs in all 13 Indian languages. The organisation feel that politics for women in the rural areas can only work after literacy programs, enterprise skills education,

healthcare issues, vocational education and training, micro credit for women in rural areas are working and all this are given to the women. Politics comes later according to I watch.

Gram Vikas

E-mail: info@gramvikas.org

Gram Vikas is a rural development organization, working with poor and marginalized communities of Orissa since 1979, towards making sustainable improvements in the quality of life of the rural poor. The organization currently serves a population of nearly 120,000 (~23,000 households) across 363 villages in different districts of Orissa. Gram Vikas presently has over 300 employees.

Over the last twenty-five years, the organization has developed into one of the major voluntary development organizations in the state of Orissa. The organization works a lot with gender equity, which means equal representation and participation of men and women in community level decision making and control. Women partake alongside men in articulating concerns, take responsibility and actively participate in development processes. The organization has something called Self Governing People's institutions, this promote and strengthen people's and local self-governance institutions, at the village and Gram Panchayat level to achieve self-reliance. Institutionalize and promote mechanisms for equitable representation of the community at all levels, across caste, class and gender differences.

Enable community mechanisms to manage common resources and needs, enable women to have equal access and control over resources and processes and promote clear knowledge of responsibilities and rights and ways to achieve them.

APPENDIX IV

Interview questions to the women and organisations

Interview questions to the women

1. Presentation – purpose of study and interview.

2. Background questions

- a. Presentation of the interviewed – Name (or do You want to be anonymous), age, religion, ethnicity, class, caste, education, family, land asset of family.
- b. Describe a normal day for You. What do You do?
- c. What was Your situation like before You joined the program?

3. Capacity building:

- a. Who suggested that You should get involved in capacity building programs?
- b. The capacity building training; difficult or not? (The importance of previous schooling for ability to profit by the educating)
- c. Is the engagement very time consuming? (Conflicting with other activities; Your job, housework)
- d. Support in capacity building from the population in the village?
- e. What has it meant for You to join this program? What consequences has it had? Have Your situation/life changed after You joined the program?
- f. What did You liked the most about the different parts of the training?

4. Family

- a. Who is doing the cooking and looking after the children when You are away at meetings?
- b. How would You describe an ideal female/male role? Within family? Community?
- c. Do You have family, relatives that are involved in politics?
- d. Do You have Your family's support?
- e. Have You change Your family's view since You entered the capacity building? (for example You and Your husband more equal partners?)
- f. How do You see Your status in the family/community? How have You achieved it?

5. Politics and political environment?

- a. Have You got involved in politics after the capacity building program?

If yes ask questions 5b-g otherwise go to question nr 7.

- b. How were You recruited? Did You stand for one of the reserved seats?
- c. Which support and/or training has been the most important to You to work as a politician?
- d. If You got support from anyone (family, organisation, party etc) which one was the most important one when You decided to run for elections?
- e. Have Your caste, ethnicity, religion or class had any effect on Your political role? (Have You met any negative effects because this factors?)
- f. Why did You get involved in politics?
- g. Has Your involvement in politics transforming Your family's view on women in politics?
- h. Are You involved in the women's movement or have You been involved?
- i. What is the most important question(s) on the political agenda according to You? Have You been able to talk about all things You want to discuss on the meetings? Do You see Yourself as representative of women?
- j. Would You have contested in politics if there would not have been reserved sites for women?
- k. Has this constitutional amendment help the empowerment and changed the dominated patriarchal structure?

- l. Have You participated in any public protests? What kind? (Got together with others to protest for example someone got beaten, unfair wages etc.)
- m. Have You been engaged in a political campaign? What kind and what for?
- n. Thoughts on political awareness? Does You Yourself decide whom to vote for? Do You know the name of the Prime minister or other minister?
- o. How do You attend the political meeting? (alone or with male family member?)
- p. Have You been forced or threatened to agree to a decision? If yes; for whom?

6. Work

- a. What did You do before You became involved in politics?
- b. Did You have to resign from Your work before contesting in the election?

7. Local decision-making

- a. Your own participation in local decision-making?
- b. Who take decisions in the community?
- c. How is decision-making realized?
- d. How are members of decision-making bodies recruited?
- e. Are there consultations with the population before major decisions?
- f. Are there committees/groups with influence over decision-making in specific areas?
- g. Women's representation and influence?

8. The role of schooling/training

- a. According to You, is the number of years in school important for being listened to/for the possibility of realizing ideas/projects?
- b. Has the capacity building increased Your own possibility to participate and level of influence in society?
- c. The role of formal schooling vs. capacity building for participation and influence.

9. Participation of the woman – influence of the women in the community:

- a. Female representation in development and decision-making groups?
 - With the men or separately? Your own representation in decision?
- b. Does the women have a voice in community affairs? Does the women in general have a voice? (Right to have an opinion publicly? Do the men/ other women listen? Why/not?)
- c. Do You have an influence? (Do You voice Your opinions publicly? Do the men/other women listen? Why/not?)

10. Local politics:

Estimation of the prospects of the democratisation and reconstruction of Panchayat?

- Own role in the democratic process

11. Additions, comments, questions from the interviewees.

Interview questions to the organisations

1 See Interview Guide 1

2. Organisation

- a. Name of organisation?
- b. Type of organisation? (NGO, governmental)
- c. How does the organisation finance their work?
- d. How big is the organisation? (Staff, members, budget, projects)
- e. How long have the organisation been working with capacity building programs? How long has the organisation exist?

3. Capacity building:

- a. What philosophy stands behind capacity building programs?
- b. Support in capacity building from the population in the village?
- c. Are the programs just for women only or a mixed steam of both women and men?
- d. Do You have programs only for women? Or for both sexes together? Why?
- e. What does Your program provides?
- f. What is “capacity building” and therefore who would be potential members of such a network?
- g. How can capacity building in India form a wider debate on women's empowerment?
- h. How do You reach the women in the village?
- i. Have the organisation changed strategies or goals during the time that the capacity building program exist? If yes; why and when?
- j. Have Your organisation done any evaluation? Was anything important missing?

4. Politics

- a. Do You recruit women to politics? If yes, how?
- b. What does the reserved seats for women in India reveal about the possibilities, and limitations of this strategy for the empowerment of women?
- c. What role can support from NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) and capacity-building activities have to help to get women in to politics?
- d. Has this constitutional amendment help the empowerment and changed the dominated patriarchal structure?
- e. Does the entry of women into politics effect women’s role in the community?
- f. How can the state and civil society support women in this important empowering enterprise?
- g. Has this development program get more women to participate in political work?

5. Other engagements in the community:

- a. Who have taken the initiative to female development groups?
- b. Do most of the women participate in development groups/activities?
- c. Is it difficult to engage the women in development groups/activities? Why/not?

6. The role of schooling

The capacity building training, difficult or not? (The importance of previous schooling for ability to profit from training).

7. Additions, comments, questions from the interviewees

APPENDIX V

Interviews with key persons

Name	Date
A number of the people working at the - Centre of women's studies and development, BHU	1-6/12 2004
Especially Prof. Chandrakala Padia, faculty of social science	1/12 2004
Preeti Singh, PhD Candidate	2/12 2004
Prof. Rajani Rajan Jha, department of Political science	14-15/12 2004
Prof. Bidyat Mohanty, Institute of social science	10/1 2005
Mr. Kaustuv, PRIA	11/12 2005

Interviews with NGOs

PVCHR (Dr Lenin)	7/12 2004
Manav Sewa Kendra (Mr Jagat Narain Singh)	9/12 2004
SSAR (Brajesh Pandey)	15/12 2004
All Indian progressive women's organization (Kripa Kerma)	16/12 2004
Lok Chetana Simiti (Lily Behan)	17/12 2004
Centre of Social research (CSR) (Ms Kanchana Singh)	17/12 2004
SARC (MS Ranjana Gaur)	20/12 2004
Seva Mandir (Depti Amita)	5-6/1 2005
PRIA (Mr Kaustuv)	11-12/1 2005
I watch (Mr Krishan, answer questionnaire by e-mail)	12/1 2005
Gram Vikas (Ms Jaya Jayapadma, answer questionnaire by e-mail)	25/1 2005

Interviews with women in Panchayats

Woman 1, Uttar Pradesh	12/12 2004
Woman 2, Uttar Pradesh	18/12 2004
Woman 3, Uttar Pradesh	21/12 2004
Woman 6, Rajasthan	27/12 2004
Woman 7, Rajasthan	30/12 2004
Woman 8, Rajasthan	2/1 2005
Woman 9, Rajasthan	4/1 2005
Woman 10, Rajasthan	15/1 2005
Woman 4, Uttar Pradesh	20/1 2005
Woman 5, Uttar Pradesh	20/1 2005

APPENDIX VI
Socio-economic background of respondents

Number	Elected/ Re-elected	Land (acre)	Age	Profession	Married	Religion
1 – UP ⁸	2000	1,5	53	Mother/Housewife	Yes	Hindu
2 – UP	1995 (tried in 2005 but failed)	0,3	39	Housewife	Yes	Muslim
3 – UP	2000	No land	41	Agriculture	Yes	Hindu
4 – UP	1995	26	45	Agriculture	No	Hindu
5 – UP	1995/2000	12,3	67	Housewife	Yes	Christian
6 – RS ⁹	2000	35	34	Business	Yes	Muslim
7 – RS	2000	Above 15	55	Housewife	Widow	Muslim
8 – RS	2000	20	23	Housewife	Yes	Hindu
9 – RS	2000	-	51	-	Yes	Hindu
10 – RS	1995	3,3	48	Housewife	Yes	Hindu

Number	Children	Active in any NGO?	Anyone in family political active?	How many days of training?	Husbands profession	Education
1 – UP	6	Yes	No	More than 1 month (31 days)	Farmer	Below graduate
2 – UP	2	No	Yes in Congress party	2 weeks	Politician	Below matriculate
3 – UP	8	No	No	18 days	Businessmen	Illiterate
4 – UP	0	No	Yes	-	-	Matriculate
5 – UP	2	No, active in a party	Yes	8 days	Teacher	Below matriculate
6 – RS	5	No	Yes	2 days	Farmer	Graduate
7 – RS	3	No	No	1 week	-	Below matriculate
8 – RS	1	No	Yes	70-79 days 3 different NGOs	Farmer	Below graduate
9 – RS	2	No	Yes	5 days	Farmer	Matriculate
10 – RS	4	No	No	5 days	Storeowner	Illiterate

⁸ UP = Uttar Pradesh

⁹ RS = Rajasthan

Motivation of members of Panchayat

Motivation	Number of total members	Percentage
Self motivated	2	20%
By family	7	70%
By others	-	-
Not responding	1	10%
Total	10	100%

Distribution of members of Panchayat according to party affiliation

Party	Total of all members	Percentage
Bhartiya Janta Party	1	10%
AIADMK*	1	10%
Bhartiya Rashtriya Congress	1	10%
Congress	1	10%
Samajwadi Party	1	10%
Lok Tartik Congress	1	10%
Others	-	-
No party	4	40%
Total	10	100%

*All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

Religion among interviewed women in %

Religion	Percentage
Hindu	60%
Christian	10%
Muslim	30%

Educational level of members of Panchayats

Educational-level	Number of women	Percentage
Illiterate	2	20%
Below matriculate	3	30%
Matriculate to below	2	20%
Higher than secondary to below graduate	2	20%
Graduate to below post graduate	1	10%
Post graduate and above	-	-
Total	10	100%

Age groups among the interviewed women in %

Age group	Percentage
21-30	10%
31-40	20%
41-50	30%
51-60	30%
Above 60	10%
Total	100%